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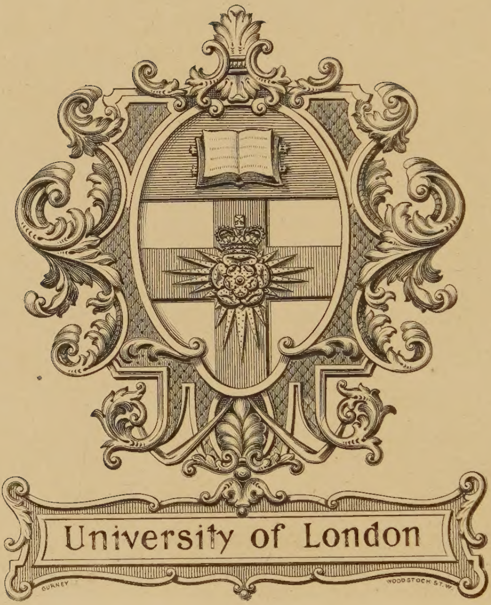
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# HANSARD'S

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

## THIRD SERIES:

COMMENCING WITH THE ACCESSION OF

WILLIAM IV.

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47° & 48° VICTORIÆ, 1884.

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## VOL. CCXCIII.

COMPRISING THE PERIOD FROM

THE TWENTY-THIRD DAY OF OCTOBER, 1884,

TO

THE SEVENTEENTH DAY OF NOVEMBER, 1884.

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**FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1884-5.**

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LONDON:
PUBLISHED BY CORNELIUS BUCK,
AT THE OFFICE FOR "HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,"
22, PATERNOSTER ROW. [E.C.]

1884.

8995

BIBL.
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AMENDMENT (MR. HARRINGTON)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS—

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After debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

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AMENDMENT (LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL)—THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE—Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "and humbly to assure Her Majesty that this House regrets to find in recent speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an incitement to interference with the freedom of political discussion, and a justification of riot and disorder,"—(*Lord Randolph Churchill*) .. .. 543

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 178, Noes 214; Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 2.)

Main Question again proposed:—*Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Mac Iver:*)—Motion *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

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Amendment (Mr. Mac Iver)—Depression of Trade—

Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "but humbly to direct Her Majesty's attention to the depressed condition of commerce and agriculture, and regret that Her Majesty's gracious Speech contains no reference to a subject of such paramount importance,"—(*Mr. Mac Iver*) .. .. .. 668

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 67, Noes 86; Majority 19.—(Div. List, No. 3.)

Main Question again proposed .. .. .. .. 759

*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton:*)—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

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## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

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Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [23rd October:]—Main Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. 798

Amendment (Mr. Sexton)—Composition of Juries (Ireland)—

Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "but humbly to represent to Her Majesty that it is essential to the public interest that the Criminal Law, more particularly with regard to the composition of juries, be impartially administered to the different classes of the people of Ireland,"—(*Mr. Sexton*) .. 798

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After long debate, Question put:—*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned," (*Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy*:)—After further debate, Question put:—

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ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH—*continued.*

The House *divided;* Ayes 30, Noes 118; Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 4.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted" .. 894

*Moved*, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Gladstone:*)—Question put, and *negatived.*

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Healy:*)—Question put, and *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

## LORDS, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

The House met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

## COMMONS, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 4.

## *QUESTIONS.*

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IRELAND—THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY—MR. CHARLES GEISLER, PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES — Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 900

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EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON — TELEGRAMS — Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington 909

QUEEN'S SPEECH—*Resolved,* That any further proceedings on the Address appointed for this day or to-morrow have precedence over the Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day,—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

Address in Answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech—[ADJOURNED DEBATE] [NINTH NIGHT]—

AMENDMENT (MR. SEXTON)—COMPOSITION OF JURIES (IRELAND)—

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [23rd October:]—Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. 910

After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 34, Noes 140; Majority 106.—(Div. List, No. 5.)

Main Question again proposed .. .. .. 959

AMENDMENT (MR. GORST)—SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND—

Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "humbly to express our regret that Her Majesty's Government should have assumed a formal protectorate over Bechuanaland without taking effectual precautions to prevent Montsioa from being conquered by freebooters domiciled and organised in the Transvaal under the sanction of its Government:

"And, further, to express our regret that, after Her Majesty's Government had received full information of the forcible appropriation of Montsioa's land by the Rooi-Grond freebooters, delay, greatly increasing the difficulties of any settlement, has been permitted to take place in announcing the intention of Her Majesty's Government to turn out the freebooters, by force if necessary, from the territory under Her Majesty's protection,"—(*Mr. Gorst*) .. .. .. 959

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *appointed,* to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution:—List of the Committee .. .. .. 988

THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH—REPORT—

Report of Address *brought up,* and read.

Address read a second time:—Further Proceeding thereon *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

---

Municipal Franchise (Ireland) Bill—*Ordered* (*Mr. Molloy, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Richard Power*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 27] .. 988

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## *MOTION.*

REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—MOTION—

*Moved*, "That the several stages of any Bill relating to the Representation of the People have precedence of all Orders of the Day, except any further proceedings on the Address, and Notices of Motions, on every day for which they may be set down by the Government,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. .. .. .. 988

Amendment proposed, after the word "precedence," to insert the words "except on Wednesdays,"—(*Admiral Sir John Hay.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, after the word "precedence," to insert the words "during the month of November,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. .. 994

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Amendment proposed,

After the word "Motions," to insert the words "except Notices of Motion relating to schemes under the provisions of 'The Endowed Schools Act, 1869,' and amending Acts,"—(*Mr. Warton*) .. .. .. .. 995

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After short debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH—REPORT—

Further Proceeding on Report of Address *resumed.*

GOVERNMENT AT KHARTOUM—Amendment proposed,

At the end of the seventh paragraph, after the word "provision," to insert the words "Humbly to pray Her Majesty to direct Her Ministers, in the interests of freedom and commerce, and for the security of Egypt, to efficiently support General Gordon in establishing a stable and civilised Government at Khartoum,"—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*) .. .. .. .. .. 996

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted:"—After debate, Question put, and *negatived.*

*Moved*, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address to be presented to Her Majesty."

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BALLYFORAN MURDER—Observations, Mr. Sexton:—Short debate thereon .. .. .. 1022

Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 134, Noes 18; Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 6.)

Address *agreed to:*—To be presented by Privy Councillors.

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 9]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. John Redmond*) 1026

*Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Elton.*)

ORDER IN DEBATE — SUSPENSION OF A MEMBER (NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—RULE 2) .. .. .. .. 1037

*Moved*, "That Mr. O'Donnell be suspended from the service of the House,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*) [The hon. Member then withdrew.]

The House *divided;* Ayes 163, Noes 28; Majority 135.—(Div. List, No. 7.)

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ORDER IN DEBATE—SUSPENSION OF A MEMBER—(NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—RULE 2)—*continued.*

The following is the Entry in the Votes:—

Mr. SPEAKER called the attention of the House to continued irrelevance on the part of Mr. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, and directed the honourable Member to discontinue his Speech:—

The honourable Member, nevertheless, having persisted in speaking:—

Mr. SPEAKER named him as disregarding the authority of the Chair.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Mr. O'Donnell be suspended from the service of the House,"—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)—

The House *divided;* Ayes 163, Noes 28.

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned" .. 1037

After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 130, Noes 97; Majority 33.—(Div. List, No. 8.)—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

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LABOURERS (IRELAND)—RE-APPOINTMENT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE—Questions, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Lord Richard Grosvenor, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. .. 1042

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SUPPLY—*Resolved,* That this House will, upon *Friday,* resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

WAYS AND MEANS—*Resolved,* That this House will, upon *Friday,* resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty. [5.30.]

## LORDS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ADJOURNMENT—Observations, Earl Granville, The Earl of Carnarvon .. .. .. 1043

TRADE AND COMMERCE—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

*Moved,* "That a Select Committee be appointed to join with a Committee of the Commons to inquire into the condition of the trade and commerce of the country,"—(*The Earl of Dunraven*) .. .. .. .. .. 1044

DEATH OF THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FAWCETT, POSTMASTER GENERAL—Observations, Earl Granville, The Marquess of Salisbury .. .. 1076

TRADE AND COMMERCE—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—

Debate *resumed* .. .. .. .. .. 1076

After debate, Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

MARRIAGES LEGALIZATION BILL—Observations, Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Reply, The Lord Chancellor .. .. .. 1082

[7.30.]

## COMMONS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

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INLAND REVENUE — DUTY ON GOLD AND SILVER PLATE — Question, Mr. Slagg; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. 1085

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Housing of the Working Classes—Report of the Commissioners—Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. 1091
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Egypt (Expeditionary Force up the Nile)—Instructions to General Lord Wolseley—Questions, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1117

Egypt (Finance, &c)—The Earl of Northbrook's Report—Question, Mr. Bourke; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. 1118

Egypt (The Expedition up the Nile)—The Vote of Credit—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. 1118

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Lighthouse Illuminants' Committee—Questions, Mr. Gray; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain .. .. .. .. .. 1119

Criminal Law (Ireland)—The Trial of Mr. Fitzgerald—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. 1120

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

**Representation of the People Bill** [Bill 1]—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 1121

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, any measure purporting to provide for the better Representation of the People in Parliament must be accompanied by provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas,"—(*Mr. E. Stanhope*,)—instead thereof.

*Representation of the People Bill*—continued.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, *Moved*, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross*:)—Motion *agreed to*:—Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

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DEATH OF THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FAWCETT, POSTMASTER GENERAL — Observations, Sir Stafford Northcote, The Marquess of Hartington, Mr. Justin M'Carthy .. .. .. .. 1206

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND)—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Lord Richard Grosvenor .. .. .. .. 1208

## *MOTIONS.*

**Charitable Trusts Acts**—Select Committee of last Session *re-appointed* and *nominated*:—List of the Committee .. .. .. .. 1208

**Liquor Traffic (Local Veto) (Scotland) Bill**—*Considered* in Committee:—Resolution *agreed to*, and *reported*:—Bill *ordered* (*Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Waddy, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Mackintosh, Mr. Ernest Noel, Mr. Dick-Peddie, Mr. Stewart Clark, Mr. Munro-Ferguson*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 28] .. .. 1208

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Thomas Thompson*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 29] .. .. 1208

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Arthur Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Acland*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 30] .. .. .. .. .. 1209

[12.45.]

## LORDS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

The House met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [12.45.]

## COMMONS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 7.

## *QUESTIONS.*

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EDUCATION (IRELAND)—NATIONAL SCHOOLS—HOURS FOR RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, &C—NEWTOWNARDS SCHOOL, CO. DOWN—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. 1210

THE THAMES AND THE LONDON WATER COMPANIES—Question, Mr. Labouchere; Answer, Mr. George Russell .. .. .. 1211

THE CIVIL SERVICE — LOWER DIVISION CLERKS — Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Courtney .. .. .. 1212

EGYPT—MILITARY AND OTHER EXPENDITURE — Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Lord John Manners, Mr. Chaplin; Answers, Mr. Courtney .. 1212

IRELAND — MEETING OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE AT CASHEL — INVASION OF THE TOWN HALL—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. .. .. 1213

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AFRICA (WEST)—THE CONFERENCE—Question, Mr. Cartwright; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. .. 1214
NAVY—H.M.S. "AGAMEMNON"—Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey .. .. .. .. 1215
THE IRISH GOVERNMENT—MR. R. GOOD—Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. 1215
IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND—THE ROSCOMMON TOWN COMMISSIONERS—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. .. 1216
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — TRIAL OF JAMES ELLIS FRENCH — COLONEL BRUCE—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gibson; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland ... ... .. .. 1216
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NAVY — H.M.S. "COLLINGWOOD" — ARMAMENT — Question, Lord Henry Lennox; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey .. .. .. 1219
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DEATH OF THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FAWCETT, POSTMASTER GENERAL—Observations, Mr. Gladstone, Lord John Manners .. .. 1222
AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE EXPEDITION TO BECHUANALAND—Question, Mr. Dixon-Hartland; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. .. .. 1223
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PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. .. 1227

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

**Representation of the People Bill** [Bill 1]—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [6th November,] "That the Bill be now read a second time:" —Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. 1227
After long debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 372, Noes 232; Majority 140.
Division List, Ayes and Noes .. .. .. 1328
Main Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

## *MOTIONS.*

WESTMINSTER HALL (RESTORATION)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—
*Moved*, "That a Select Committee be appointed to examine and report on the proposed plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall,"—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) 1332
After short debate, Amendment made, by leaving out the words "the proposed."
Main Question, as amended, proposed .. .. .. 1339
After short debate, Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*
Select Committee *appointed*, "to examine and report on plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall:"—List of the Committee .. .. 1340

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Northumberland) Bill—**
Motion for Leave (*Mr. Jerningham*) .. .. .. 1340
After short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Northumberland—*Ordered* (*Mr. Jerningham, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Morley*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 31.]

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND)—MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE—
*Moved*, "That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of recent legislation with reference to cottages and plots of land for agricultural labourers in Ireland; and to Report whether it has been established that any amendments of such legislation are at present necessary,"—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland*) .. 1341
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[1.30.]

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INDIA (SEAT OF GOVERNMENT)—Petition presented, Lord Napier and Ettrick .. .. .. .. .. 1345
After short debate, Petition (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — OVER-PRESSURE AT GREAT WARFORD SCHOOL — Question, Lord Stanley of Alderley; Answer, Lord Carlingford .. 1357
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[6.15.]

## COMMONS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

## *QUESTIONS.*

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Archibald Marquess of Ailsa.
George Augustus Constantine Marquess of Normanby.
George Frederick Samuel Marquess of Ripon.
William Marquess of Abergavenny.

John Robert Earl Sydney, *Lord Steward of the Household.*
Charles Henry John Earl of Shrewsbury.
Edward Henry Earl of Derby.
Francis Power Plantagenet Earl of Huntingdon.
George Robert Charles Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery.
William Reginald Earl of Devon.
Henry Charles Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire.
Rudolph William Basil Earl of Denbigh.
Francis William Henry Earl of Westmorland.
Montague Earl of Lindsey.
Harry Earl of Stamford.
George James Earl of Winchilsea and Nottingham.
Henry Edwin Chandos Earl of Chesterfield.
Edward George Henry Earl of Sandwich.
Arthur Algernon Earl of Essex.
William George Earl of Carlisle.
William Henry Walter Earl of Doncaster. (*Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry.*)
Anthony Earl of Shaftesbury.
——— Earl of Berkeley.
Montagu Arthur Earl of Abingdon.
Richard George Earl of Scarbrough.
George Thomas Earl of Albemarle.
George William Earl of Coventry.
Victor Albert George Earl of Jersey.
William Henry Earl Poulett.
Sholto John Earl of Morton. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Walter Henry Earl of Mar and Kellie (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Claude Earl of Strathmore and Kinghorn. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
George Earl of Haddington. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Alexander Earl of Leven and Melville. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Dunbar James Earl of Selkirk. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Thomas Barnes Earl of Dundonald. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Sewallis Edward Earl Ferrers.
William Walter Earl of Dartmouth.
Charles Earl of Tankerville.
Heneage Earl of Aylesford.
Francis Thomas De Grey Earl Cowper.
Arthur Philip Earl Stanhope.
Thomas Augustus Wolstenholme Earl of Macclesfield.
Douglas Beresford Malise Ronald Earl Graham. (*Duke of Montrose.*)
William Frederick Earl Waldegrave.
Bertram Earl of Ashburnham.
Charles Augustus Earl of Harrington.
Isaac Newton Earl of Portsmouth.
George Guy Earl Brooke and Earl of Warwick.
Augustus Edward Earl of Buckinghamshire.
William Thomas Spencer Earl Fitzwilliam.
Dudley Francis Earl of Guilford.
Charles Philip Earl of Hardwicke.
Henry Edward Earl of Ilchester.
Reginald Windsor Earl De La Warr.
Jacob Earl of Radnor.
John Poyntz Earl Spencer.
Allen Alexander Earl Bathurst.
Arthur Wills John Wellington Blundell Trumbull Earl of Hillsborough. (*Marquess of Downshire.*)
Edward Hyde Earl of Clarendon.
William David Earl of Mansfield.
John James Hugh Henry Earl Strange. (*Duke of Athole.*)
William Henry Earl of Mount Edgcumbe.
Hugh Earl Fortescue.
Henry Howard Molyneux Earl of Carnarvon.
George Henry Earl Cadogan.
James Howard Earl of Malmesbury.
John Vansittart Danvers Earl of Lanesborough. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Edward Nugent Earl of Milltown. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Henry John Reuben Earl of Portarlington. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Hugh Earl Annesley. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Earl of Erne. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Henry Reginald Earl of Clonmell. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

George Charles Earl of Lucan. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Somerset Richard Earl of Belmore. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Francis Earl of Bandon. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Earl of Caledon. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Francis Robert Earl of Rosslyn.
William George Robert Earl of Craven.
William Hillier Earl of Onslow.
Charles Earl of Romney.
Henry Thomas Earl of Chichester.
Arthur Edward Holland Grey Earl of Wilton.
Edward James Earl of Powis.
Horatio Earl Nelson.
Lawrence Earl of Rosse. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Sydney William Herbert Earl Manvers.
Horatio Earl of Orford.
Henry Earl Grey.
Hugh Cecil Earl of Lonsdale.
Dudley Francis Stuart Earl of Harrowby.
Henry Thynne Earl of Harewood.
William Hugh Earl of Minto.
Alan Frederick Earl Cathcart.
James Walter Earl of Verulam.
Adelbert Wellington Brownlow Earl Brownlow.
Henry Cornwallis Earl of Saint Germans.
Albert Edmund Earl of Morley.
Orlando George Charles Earl of Bradford.
Frederick Earl Beauchamp.
John Earl of Eldon.
Richard William Penn Earl Howe.
John Edward Cornwallis Earl of Stradbroke.
Francis Charles Earl of Kilmorey. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Charles Stewart Earl Vane. (*Marquess of Londonderry.*)
William Pitt Earl Amherst.
John Frederick Vaughan Earl Cawdor.
William George Earl of Munster.
Robert Adam Philips Haldane Earl of Camperdown.
Thomas George Earl of Lichfield.
John George Earl of Durham.
Granville George Earl Granville.
Henry Earl of Effingham.
Henry John Earl of Ducie.
Charles Alfred Worsley Earl of Yarborough.
James Henry Robert Earl Innes. (*Duke of Roxburghe.*)
Thomas William Earl of Leicester.
William Earl of Lovelace.
Lawrence Earl of Zetland.
Charles William Francis Earl of Gainsborough.
Francis Charles Granville Earl of Ellesmere.
George Stevens Earl of Strafford.
Kenelm Charles Edward Earl of Cottenham.
William Henry Earl Cowley.
Archibald William Earl of Winton. (*Earl of Eglintoun.*)
William Earl of Dudley.
John Francis Stanley Earl Russell.
John Earl of Kimberley.
Richard Earl of Dartrey.
William Ernest Earl of Feversham.
Frederick Temple Earl of Dufferin.
John Robert Earl Sydney. (*In another Place as Lord Steward of the Household.*)
Henry George Earl of Ravensworth.
Edward Montagu Stuart Granville Earl of Wharncliffe.
Thomas George Earl of Northbrook.
John Thomas Earl of Redesdale.
Hugh Mac Calmont Earl Cairns.
Edward Robert Lytton Earl of Lytton.
Edward Earl of Lathom.
George Watson Earl Sondes.
Roundell Earl of Selborne. (*In another Place as Lord High Chancellor.*)

Robert Viscount Hereford.
William Henry Viscount Strathallan. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Henry Viscount Bolingbroke and St. John.
Evelyn Viscount Falmouth.
George Stanley Viscount Torrington.
Charles William Viscount Leinster. (*Duke of Leinster.*)
Francis Wheler Viscount Hood.
Mervyn Viscount Powerscourt. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
James Viscount Lifford. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Hayes Viscount Doneraile. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
Cornwallis Viscount Hawarden. (*Elected for Ireland.*)
John Edward Leveson Viscount St. Vincent.
Robert Viscount Melville.
William Wells Viscount Sidmouth.
George Frederick Viscount Templetown. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

John Campbell Viscount Gordon. (*Earl of Aberdeen.*)
Edward Fleetwood John Viscount Exmouth.
John Luke George Viscount Hutchinson. (*Earl of Donoughmore.*)
Richard Somerset Viscount Clancarty. (*Earl of Clancarty.*)
Wellington Henry Viscount Combermere.
Henry Charles Viscount Canterbury.
Rowland Clegg Viscount Hill.
Charles Stewart Viscount Hardinge.
George Stephens Viscount Gough.
Charles Viscount Eversley.
Charles Viscount Halifax.
Alexander Nelson Viscount Bridport.
Edward Berkeley Viscount Portman.
Edward Viscount Cardwell.
Gathorne Viscount Cranbrook.
Robert Viscount Sherbrooke.
Richard Bickerton Pemell Viscount Lyons.
Henry Bouverie William Viscount Hampden.

John Bishop of London.
Joseph Barber Bishop of Durham.
Edward Harold Bishop of Winchester.
John Thomas Bishop of Norwich.
James Colquhoun Bishop of Bangor.
Henry Bishop of Worcester.
Charles John Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.
Thomas Legh Bishop of St. Albans.
James Bishop of Hereford.
William Connor Bishop of Peterborough.
Christopher Bishop of Lincoln.
George Bishop of Salisbury.
Harvey Bishop of Carlisle.
Frederick Bishop of Exeter.
Arthur Charles Bishop of Bath and Wells.
John Fielder Bishop of Oxford.
James Bishop of Manchester.
Richard Bishop of Chichester.
Joshua Bishop of St. Asaph.
James Russell Bishop of Ely.
William Basil Bishop of St. David's.
Anthony Wilson Bishop of Rochester.
William Dalrymple Bishop of Lichfield.
John Charles Bishop of Liverpool.

Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare (*Earl of Kenmare*), *Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*
Dudley Charles Lord de Ros.
Alfred Joseph Lord Mowbray.
George Manners Lord Hastings.
Edward Southwell Lord de Clifford.
Thomas Crosby William Lord Dacre.
Charles Henry Rolle Lord Clinton.
Robert Nathaniel Cecil George Lord Zouche of Haryngworth.

Charles Edward Hastings Lord Botreaux. (*Earl of Loudoun.*)
Francis Robert Lord Camoys.
Henry Lord Beaumont.
Henry Lord Willoughby de Broke.
Sackville George Lord Conyers.
Hubert George Charles Lord Vaux of Harrowden.
Ralph Gordon Lord Wentworth.
Alfred Thomas Townshend Lord Braye.
Robert George Lord Windsor.
William Henry John Lord North.
St. Andrew Lord St. John of Bletso.
Frederick George Lord Howard de Walden.
William Joseph Lord Petre.
Frederick Benjamin Lord Saye and Sele.
John Francis Lord Arundell of Wardour.
John Stuart Lord Clifton. (*Earl of Darnley.*)
John Baptist Joseph Lord Dormer.
George Henry Lord Teynham.
Henry Valentine Lord Stafford.
George Frederick William Lord Byron.
Lewis Henry Hugh Lord Clifford of Chudleigh.
William Coutts Lord Ashford.
Horace Courtenay Lord Forbes. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Alexander Lord Saltoun. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
William Buller Fullerton Lord Elphinstone. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Cunninghame Lord Borthwick. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Charles Lord Blantyre. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Charles John Lord Colville of Culross. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Alexander Hugh Lord Balfour of Burley. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Walter Hugh Lord Polwarth. (*Elected for Scotland.*)
Richard Edmund Saint Lawrence Lord Boyle. (*Earl of Cork and Orrery.*)
George Lord Hay. (*Earl of Kinnoul.*)
Digby Wentworth Bayard Lord Middleton.
William John Lord Monson.
Frederick George Brabazon Lord Ponsonby. (*Earl of Bessborough.*)
Alfred Nathaniel Holden Lord Scarsdale.

George Florance Lord Boston.  
Charles George Lord Lovel and Holland. (*Earl of Egmont.*)  
George William Henry Lord Vernon.  
Edward St. Vincent Lord Digby.  
George Douglas Lord Sundridge. (*Duke of Argyll.*)  
Edward Henry Julius Lord Hawke.  
Henry Thomas Lord Foley.  
Arthur de Cardonnel Lord Dinevor.  
Thomas Lord Walsingham.  
William Lord Bagot.  
Charles Henry Lord Southampton.  
John Richard Brinsley Lord Grantley.  
George Bridges Harley Dennett Lord Rodney.  
Philip Reginald Lord Somers.  
Richard Henry Lord Berwick.  
Edward Lennox Lord Sherborne.  
John Henry De La Poer Lord Tyrone. (*Marquess of Waterford.*)  
Henry Bentinck Lord Carleton. (*Earl of Shannon.*)  
Charles Lord Suffield.  
Dudley Wilmot Lord Dorchester.  
Lloyd Lord Kenyon.  
Charles Cornwallis Lord Braybrooke.  
William Archer Lord Amherst.  
Edward Lord Fisherwick. (*Marquess of Donegal.*)  
Henry Charles Lord Gage. (*Viscount Gage.*)  
Thomas John Lord Thurlow.  
William George Lord Auckland.  
Charles George Lord Lyttelton.  
Henry George Lord Mendip. (*Viscount Clifden.*)  
George Lord Stuart of Castle Stuart. (*Earl of Moray.*)  
Alan Plantagenet Lord Stewart of Garlies. (*Earl of Galloway.*)  
James George Henry Lord Saltersford. (*Earl of Courtown.*)  
William Lord Brodrick. (*Viscount Midleton.*)  
Frederick Henry William Lord Calthorpe.  
Peter Robert Lord Gwydir.  
Charles Robert Lord Carrington.  
William Henry Lord Bolton.  
George Lord Northwick.  
Thomas Lyttleton Lord Lilford.  
Thomas Lord Ribblesdale.  
Edward Lord Dunsany. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Edward Donough Lord Inchiquin. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
John Thomas William Lord Massy. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Robert Lord Clonbrock. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Charles Mark Lord Headley. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Edward Henry Churchill Lord Crofton. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Hercules Edward Lord Langford. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Dayrolles Blakeney Lord Ventry. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Henry Francis Seymour Lord Moore. (*Marquess of Drogheda.*)  
John Henry Wellington Graham Lord Loftus. (*Marquess of Ely.*)  
William Lord Carysfort. (*Earl of Carysfort.*)  
George Ralph Lord Abercromby.  
Charles Edmund Lord Ellenborough.  
Augustus Frederick Arthur Lord Sandys  
Henry North Lord Sheffield. (*Earl of Sheffield.*)  
William Macnaghten Lord Erskine.  
George John Lord Monteagle. (*Marquess of Sligo.*)  
George Arthur Hastings Lord Granard. (*Earl of Granard.*)  
Hungerford Lord Crewe.  
———— Lord Gardner.  
John Thomas Lord Manners.  
John Adrian Louis Lord Hopetoun. (*Earl of Hopetoun.*)  
Richard Lord Castlemaine. (*Elected for Ireland.*)  
Charles Lord Meldrum. (*Marquess of Huntly.*)  
George Frederick Lord Ross. (*Earl of Glasgow.*)  
William Willoughby Lord Grinstead. (*Earl of Enniskillen.*)  
William Hale John Charles Lord Foxford. (*Earl of Limerick.*)  
Francis George Lord Churchill.  
George Robert Canning Lord Harris.  
Reginald Charles Edward Lord Colchester.  
Schomberg Henry Lord Ker. (*Marquess of Lothian.*)  
Henry Francis Lord Minster. (*Marquess Conyngham.*)  
James Edward William Theobald Lord Ormonde. (*Marquess of Ormonde.*)  
Francis Richard Lord Wemyss. (*Earl of Wemyss.*)  
John Strange Lord Clanbrassill. (*Earl of Roden.*)  
William Lygon Lord Silchester. (*Earl of Longford.*)  
Clotworthy John Eyre Lord Oriel. (*Viscount Massereene.*)

Hugh Lord Delamere.

George Cecil Weld Lord Forester.

John William Lord Rayleigh.

Edric Frederic Lord Gifford.

Hubert George Lord Somerhill. (*Marquess of Clanricarde.*)

James Ludovic Lord Wigan. (*Earl of Crawford and Balcarres.*)

Uchter John Mark Lord Ranfurly. (*Earl of Ranfurly.*)

George Lord De Tabley.

Charles Stuart Henry Lord Tenterden.

William Conyngham Lord Plunket.

William Henry Ashe Lord Heytesbury.

Archibald Philip Lord Rosebery. (*Earl of Rosebery.*)

Richard James Lord Clanwilliam. (*Earl of Clanwilliam.*)

William Draper Mortimer Lord Wynford.

William Henry Lord Kilmarnock. (*Earl of Erroll.*)

Arthur James Francis Lord Fingall. (*Earl of Fingall.*)

William Philip Lord Sefton. (*Earl of Sefton.*)

Robert Bermingham Lord Clements. (*Earl of Leitrim.*)

Thomas Lord Kenlis. (*Marquess of Headfort.*)

William Lord Chaworth. (*Earl of Meath.*)

Charles Adolphus Lord Dunmore. (*Earl of Dunmore.*)

Augustus Frederick George Warwick Lord Poltimore.

Llewelyn Nevill Vaughan Lord Mostyn.

Henry Spencer Lord Templemore.

Valentine Frederick Lord Cloncurry.

John St. Vincent Lord De Saumarez.

Thomas Lord Denman.

William Frederick Lord Abinger.

Philip Lord De L'Isle and Dudley.

Alexander Hugh Lord Ashburton.

Edward Richard Lord Hatherton.

George Henry Charles Lord Strafford.

Archibald Brabazon Sparrow, Lord Worlingham. (*Earl of Gosford.*)

William Frederick Lord Stratheden.

Geoffrey Dominick Augustus Frederick Lord Oranmore and Browne. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Simon Lord Lovat.

William Bateman Lord Bateman.

James Molyneux Lord Charlemont. (*Earl of Charlemont.*)

Algernon Hawkins Thomond Lord Kintore. (*Earl of Kintore.*)

George Ponsonby Lord Lismore. (*Viscount Lismore.*)

Derrick Warner William Lord Rossmore.

Robert Shapland George Julian Lord Carew.

Charles Frederick Ashley Cooper Lord De Mauley.

Arthur Lord Wrottesley.

Charles Douglas Richard Lord Sudeley.

Frederick Henry Paul Lord Methuen.

Henry Edward John Lord Stanley of Alderley.

William Henry Lord Leigh

Beilby Lord Wenlock.

William Lord Lurgan.

Thomas Spring Lord Monteagle of Brandon.

James Lord Seaton.

John Manley Arbuthnot Lord Keane.

John Lord Oxenfoord. (*Earl of Stair.*)

Charles Crespigny Lord Vivian.

Henry William Lord Congleton.

Denis St. George Lord Dunsandle and Clanconal. (*Elected for Ireland.*)

Victor Alexander Lord Elgin. (*Earl of Elgin and Kincardine.*)

William Henry Forester Lord Londesborough.

Charles Robert Claude Lord Truro.

Arthur Lord De Freyne.

Edward Burtenshaw Lord Saint Leonards.

George Fitz-Roy Henry Lord Raglan.

Gilbert Henry Lord Aveland.

Valentine Augustus Lord Kenmare (*Earl of Kenmare.*) (*In another Place as Lord Chamberlain of the Household.*)

Henry Lord Belper.

Richard Wogan Lord Talbot de Malahide.

Robert Lord Ebury.

Alexander William George Lord Skene. (*Earl Fife.*)

Charles Compton William Lord Chesham.

Frederic Augustus Lord Chelmsford.

John Lord Churston.

Henry Lord Leconfield.

Wilbraham Lord Egerton.

Godfrey Charles Lord Tredegar.

Fitz Patrick Henry Lord Lyveden.

William Lord Brougham and Vaux.

Arthur Fitz-Gerald Lord Kinnaird.

Richard Luttrell Pilkington Lord Westbury.

Francis William Fitzhardinge Lord Fitzhardinge.
Luke George Lord Annaly.
Richard Monckton Lord Houghton.
William Lord Romilly.
George Philips Alexander Lord Barrogill. (*Earl of Caithness.*)
Thomas Lord Clermont.
James Herbert Gustavus Meredyth Lord Meredyth. (*Lord Athlumney.*)
Windham Thomas Lord Kenry. (*Earl of Dunraven and Mount-Earl.*)
Charles Stanley Lord Monck. (*Viscount Monck.*)
John Major Lord Hartismere. (*Lord Henniker.*)
Hedworth Hylton Lord Hylton.
Hugh Henry Lord Strathnairn.
Edward Gordon Lord Penrhyn.
Gustavus Russell Lord Brancepeth. (*Viscount Boyne.*)
John Henry Lord Kesteven.
Arthur Lord Ormathwaite.
Edward Lord O'Neill.
Robert Cornelis Lord Napier.
Jenico William Joseph Lord Gormanston. (*Viscount Gormanston.*)
John Hamilton Lord Lawrence.
James Plaisted Lord Penzance.
John Lord Dunning. (*Lord Rollo.*)
James Lord Balinhard. (*Earl of Southesk.*)
William Lord Hare. (*Earl of Listowel.*)
Francis Edward Lord Howard of Glossop.
Bernard Edward Barnaby Lord Castletown.
John Emerich Edward Lord Acton.
Thomas Charles Lord Robartes.
George Grenfell Lord Wolverton.
Algernon William Fulke Lord Greville.
Thomas Lord O'Hagan.
William Lord Sandhurst.
Frederic Lord Blachford
Francis Lord Ettrick. (*Lord Napier.*)
Gavin Lord Breadalbane. (*Earl of Breadalbane.*)
James Charles Herbert Welbore Ellis Lord Somerton. (*Earl of Normanton.*)
Robert Alexander Shafto Lord Waveney.
Henry Austin Lord Aberdare.
James Lord Moncreiff.
John Duke Lord Coleridge.
William Lord Emly.
Chichester Samuel Lord Carlingford. (*In another Place as Lord President of the Council and Lord Privy Seal.*)
Thomas Francis Lord Cottesloe.
Edmund Lord Hammond.
John Slaney Lord Hampton.
John Lord Winmarleigh.
Charles Alexander Lord Douglas. (*Earl of Home.*)
John William Lord Ramsay. (*Earl of Dalhousie.*)
John Lord Fermanagh. (*In another Place as Earl of Erne.*)
William Richard Lord Harlech.
Henry Gerard Lord Alington.
John Lord Tollemache.
Robert Tolver Lord Gerard.
Mortimer Lord Sackville.
Colin Lord Blackburn. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Charles Bowyer Lord Norton.
George William Lord Shute. (*Viscount Barrington.*)
William Lord Watson. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Lawrence Hesketh Lord Haldon.
Ivor Bertie Lord Wimborne.
Arthur Edward Lord Ardilaun.
Alexander Dundas Ross Lord Lamington.
Charles Frederick Lord Donington.
Arthur Edwin Lord Trevor.
Montagu William Lord Rowton.
William Francis Lord Mount-Temple.
Edward Hugessen Lord Brabourne.
Arthur Oliver Villiers Lord Ampthill.
William Montagu Lord Tweeddale. (*Marquess of Tweeddale.*)
William Ulick Tristram Lord Howth. (*Earl of Howth.*)
Donald James Lord Reay.
Harcourt Lord Derwent.
Henry James Lord Hothfield.
Dudley Coutts Lord Tweedmouth.
George William Wilshere Lord Bramwell.
John David Lord Fitz Gerald. (*A Lord of Appeal in Ordinary.*)
Frederick Beauchamp Paget Lord Alcester.
Garnet Joseph Lord Wolseley.
Alfred Lord Tennyson.
James Lord Strathspey. (*Earl of Seafield.*)
John George Lord Monk Bretton.
Walter Charles Lord Northbourne.
Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox Lord Sudley. (*Earl of Arran.*)
John Robert William Lord de Vesci. (*Viscount de Vesci.*)
Marmaduke Francis Lord Herries.

# LIST OF THE COMMONS.

## THE NAMES OF MEMBERS

Returned to serve in the Twenty-second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, summoned to meet at Westminster the Twenty-ninth Day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eighty, as by the several Returns filed in the Office of the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery appears: amended to the Opening of the Sixth Session on the 23rd Day of October, 1884.

### BEDFORD COUNTY.

James Howard,
Marquess of Tavistock.

#### BEDFORD.

Samuel Whitbread,
Charles Magniac.

### BERKS COUNTY.

Sir Robert James Loyd-Lindsay, K.C.B.,
John Walter,
Philip Wroughton.

#### READING.

George Palmer,
Rt. Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre.

#### WINDSOR (NEW).

Robert Richardson Gardner.

#### WALLINGFORD.

Pandeli Ralli.

#### ABINGDON.

John Creemer Clarke.

### BUCKINGHAM COUNTY.

Sir Robert Bateson Harvey, bt.,
Hon. Thomas Francis Fremantle,
Hon. Rupert Clement George Carington.

#### AYLESBURY.

Sir Nathaniel Mayer de Rothschild, bt.,
George William Erskine Russell.

#### BUCKINGHAM.

Sir Harry Verney, bt.

#### MARLOW (GREAT).

Major Gen. Owen Lewis Cope Williams.

#### WYCOMBE (CHEPPING).

Lt.-Col. Gerard Smith.

### CAMBRIDGE COUNTY.

Edward Hicks,
James Redfoord Bulwer.
Arthur John Thornhill.

#### CAMBRIDGE (UNIVERSITY).

Rt. Hon. Alexander James Beresford Beresford-Hope,
Rt. Hon. Henry Cecil Raikes.

#### CAMBRIDGE.

William Fowler,
Hugh Shield.

### CHESTER.

*(East Cheshire.)*

William Cunliffe Brooks,
William John Legh.

*(Mid Cheshire.)*

Piers Egerton Warburton,
Hon. Alan de Tatton Egerton.

*(West Cheshire.)*

Hon. Wilbraham Frederick Tollemache,
Henry James Tollemache.

#### MACCLESFIELD.

*(Writ suspended.)*

#### STOCKPORT.

Charles Henry Hopwood,
Frederick Pennington.

#### BIRKENHEAD.

David Mac Iver.

#### CHESTER.

*(Writ suspended.)*

### CORNWALL COUNTY.

*(Eastern Division.)*

William Copeland Borlase,
Charles Thomas Dyke Acland.

*(Western Division.)*

Sir John St. Aubyn, bt.,
Arthur Pendarves Vivian.

#### TRURO.

Sir James Macnaghten M'Garel-Hogg, bt.,
Edward William Brydges Willyams.

#### PENRYN AND FALMOUTH.

David James Jenkins,
Reginald Balliol Brett.

#### BODMIN.

Hon. Edward Frederic Leveson-Gower.

#### LAUNCESTON.

Sir Hardinge Stanley Giffard, knt.

#### LISKEARD.

Leonard Henry Courtney.

#### HELSTON.

Walter Napleton Molesworth St. Aubyn.

#### ST. IVES.

Charles Campbell Ross.

### CUMBERLAND COUNTY.

*(Eastern Division.)*

Edward Stafford Howard,
George James Howard.

*(Western Division.)*

David Ainsworth,
Hon. Percy Scawen Wyndham.

### CARLISLE.
Robert Ferguson,
Sir Wilfrid Lawson, bt.

### COCKERMOUTH.
Edward Waugh.

### WHITEHAVEN.
Rt. hon. George Augustus Frederick Cavendish Bentinck.

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## DERBY COUNTY.

(*North Derbyshire.*)
Lord Edward Cavendish,
John Frederick Cheetham.

(*South Derbyshire.*)
Sir Henry Wilmot, bt.,
Thomas William Evans.

(*East Derbyshire.*)
Alfred Barnes,
Hon. Francis Egerton.

### DERBY.
Rt. Hon. Sir William George Grenville Venables Vernon Harcourt,
Thomas Roe.

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## DEVON COUNTY.

(*North Devonshire.*)
Rt. hon. Sir Stafford Henry Northcote, bt., G.C.B.,
Rt. hon. Sir Thomas Dyke Acland, bt.

(*East Devonshire.*)
Sir John Henry Kennaway, bt.,
William Hood Walrond.

(*South Devonshire.*)
Sir Massey Lopes, bt.,
John Tremayne.

### TIVERTON.
Sir John Heathcoat Heathcote-Amory, bt.,
Viscount Ebrington.

### PLYMOUTH.
Peter Stewart Macliver,
Edward George Clarke.

### BARNSTAPLE.
Sir Robert Walter Carden, knt.,
Viscount Lymington.

### DEVONPORT.
John Henry Puleston,
George Edward Price.

### TAVISTOCK.
Lord Arthur Russell.

### EXETER.
Edward Johnson,
Henry Stafford Northcote, C.B.

## DORSET COUNTY.
Hon. William Henry Berkeley Portman,
John Floyer,
Hon. Edward Henry Trafalgar Digby.

### WEYMOUTH AND MELCOMBE REGIS.
Henry Edwards,
Sir Frederick John William Johnstone, bt.

### DORCHESTER.
William Ernest Brymer.

### BRIDPORT.
Charles Nicholas Warton.

### SHAFTESBURY.
Hon. Sidney Carr Glyn.

### WAREHAM.
Montague John Guest.

### POOLE.
William James Harris.

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## DURHAM COUNTY.

(*Northern Division.*)
Charles Mark Palmer,
Sir George Elliot, bt.

(*Southern Division.*)
Sir Joseph Whitwell Pease, bt.,
Hon. Frederick William Lambton.

### DURHAM (CITY).
Thomas Charles Thompson,
Sir Farrer Herschell, knt.

### SUNDERLAND.
Edward Temperley Gourley,
Samuel Storey.

### GATESHEAD.
Walter Henry James.

### SHIELDS (SOUTH).
James Cochran Stevenson.

### DARLINGTON.
Theodore Fry.

### HARTLEPOOL.
Thomas Richardson.

### STOCKTON.
Joseph Dodds.

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## ESSEX COUNTY.

(*West Essex.*)
Sir Henry John Selwin-Ibbetson, bt.,
Lord Eustace Cecil.

ESSEX COUNTY—*cont.*

(*East Essex.*)
James Round,
Hon. Charles Hedley Strutt.

(*South Essex.*)
Thomas Charles Baring,
William Thomas Makins.

### COLCHESTER.
Richard Knight Causton,
William Willis.

### MALDON.
George Courtauld.

### HARWICH.
Sir Henry Whatley Tyler, knt.

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## GLOUCESTER COUNTY.

(*Eastern Division.*)
Rt. hon. Sir Michael Edward Hicks-Beach, bt.,
John Reginald Yorke.

(*Western Division.*)
Robert Nigel Fitzhardinge Kingscote,
Lord Moreton.

### STROUD.
Walter John Stanton,
Hon. Henry Robert Brand.

### TEWKESBURY.
Richard Biddulph Martin.

### CIRENCESTER.
Thomas William Chester Master.

### CHELTENHAM.
Charles Conrad Adolphus du Bois de Ferrières

### GLOUCESTER.
Charles James Monk,
(*Writ suspended.*)

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## HEREFORD COUNTY.
Sir Joseph Russell Bailey, bt.,
Michael Biddulph,
Thomas Duckham.

### HEREFORD.
Joseph Pulley,
Robert Threshie Reid.

### LEOMINSTER.
James Rankin.

## HERTFORD COUNTY.

Abel Smith,
Hon. Henry Frederick Cowper,
Thomas Frederick Halsey.

### HERTFORD.

Arthur James Balfour.

## HUNTINGDON COUNTY.

William Henry Fellowes,
Lord Douglas Gordon.

### HUNTINGDON.

Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Peel, bt.,

## KENT COUNTY.

*(Eastern Division.)*

Aretas Akers Douglas,
Edward Leigh Pemberton.

*(West Kent.)*

Sir Charles Henry Mills, bt.,
Viscount Lewisham.

*(Mid Kent.)*

Rt. Hon. Sir William Hart Dyke, bt.,
Hon. John Stewart Gathorne-Hardy.

### ROCHESTER.

Sir Arthur John Otway, bt.
Roger Leigh.

### MAIDSTONE.

Alexander Henry Ross,
John Evans Freke Aylmer.

### GREENWICH.

Thomas William Boord,
Baron Henry de Worms.

### CHATHAM.

John Eldon Gorst.

### GRAVESEND.

Sir Sydney Hedley Waterlow, bt.

### CANTERBURY.

*(Writ suspended.)*

## LANCASTER COUNTY.

*(North Lancashire.)*

Randle Joseph Feilden, C.M.G.,
Rt. Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley.

*(North-east Lancashire.)*

Rt. Hon. Marquess of Hartington,
Frederick William Grafton.

*(South-east Lancashire.)*

William Agnew,
Robert Leake.

## LANCASTER COUNTY—*cont.*

*(South-west Lancashire.)*

Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B.,
John Ireland Blackburne.

### LIVERPOOL.

Edward Whitley,
Lord Claud John Hamilton,
Samuel Smith.

### MANCHESTER.

John Slagg,
Jacob Bright,
William Henry Houldsworth.

### PRESTON.

William Farrer Ecroyd,
William Edward Murray Tomlinson.

### WIGAN.

Hon. Algernon Fulke Egerton,
Nathaniel Eckersley.

### BOLTON.

John Kynaston Cross,
John Pennington Thomasson.

### BLACKBURN.

William Edward Briggs,
William Coddington.

### OLDHAM.

John Tomlinson Hibbert,
Hon. Edward Lyulph Stanley.

### SALFORD.

Benjamin Armitage,
Robert Arthur Arnold.

### CLITHEROE.

Richard Fort.

### ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.

Hugh Mason.

### BURY.

Robert Needham Philips.

### ROCHDALE.

Thomas Bayley Potter.

### WARRINGTON.

John Gordon McMinnies.

### BURNLEY.

Peter Rylands.

### STALEYBRIDGE.

William Summers.

## LEICESTER COUNTY.

*(Northern Division.)*

Rt. hon. Lord John Manners, G.C.B.
Hon. Montagu Curzon.

*(Southern Division.)*

Thomas Tertius Paget,
Albert Pell.

### LEICESTER.

Alexander M'Arthur.
James Allanson Picton.

## LINCOLN COUNTY.

*(North Lincolnshire.)*

Rowland Winn,
Rt. Hon. James Lowther.

*(Mid Lincolnshire.)*

Henry Chaplin,
Hon. Edward Stanhope.

*(South Lincolnshire.)*

John Compton Lawrance,
Hon. Murray Edward Gordon Finch-Hatton.

### GRANTHAM.

John William Mellor,
Charles Savile Roundell.

### BOSTON.

*(Writ suspended.)*

### STAMFORD.

Marston Clarke Buszard.

### GRIMSBY (GREAT).

Edward Heneage.

### LINCOLN.

Charles Seely, sen.
Joseph Ruston.

## MIDDLESEX COUNTY.

Rt. Hon. Lord George Francis Hamilton,
Octavius Edward Coope.

### WESTMINSTER.

Rt. Hon. William Henry Smith,
Lord Algernon Malcolm Arthur Percy.

### TOWER HAMLETS.

James Bryce,
Charles Thomson Ritchie.

### HACKNEY.

Rt. Hon. Henry Fawcett,
John Holms.

### FINSBURY.

Sir Andrew Lusk, bt.,
William Torrens M'Cullagh Torrens.

### MARYLEBONE.

Sir Thomas Chambers, knt.,
Daniel Grant.

### CHELSEA.

Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Wentworth Dilke, bt.,
Joseph Firth Bottomley Firth.

### DEVIZES.
Sir Thomas Bateson, bt.

### MARLBOROUGH.
Rt. hon. Lord Charles Bruce.

### CHIPPENHAM.
Sir Gabriel Goldney, bt.

### CALNE.
Lord Edmond George Petty Fitzmaurice.

### MALMESBURY.
Charles William Miles.

### WESTBURY.
Charles Nicholas Paul Phipps.

### WILTON.
Hon. Sidney Herbert.

## WORCESTER COUNTY.
*(Eastern Division.)*

William Henry Gladstone,
George Woodyatt Hastings.

*(Western Division.)*

Sir Edmund Anthony Harley Lechmere, bt.,
Frederick Winn Knight.

### EVESHAM.
Frederick Dixon Dixon-Hartland.

### DROITWICH.
John Corbett.

### BEWDLEY.
Enoch Baldwin.

### DUDLEY.
Henry Brinsley Sheridan.

### KIDDERMINSTER.
John Brinton.

### WORCESTER.
Thomas Rowley Hill,
Æneas John McIntyre.

## YORK COUNTY.
*(North Riding.)*

Sir Frederick Acclom Milbank, bt.,
Hon. Guy Cuthbert Dawnay.

*(East Riding.)*

Christopher Sykes,
William Henry Harrison Broadley.

*(West Riding, Northern Division.)*

Sir Matthew Wilson, bt.,
Isaac Holden.

*(West Riding, Eastern Division.)*

Sir Andrew Fairbairn, knt.,
Sir John William Ramsden, bt.

*(West Riding, Southern Division.)*

Hon. William Henry Wentworth Fitzwilliam,
William Henry Leatham.

York County—*cont.*

### LEEDS.
John Barran,
William Lawies Jackson,
Herbert John Gladstone.

### PONTEFRACT.
Rt. hon. Hugh Culling Eardley Childers,
Sidney Woolf.

### SCARBOROUGH.
William Sproston Caine,
Rt. hon. John George Dodson.

### SHEFFIELD.
Rt. hon. Anthony John Mundella,
Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley.

### BRADFORD.
Rt. hon. William Edward Forster,
Alfred Illingworth.

### HALIFAX.
Rt. hon. James Stansfeld,
Thomas Shaw.

### KNARESBOROUGH.
Thomas Collins.

### MALTON.
Hon. Charles William Wentworth-Fitzwilliam.

### RICHMOND.
Hon. John Charles Dundas.

### RIPON.
Rt. hon. George Joachim Goschen.

### NORTHALLERTON.
George William Elliot.

### THIRSK.
Hon. Lewis Payn Dawnay.

### HUDDERSFIELD.
Edward Aldam Leatham.

### WAKEFIELD.
Robert Bownas Mackie.

### WHITBY.
Arthur Pease.

### MIDDLESBOROUGH.
Isaac Wilson.

### DEWSBURY.
Serjeant John Simon.

### YORK CITY.
Ralph Creyke,
Sir Frederick George Milner, bt.

### KINGSTON-UPON-HULL.
Charles Morgan Norwood,
Charles Henry Wilson.

## BARONS OF THE CINQUE PORTS.

### DOVER.
Charles Kaye Freshfield,
Alexander George Dickson.

Barons of the Cinque Ports—*cont.*

### HASTINGS.
Sir Thomas Brassey, K.C.B.,
Henry Bret Ince.

### SANDWICH.
Henry Arthur Brassey,
*(Writ suspended.)*

### HYTHE.
Sir Edward William Watkin, bt.

### RYE.
Frederick Andrew Inderwick.

## WALES.

## ANGLESEA.
Richard Davies.

### BEAUMARIS.
Morgan Lloyd.

## BRECKNOCK COUNTY.
William Fuller Maitland.

### BRECKNOCK.
Cyril Flower.

## CARDIGAN COUNTY.
Lewis Pugh Pugh.

### CARDIGAN, &c.
David Davies.

## CARMARTHEN COUNTY.
Walter Rice Howell Powell,
Viscount Emlyn.

### CARMARTHEN, &c.
Sir John Jones Jenkins, kt.

## CARNARVON COUNTY.
William Rathbone.

### CARNARVON, &c.
Thomas Love Duncombe Jones-Parry.

## DENBIGH COUNTY.
Sir Watkin Williams Wynn, bt.,
Rt. hon. George Osborne Morgan.

### DENBIGH, &c.
Sir Robert Alfred Cunliffe, bt.

## FLINT COUNTY.
Right Hon. Lord Richard Grosvenor.

### FLINT, &c.
John Roberts.

## GLAMORGAN COUNTY.
Christopher Rice Mansel Talbot,
Sir Henry Hussey Vivian, bt.

ARMY—LARGE GUN PRACTICE—COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES—Question, Mr. Greer; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. 1381
LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—PROCURATORS FISCAL — THE DISTURBANCES IN THE HEBRIDES—Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Gladstone .. 1382
THE PATENT OFFICE—THE LIBRARY—Questions, Mr. James Howard; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain .. .. .. .. 1385
AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND—Question, Mr. R. T. Reid; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. .. .. 1385
EGYPT — THE VOTE OF CREDIT — Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Onslow; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. 1386
REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—EXTENSION AND RECTIFICATION OF BOUNDARIES—INSTRUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE—Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Speaker .. .. .. 1387

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

——o——

**Representation of the People Bill** [Bill 1]—
Order for Committee read:—*Moved*, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. .. .. 1387
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*
Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1393
After some time spent therein, Bill *reported*, without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 9]—
Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [5th November], "That the Bill be now read a second time:"—Question again proposed:—Debate *resumed* .. .. .. .. 1436
After short debate, Question put, and *agreed to*:—Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

## *MOTIONS.*

——o——

PROMULGATION OF STATUTES (IRELAND)—
Resolution (*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman*) .. .. .. .. 1438

**Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Woodall, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Mr. Stansfeld, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Yorke*) .. .. .. .. .. 1439

[8.30.]

## LORDS, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

NEW PEERS—

The Right Honourable John George Dodson created Baron Monk Bretton of Conyboro and of Hurstpierpoint in the county of Sussex.

Sir Walter Charles James, Baronet, created Baron Northbourne of Betteshanger in the county of Kent and of Jarrow Grange in the county palatine of Durham.

Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox, Earl of Arran in the Peerage of Ireland, created Baron Sudley of Castle Gore in the county of Mayo.

John Robert William Viscount de Vesci in the Peerage of Ireland, created Baron de Vesci of Abbey Leix in the Queen's county.

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**Justices' Jurisdiction Bill** (No. 2)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Bramwell*) .. 1440

Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

**Law of Evidence Amendment Bill** (No. 3)—

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2ª,"—(*The Lord Bramwell*) .. 1440

After short debate, Motion *agreed to*:—Bill read 2ª accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

IRELAND — THE NEW MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART, DUBLIN — Question, Viscount Powerscourt; Answer, Lord Carlingford .. .. 1442

THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S STATUE—THE SITE AT ALDERSHOT—Question, Viscount Enfield; Answer, Lord Sudeley; Observations, The Earl of Longford .. .. .. .. .. 1443

[4.45.]

## COMMONS, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

## *QUESTIONS.*

NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—HAND-DRILLERS AT PORTSMOUTH—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey .. .. 1444

SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND)—TRAWLING IN GALWAY BAY—Questions, Colonel Nolan, Mr. Kenny; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1444

NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS IN THE COLERAINE DISTRICTS—RESULTS FEES—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. .. .. 1445

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — CO. CAVAN — POSTPONEMENT OF PETTY SESSIONS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1446

PRISONS (IRELAND)—REPORT OF THE COMMISSION—Questions, Sir R. Assheton Cross, Mr. Hastings; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1447

CHOLERA HOSPITALS ACT, 1884 — MOVABLE HOSPITALS (IRELAND) — Questions, Colonel Nolan; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman; Question, Mr. Sexton; [no reply] .. .. .. .. 1447

LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS) — DISTURBANCE AT VICTORIA PARK TABERNACLE, HACKNEY—"THE EX-MONK WIDDOWS"—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .. 1448

SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS AND COTTARS IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS—LAND LAW REFORM—DISTURBANCES IN SYKE—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Macfarlane, Dr. Cameron, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answers, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .. .. 1449

EGYPT—THE EXPEDITION UP THE NILE—Questions, Sir Henry Tyler; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. .. 1452

INDIA (BOMBAY)—THE CIVIL SERVICE—Question, Mr. Gibson; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. .. .. .. .. 1453

ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—REMOVAL OF PLACARDS AT DROGHEDA—Questions, Mr. Gray, Mr. Jesse Collings, Mr. Callan, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. 1453

THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — THE MESSRS. SYNNOTT, CO. ARMAGH—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. 1455

BOARD OF TRADE RETURNS, No. 258 (SHIP INSURANCE)—MR. MAC IVER —Question, Mr. Mac Iver; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain .. .. 1456

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ACQUITTAL OF MR. FITZGERALD — Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. 1457

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Criminal Law—Appeal in Capital Cases—Questions, Sir Edward Watkin, Mr. Warton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. 1457
Parliament — Business of the House — Supply — The Earl of Northbrook's Mission—Observations, Mr. Gladstone:—Short debate thereon 1458
Westminster Hall (Restoration)—Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre .. .. .. .. 1461
Queen's Speech—Her Majesty's Answer to the Address *reported* .. 1461
Crime and Outrage (Ireland)—The Maamtrasna Murders—Conviction of Myles Joyce and others—Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. 1461
Law and Police—The Cleator Moor Riots, Cumberland — Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. .. 1462

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Representation of the People Bill** [Bill 1]—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. Gladstone*) .. 1463
After debate, Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "now read the third time," and insert the word "re-committed,"—(*Mr. Parnell,*)—instead thereof.
Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After further short debate, Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*
Main Question put, and *agreed to:*—Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

**Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 17]—
*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read a second time,"—(*Mr. Parnell*) .. 1504
After short debate, *Moved,* "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Sexton:*)—After further short debate, Motion *agreed to:*—Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 9th December.

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 9]—
Bill *considered* in Committee .. .. .. .. 1507
After some time spent therein, Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday.*

## *MOTIONS.*

Parliament—Business of the House—Adjournment—Motion—
*Moved,* "That the House, at its rising, do adjourn till Thursday,"—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) .. .. .. .. 1533
Motion *agreed to.*

Charitable Trusts Acts—
*Ordered,* That the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Charitable Trusts Acts in the last Session be referred to the Select Committee on Charitable Trusts Acts,—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

[10.0.]

## LORDS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

New Peer—Marmaduke Francis Baron Herries in the peerage of Scotland, created Baron Herries of Carlaverock Castle in the county of Dumfries and of Everingham in the East Riding of the county of York.

Parliament—Business of the House—Observation, The Earl of Northbrook .. .. .. .. .. 1533

Army and Navy—Defence of Colonial Possessions—The Correspondence—Observations, The Earl of Carnarvon; Reply, The Earl of Northbrook:—Short debate thereon .. .. .. 1534

**Representation of the People Bill**—Brought from the Commons; read 1ª; to be *printed;* and to be read 2ª on *Tuesday* next (*The Earl of Kimberley*) (No. 5.)

[6.30.]

## COMMONS, THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

## *QUESTIONS.*

Lunatic Asylums (Ireland)—County Monaghan Asylum—Charge of Cruelty against Officers—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. .. 1557

Poor Law (Ireland)—Manorhamilton Union—Mr. Thomas Cummings—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1557

Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act, 1882—Dr. Davis, J.P.—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. 1558

Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act, 1881—Arms Licences—Question, Mr. Mayne; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1558

Public Health—Quarantine at Gibraltar—Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. .. .. .. 1559

Roumania—Treatment of the Jews—Question, Baron Henry De Worms; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. 1560

The Royal Irish Constabulary—Head Constable Vauston—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1560

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Maghera Petty Sessions—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1561

Public Expenditure—The Civil Service—The Select Committee of 1873—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. .. .. .. 1561

Education Department—Rate of Interest to School Boards—Question, Mr. C. H. James; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. .. .. 1563

Egypt—The Expedition up the Nile—Questions, Mr. Onslow; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. .. 1563

The Irish Land Courts—Application for Fair Rents—Threatening Action of Landlords—Question, Mr. Arthur Arnold; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. .. 1564

The Civil Service (Parliamentary Candidature)—Sir William Brampton Gurdon—Question, Mr. Tomlinson; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. .. .. .. 1565

Crime and Outrage (Ireland)—The Ballyforan Murder—Incitement to give False Evidence—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. .. .. 1565

The Royal Irish Constabulary—Misconduct of Constables, Kerry Co.—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1567

Navy—The New Ordnance—Question, Mr. Carbutt; Answer, Mr. Brand 1568

Importation of Irish Cattle at Bristol—Levying of Dock Dues—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Trevelyan; Question, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; [no reply] .. .. .. .. 1569

National School Teachers (Ireland)—Payment of Salaries—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1570

Army—Ordnance Store Department—Quartermaster Bruce Longhurst—Question, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy; Answer, Mr. Brand .. 1571

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Ireland—Corporation of Limerick—Extra Police Tax — Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1572

Navy — H.M.S. "Garnet" — The "Grenada People" Newspaper — Charges against Officers—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey .. .. .. .. .. 1573

Ireland—The New Science and Art Museum, Dublin — Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. .. .. 1573

Ireland — Corporation of Limerick — Extra Police — Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1574

Malta—Constitution of the Council—Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. .. .. .. 1574

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882 (Searches) — Limerick County—Mr. John O'Sullivan, Shanagolden—Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1575

Metropolitan Board of Works—The London Theatres—Questions, Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Mr. O'Kelly, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answers, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .. .. 1575

Inland Revenue Office — Grievances of Officers — Questions, Mr. Villiers Stuart, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. .. 1577

The West Indian Islands — The Island of Dominica — Questions, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. .. .. 1578

The Indian Famine, 1877-8—The Missionaries—Question, Colonel Colthurst; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. .. .. 1579

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Relief of General Gordon after the Battle of Tamanieb—Questions, Mr. Dixon-Hartland, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answers, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. .. .. .. 1580

Education Department—Children's Penny Dinners—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. .. .. 1581

Madagascar—The Hostilities with France—Protection to British Interests and Subjects—Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. .. 1582

Turkey—The Treaty of Berlin—The Stipulated Reforms—Question, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1582

Navy—Naval Pensions—Question, Mr. John Redmond; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey .. .. .. .. 1583

Mines Regulation Act—Explosion at Pochin Colliery—Question, Mr. Burt; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .. 1583

West Indies — The Report of the Royal Commission — Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. .. 1583

Law and Justice (Ireland) — Case of Thomas Behan, a Convict, Kildare Co—Question, Mr. Leahy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.. 1584

Criminal Law (Ireland) — Prosecutions for Agrarian and Political Offences—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman 1584

Navy—State of the Navy—Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. .. .. 1585

South Kensington Museum—Loan Department—Question, Mr. Coope; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. .. .. .. 1585

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India—The Quetta-Candahar Railway—Questions, Sir Henry Tyler, Sir R. Assheton Cross; Answers, Mr. J. K. Cross .. .. 1587

Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Reported Death of General Gordon—Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Bourke, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1588

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AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND)—THE COMMITTEE—Questions, Mr. Parnell; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. 1590

BOARD OF TRADE—SHIP INSURANCE (RETURN NO. 258)—MR. MAC IVER, M.P., AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD—Personal Explanation, Mr. Mac Iver; Observations, Mr. Chamberlain .. .. 1590

THE CIVIL SERVICE (PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURE)—SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON—Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Mr. Hicks; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1595

SUPPLY—SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES—ORDER OF NOVEMBER 27, 1882—Observations, Mr. Warton; Reply, Mr. Speaker .. .. 1596

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee—ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1884-5—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND BECHUANALAND—

(In the Committee.)

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, for certain Army Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising from the Expedition up the Nile, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" .. 1599

After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 73, Noes 17; Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 14.)

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £675,000, be granted to Her Majesty, for certain Army Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising from the Expedition to Bechuanaland, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" 1655

After long debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 78, Noes 31; Majority 47.—(Div. List, No. 15.)

NAVY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1884-5—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND BECHUANALAND—

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed, "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £324,000, be granted to Her Majesty, for certain Navy Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising out of the Military Operations in Egypt, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885" 1705

After short debate, Question put:—The Committee *divided;* Ayes 66, Noes 26; Majority 40.—(Div. List, No. 16.)

(4.) £50,000, for Additional Expenditure arising out of the Operations in Bechuanaland.

First and Third Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Second and Fourth Resolutions to be reported upon *Thursday* next.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill** [Bill 9]—

Bill, as amended, *considered* .. .. .. .. 1707

*Moved,* "That the Bill be now read the third time,"—(*Mr. John Redmond:*) —After short debate, Question put:—The House *divided;* Ayes 72, Noes 4; Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 17:)—Bill *passed.*

## *MOTIONS.*

**Working Men's Clubs Registration Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. John Hollond, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Francis Buxton, Mr. Lyulph Stanley*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 33] 1708

**Pollution of Rivers Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Hastings, Earl Percy, Colonel Walrond*); *presented,* and read the first time [Bill 34] .. .. .. 1708

**Compensation for Improvements (Ireland) Bill**—*Ordered* (*Colonel Nolan, Mr. Martin, Mr. Biggar, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Small, Mr. O'Sullivan, Mr. Sheil, Mr. Sullivan*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 35] .. .. .. 1708

**Commons and Inclosure Acts Amendment Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. James, Mr. Story-Maskelyne, Mr. Bryce*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 36] .. .. 1708

[12.30.]

## LORDS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

The House met for the despatch of Judicial Business only. [4.0.]

## COMMONS, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14.

### *QUESTIONS.*

Elementary Education Act, 1876—Payment of School Fees—Question, Mr. Salt; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. .. .. 1709

Madagascar — The French War Ship "Bournsaint" — Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley .. .. .. 1709

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Compensation for Malicious Burning—Case of Patrick Hanley, of Ashbrook, Co. Roscommon—Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1710

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882—Warrants—Extra Police at Rathclooney, Co. Clare—Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. .. 1710

Register of Patents, Great Britain—Supply of Index from 1877 to Public Record Office (Ireland)—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. .. .. .. 1711

Board of Works (Ireland)—Loans to Railways—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. .. .. .. 1711

Lunacy Laws—Scotch and English Jurisdiction—Case of Thomas Harrison—Questions, Dr. Cameron; Answers, The Lord Advocate .. 1712

Morocco — Fraudulent Claims of English Subjects against Natives—Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1714

Education (Ireland) — Hours of Religious Education in National Schools—Castlegarden School, Co. Down—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. 1714

Law and Justice (Ireland) — Moville County Court — Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1716

Law and Justice—The New Arrangements—Question, Mr. Barran; Answer, The Attorney General .. .. .. 1716

Education (Ireland)—National School Teachers—Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, Mr. Courtney .. .. 1717

Ireland—The Rotunda, Coombe, and Pitt Street Hospitals, Dublin—Compounding of Medicines—Question, Mr. Patrick Power; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. .. 1718

Railways (Metropolis)—The District and Metropolitan Railways—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Question, Mr. Firth; [no reply] .. .. .. .. 1719

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Case of Thomas Behan, a Convict—Question, Mr. Leahy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1719

Westminster Hall (Restoration)—Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre .. .. .. .. 1720

Egypt—Representative Institutions—Questions, Sir George Campbell, Mr. Labouchere, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. .. .. 1720

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EGYPT—THE SLAVE TRADE—Question, Mr. W. M. Torrens; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. .. 1722

LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—COLONEL THACKWELL, WHITEGATE, CO. CORK —Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1722

LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF BRYAN KILMARTIN—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone; Question, Lord Randolph Churchill; [no reply] .. .. .. .. .. 1722

INTESTATE, &C. ESTATES (IRELAND) — ESTATE OF THE LATE MRS. HELEN BLAKE—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answers, Mr. Courtney .. .. .. .. .. 1723

PARLIAMENT — QUESTIONS TO MINISTERS — Questions, Mr. Roundell, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. 1725

AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND—Questions, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answers, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. .. 1727

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—Questions, Mr. W. H. Smith, Sir John Hay; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1728

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PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. .. .. 1729

CRIME AND OUTRAGE (SCOTLAND)—MUTILATION OF SHEEP IN THE ISLAND OF LEWIS—Question, Mr. Munro-Ferguson; Answer, The Lord Advocate 1730

LUNACY LAWS—ESCAPE OF AN ALLEGED LUNATIC—Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .. 1730

EGYPT (FINANCE, &C)—THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK'S REPORT—Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. 1731

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PRINTING OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS—Notice of Question, Mr. W. H. Smith 1731

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

SUPPLY—Order for Committee read; Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair:"—

CROFTERS AND COTTARS (SCOTLAND)—RESOLUTION—

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or to apply such other remedies as they deem advisable; and that this House concurs in the opinion expressed by the Royal Commission at page 110 of its Report, that 'The mere vindication of authority and repression of resistance would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain,'"—(*Mr. Macfarlane,*)—instead thereof .. .. .. 1731

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question:"—After long debate, Question put, and *negatived:*— Words *added:*—Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

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**Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill**—*Ordered* (*Mr. Parnell, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Gray, Mr. O'Shea*); *presented*, and read the first time [Bill 37] .. .. .. 1806

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*Moved,* "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that the Prerogative be not interposed to prevent the substitution by Statute of a more suitable form for securing the presence of Irish and Scottish Peers in the House of Lords than is afforded by the existing modes of election,"—(*The Lord Waveney*) .. 1810

After short debate, Previous Question *moved* (*The Earl Cairns.*)

Previous Question put, whether the said Question shall be now put :—*Resolved* in the *negative.*

Education Department—Higher Education in Board Schools—Observations, Lord Norton; Reply, Lord Carlingford .. .. 1812

Treaty of Berlin—Outrages in Macedonia—Question, Observations, The Duke of Argyll; Reply, Earl Granville :—Short debate thereon .. 1814

[5.45.]

## COMMONS, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

## *QUESTIONS.*

Representation of the People Bill—Redistribution—Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone :—Short debate thereon .. .. 1820

Public Meetings (Ireland)—The Riot at Portadown—Question, Mr. T. A. Dickson; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1824

The Magistracy (Ireland)—Bailieborough Petty Sessions—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1825

The Royal Irish Constabulary—Seizure of Arms—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. 1826

Endowed Schools—Milton Abbas Grammar School—The New Scheme—Question, Mr. Montague Guest; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. 1826

Ireland—The New Museum of Science and Art, Dublin—Question, Mr. Findlater; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. .. .. 1827

Registry of Deeds Office (Ireland)—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Findlater; Answers, Mr. Courtney .. .. .. 1827

Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881—Loans to Tenants—Statutory Advertisements—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. 1828

County Lunatic Asylums—Middlesex County Asylums—Insufficiency of Accommodation—Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Sir William Harcourt .. .. .. .. 1828

Prevention of Crime (Ireland) Act, 1882 (Warrants)—Extra Police, Timahoe, Queen's Co. — Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. 1829

Civil Service (Ireland)—Pensions, &c. to Messrs. Cornwall and French —Question, Mr. Gray; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1830

India—Burmah—The Mandalay Massacres—Question, Mr. Ritchie; Answer, Mr. J. K. Cross .. .. .. .. 1830

Law and Justice (Ireland) — Mr. P. N. Fitzgerald and the Tubbercurry Prisoners—Compensation for Imprisonment — Questions, Mr. Sexton; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. .. 1831

Criminal Law (Ireland)—The Cornwall Trial—Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. 1832

Law and Justice (Ireland)—Mr. D. Bodkin—Fees for Defending a Prisoner under the Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Questions, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. 1833

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PUBLIC MEETINGS—THE RIOT AT ASTON HALL, BIRMINGHAM—Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Attorney General .. .. 1834
CIVIL SERVICE (PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURE)—SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON—Question, Mr. Hicks; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. .. .. .. .. 1835
PUBLIC HEALTH—IMPORTATION OF BUTTERINE AND OLEOMARGARINE—REPORTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES—Questions, Mr. Moore; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. .. 1835
IRELAND—THE CORK BUTTER MARKET—THE BYE-LAWS—Question, Mr. Moore; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1836
PUBLIC HEALTH—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA—Questions, Mr. Moore; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke .. .. .. 1836
IRELAND—CORPORATION OF LIMERICK—EXTRA POLICE TAX—Question, Mr. Dawson; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1838
ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SHOOTING WITHOUT INLAND REVENUE LICENCE—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1838
NAVY—TRAINING SHIPS—Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Sir Thomas Brassey .. .. .. .. .. 1839
CIVIL SERVICE—INLAND REVENUE APPOINTMENTS—ALLOWANCES FOR AGE—Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Courtney .. .. 1840
ARMY—QUARTERMASTERS—PROMOTION—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter .. .. .. .. 1840
NAVY—ARMOUR-CLAD CRUISERS—Question, Mr. Gourley; Answer, Sir Thomas Brassey .. .. .. .. 1841
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CROWN SOLICITOR FOR DUBLIN—Question, Mr. O'Brien; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland .. 1841
ARMY—DEFICIENCY OF MILITIA OFFICERS—Question, Mr. Tottenham; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. .. 1842
CIVIL SERVICE (IRELAND)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD—Questions, Mr. Kenny, Mr. O'Kelly; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. 1843
POOR LAW (IRELAND)—RATING—BALTINGLASS UNION, CO. WICKLOW—Questions, Mr. W. J. Corbet, Mr. M'Coan, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. .. 1843
EGYPT—EXPEDITION UP THE NILE—NUMBER AND COST OF BOATS—Question, Mr. Marriott; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. 1846
EGYPT—THE ALEXANDRIAN INDEMNITIES—MESSRS. LINADINO, RALLI, & CO.—Question, Mr. Marriott; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. 1846
EGYPT—CRIME AND OUTRAGE—Question, Mr. Marriott; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. .. 1846
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. R. W. GAMBLE, Q.C., COUNTY COURT JUDGE OF ARMAGH—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. .. 1847
LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—JAMES B. M'CONNELL, PETTY SESSIONS CLERK, DROMORE—Question, Mr. William Redmond; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. .. .. .. .. 1847
ARMY—THE LATE PAYMASTERS ELLIOTT AND HARRIS—Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir Arthur Hayter .. .. .. .. 1848
EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS—Question, Mr. Stanley Leighton; Answer, Mr. Mundella .. .. 1848
AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE LOWER CONGO—THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN ASSOCIATION—Question, Mr. Dodds; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice .. .. .. .. .. 1849
NAVY—H.M.S. "ACTIVE"—BURSTING OF A GUN—Questions, Mr. French-Brewster, Mr. W. H. Smith, Lord Eustace Cecil; Answers, Mr. Brand .. .. .. .. .. 1850
ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT — SURGEONS MAJOR — Question, Colonel Walrond; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. 1850

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LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND) — COLONEL THACKWELL, WHITEGATE, CO. CORK—Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman .. 1851

POLICE ACTS (IRELAND)—EXTRA POLICE TAX IN GALWAY AND SOUTH MAYO—Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. 1852

SCOTLAND — ADMINISTRATION OF SCOTCH AFFAIRS — Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Gladstone .. .. .. 1853

EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON — Question, Colonel Stanley; Answer, The Marquess of Hartington .. .. 1853

NAVY ESTIMATES—DEFENCE OF COALING STATIONS—Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer .. 1854

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

**Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill** [Bill 32]
Order for Second Reading read, and *discharged:*—Bill *withdrawn* .. 1855

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Moved*, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the Duties of Income Tax granted by "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884," there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year which commenced on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of One Penny;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act, the Duty of One Halfpenny;

Provided always, That, with the view of securing the additional Duties and affording the proper rights of deduction in respect thereof in the case of Dividends, Interest, or other annual sums due or payable half-yearly or quarterly in the course of the said year, where one of the half-yearly payments or two of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other half-yearly payment or quarterly payments shall be charged with the additional Duty of Two Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof; and where three of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other quarterly payment shall be charged with the additional Duty of Four Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof.

Provided also, That the charge under this Resolution shall be deemed to be satisfied by an addition of one-fifth of the amount of the Duties assessed under "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884," to such amount, and payment of such addition therewith,"—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*) .. .. .. 1855

After long debate, Question put, and *agreed to.*

Resolution to be reported upon *Wednesday;* Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

ADJOURNMENT—

House, at its rising, to adjourn till *Wednesday.* [8.30.]

# LORDS.

## NEW PEERS.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

The Right Honourable John George Dodson, created Baron Monk Bretton of Conyboro and of Hurstpierpoint in the county of Sussex.

Sir Walter Charles James, Baronet, created Baron Northbourne of Betteshanger in the county of Kent and of Jarrow Grange in the county palatine of Durham.

Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox, Earl of Arran in the Peerage of Ireland, created Baron Sudley of Castle Gore in the county of Mayo.

John Robert William Viscount de Vesci in the Peerage of Ireland, created Baron de Vesci of Abbey Leix in the Queen's county.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 13.

Marmaduke Francis Baron Herries in the Peerage of Scotland, created Baron Herries of Carlaverock Castle in the county of Dumfries and of Everingham in the East Riding of the county of York.

## SAT FIRST.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

The Duke of Wellington, after the death of his uncle.

The Lord Mendip (Viscount Clifden), after the death of his father.

The Lord Petre, after the death of his father.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

The Earl Cowley, after the death of his father.

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# COMMONS.

## NEW WRITS ISSUED.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23.

For *Radnor*, *v.* Samuel Charles Evans Williams, esquire, Manor of Northstead.

For *Stirling*, *v.* Henry Campbell-Bannerman, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 24.

For *Scarborough*, *v.* Right Hon. John George Dodson, Chiltern Hundreds.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 27.

For *South Warwickshire*, *v.* the Hon. Gilbert Henry Chandos Leigh, deceased.

TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 11.

For *Hackney*, *v.* the Right Hon. Henry Fawcett, deceased.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 17.

For *Greenock*, *v.* James Stewart, esquire, Manor of Northstead.
For *Down*, *v.* Hon. Charles Stewart Vane Tempest, commonly called Viscount Castlereagh, called up to the House of Peers.

## NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23.

*Devon County* (*Southern Division*)—John Tremayne, esquire.
*Waterford County*—Patrick Joseph Power, esquire.
*Combined Counties of Ross and Cromarty*—Ronald Craufurd Munro-Ferguson, esquire.

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 30.

*New Radnor Borough*—Charles Colman Rogers, esquire.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 3.

*Stirling Burghs*—Henry Campbell-Bannerman, esquire.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 6.

*Scarborough*—Lieutenant Colonel Richard Fell Steble.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10.

*Warwick County* (*Southern Division*)—Sampson Samuel Lloyd, esquire.

# THE MINISTRY

Of the Right Honourable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,

As it stood at their Resignation of Office in June, 1885.

## THE CABINET.

| | |
|---|---|
| First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Minister) | Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone. |
| Lord Chancellor | Right Hon. Earl of Selborne. |
| Lord Lieutenant of Ireland | Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G. |
| Lord President of the Council | Right Hon. Lord Carlingford. |
| Lord Privy Seal and First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings | Right Hon. Earl of Rosebery. |
| Chancellor of the Exchequer | Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers. |
| Secretary of State, Home Department | Right Hon. Sir William V. Harcourt. |
| Secretary of State, Foreign Department | Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G. |
| Secretary of State for the Colonies | Right Hon. Earl of Derby. |
| Secretary of State for War | Right Hon. Marquess of Hartington. |
| Secretary of State for India | Right Hon. Earl of Kimberley. |
| First Lord of the Admiralty | Right Hon. Earl of Northbrook. |
| Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Vice President of the Committee of Council for Agriculture | Right Hon. George Otto Trevelyan. |
| President of the Board of Trade | Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. |
| President of the Local Government Board | Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke. Bt. |
| Postmaster General | Right Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre. |

## NOT IN THE CABINET.

| | |
|---|---|
| Field Marshal Commanding in Chief | H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G. |
| Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education | Right Hon. A. J. Mundella. |
| Lords of the Treasury | C. C. Cotes, Esq.<br>Herbert Gladstone, Esq.<br>R. W. Duff, Esq. |
| Lords of the Admiralty. | Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key, Admiral Lord Alcester, Rear Admiral Thomas Brandreth, Vice Admiral Sir William Hewett, William Sproston Caine, Esq., & George W. Rendel, Esq. |
| Joint Secretaries to the Treasury | Right Hon. Lord Richard Grosvenor.<br>John Tomlinson Hibbert, Esq. |
| Secretary to the Admiralty | Sir Thomas Brassey. |
| Secretary to the Board of Trade | John Holms, Esq. |
| Secretary to the Local Government Board | George William Erskine Russell, Esq. |
| Under Secretary, Home Department | Henry Hartley Fowler, Esq. |
| Under Secretary, Foreign Department | Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. |
| Under Secretary for Colonies | Hon. A. Evelyn Ashley. |
| Under Secretary for War | Earl of Morley. |
| Under Secretary for India | J. Kynaston Cross, Esq. |
| Paymaster General | Right Hon. Lord Wolverton. |
| Surveyor General of Ordnance | Hon. Henry Robert Brand. |
| Financial Secretary to the War Department | Colonel Sir Arthur Divett Hayter, Bart. |
| Judge Advocate General | Right Hon. George Osborne Morgan. |
| Attorney General | Right Hon. Sir Henry James. |
| Solicitor General | Sir Farrer Herschell. |

## SCOTLAND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Advocate | Right Hon. John Blair Balfour. |
| Solicitor General | Alexander Asher, Esq. |

## IRELAND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Lieutenant | Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G. |
| Lord Chancellor | Right Hon. John Naish. |
| Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant | Right Hon. Henry Campbell-Bannerman. |
| Attorney General | Samuel Walker, Esq. |
| Solicitor General | The Macdermott. |

## QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Steward | Right Hon Earl Sydney. |
| Lord Chamberlain | Right Hon. Earl of Kenmare. |
| Master of the Horse | His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G. |
| Treasurer of the Household | Right Hon. Earl of Breadalbane. |
| Comptroller of the Household | Right Hon. Lord Kensington. |
| Vice Chamberlain of the Household | Right Hon. Lord Charles Bruce. |
| Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms | Right Hon. Lord Carrington. |
| Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard | Right Hon. Lord Monson. |
| Master of the Buckhounds | Right Hon. Earl of Cork and Orrery. |
| Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal | Lord Alfred H. Paget. |
| Mistress of the Robes | Her Grace the Duchess of Roxburghe. |

# THE MINISTRY

Of the Most Noble the Marquess of SALISBURY, K.G.,
As Formed on Acceptance of Office June-July, 1885.

## THE CABINET.

| | |
|---|---|
| Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Prime Minister) . . . . . | The Most Noble The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. |
| Lord Chancellor of England . . . | Right Hon. Lord Halsbury. |
| Lord Chancellor of Ireland . . . | Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne. |
| Lord Lieutenant of Ireland . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Carnarvon. |
| Lord President of the Council . . . | Right Hon. Viscount Cranbrook. |
| Lord Privy Seal . . . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Harrowby. |
| First Lord of the Treasury . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Iddesleigh, G.C.B. |
| Chancellor of the Exchequer . . . | Right Hon. Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Bart. |
| Secretary of State, Home Department . | Right Hon. Sir Richard Assheton Cross, G.C.B. |
| Secretary of State for the Colonies . | Right Hon. Frederick Arthur Stanley. |
| Secretary of State for War . . . | Right Hon. William Henry Smith. |
| Secretary of State for India . . . | Right Hon. Lord Randolph Churchill. |
| First Lord of the Admiralty . . . | Right Hon. Lord George Hamilton. |
| President of the Board of Trade . . | His Grace the Duke of Richmond and Gordon, K.G. |
| Postmaster General . . . . . . | Right Hon. Lord John Manners, G.C.B. |
| Vice President of the Committee of Council on Education . . . . . . | Right Hon. Edward Stanhope. |

## NOT IN THE CABINET.

| | |
|---|---|
| Field Marshal Commanding in Chief . | H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G. |
| Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and Vice President of the Committee of Council on Agriculture . . . | Right Hon. Henry Chaplin. |
| President of the Local Government Board | Right Hon. Arthur James Balfour. |
| First Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings . . . . . . . | Right Hon. David Robert Plunket. |
| Lords of the Treasury . . . . | Charles Dalrymple, Esq.<br>Hon. Sidney Herbert.<br>Colonel Walrond. |
| Lords of the Admiralty . . . . | Vice Admiral Hood, Vice Admiral Sir Anthony Hoskins, Vice Admiral Brandreth, Captain Codrington, Ellis Ashmead-Bartlett, Esq. |
| Joint Secretaries to the Treasury . . | Aretas Akers-Douglas, Esq.<br>Sir Henry Holland, Bart. |
| Secretary to the Admiralty . . . | Charles Thompson Ritchie, Esq. |
| Secretary to the Board of Trade . . | Baron Henry de Worms. |
| Secretary to the Local Government Board | Right Hon. Earl Brownlow. |
| Under Secretary, Home Department . | Charles Beilby Stuart-Wortley, Esq. |
| Under Secretary, Foreign Department . | Right Hon. Robert Bourke. |
| Under Secretary for Colonies . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Dunraven. |
| Under Secretary for War . . . . | Right Hon. Viscount Bury. |
| Under Secretary for India . . . | Right Hon. Lord Harris. |
| Paymaster General . . . . . | Right Hon. Earl Beauchamp. |
| Surveyor General of Ordnance . . | Hon. Guy Cuthbert Dawnay. |
| Financial Secretary to the War Department | Hon. H. S. Northcote. |
| Judge Advocate General . . . | Right Hon. William Thackeray Marriott, Q.C. |
| Attorney General . . . . . . | Sir Richard E. Webster, Q.C. |
| Solicitor General . . . . . . | John Eldon Gorst, Esq., Q.C. |

## SCOTLAND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Advocate . . . . . . | John Hay Athol Macdonald, Q.C. |
| Solicitor General . . . . . . | J. P. Bannerman-Robertson, Esq. |

## IRELAND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Lieutenant . . . . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Carnarvon. |
| Lord Chancellor . . . . . . | Right Hon. Lord Ashbourne. |
| Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant . | Right Hon. Sir William Hart Dyke. |
| Attorney General . . . . . . | Right Hon. Hugh Holmes, Q.C. |
| Solicitor General . . . . . . | John Monroe, Esq., Q.C. |

## QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Steward . . . . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Mount-Edgcumbe. |
| Lord Chamberlain . . . . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Lathom. |
| Master of the Horse . . . . . | Right Hon. Earl of Bradford. |
| Treasurer of the Household . . . | Right Hon. Viscount Folkestone. |
| Comptroller of the Household . . | Right Hon. Lord Arthur Hill. |
| Vice Chamberlain of the Household . . | Right Hon. Viscount Lewisham. |
| Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms | Right Hon. Earl of Coventry. |
| Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard . | Right Hon. Viscount Barrington. |
| Master of the Buckhounds . . . | Most Noble the Marquess of Waterford. |
| Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal . . | Lord Alfred H. Paget. |
| Mistress of the Robes . . . . | Her Grace the Duchess of Buccleuch. |

# THE MINISTRY

Of the Right Honourable WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE,
At the Commencement of the Sixth Session of the 22nd Parliament,
October 23rd, 1884.

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## THE CABINET.

| | |
|---|---|
| First Lord of the Treasury | Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone. |
| Lord Chancellor | Right Hon. Earl of Selborne. |
| Lord Lieutenant of Ireland | Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G. |
| Lord President of the Council and Lord Privy Seal | Right Hon. Lord Carlingford. |
| Chancellor of the Exchequer | Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers. |
| Secretary of State, Home Department | Right Hon. Sir William V. Harcourt. |
| Secretary of State, Foreign Department | Right Hon. Earl Granville, K.G. |
| Secretary of State for the Colonies | Right Hon. Earl of Derby. |
| Secretary of State for War | Right Hon. Marquess of Hartington. |
| Secretary of State for India | Right Hon. Earl of Kimberley. |
| First Lord of the Admiralty | Right Hon. Earl of Northbrook. |
| Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster | Right Hon. George Otto Trevelyan. |
| President of the Board of Trade | Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain. |
| President of the Local Government Board | Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke. Bt. |

## NOT IN THE CABINET.

| | |
|---|---|
| Postmaster General | Right Hon. Henry Fawcett. |
| Field Marshal Commanding in Chief | H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge, K.G. |
| Chief Commissioner of Works and Public Buildings | Right Hon. George John Shaw Lefevre. |
| Vice President of the Committee of Council for Education | Right Hon. A. J. Mundella. |
| Lords of the Treasury | C. C. Cotes, Esq.<br>Herbert Gladstone, Esq.<br>R. W. Duff, Esq. |
| Lords of the Admiralty. | Admiral Sir Astley Cooper Key, Admiral Lord Alcester, Rear Admiral Thomas Brandreth, Rear Admiral Sir F. W. Richards, Sir Thomas Brassey, and George W. Rendel, Esq. |
| Joint Secretaries of the Treasury | Leonard H. Courtney, Esq.<br>Right Hon. Lord R. Grosvenor. |
| Secretary of the Admiralty | |
| Secretary to the Board of Trade | John Holms, Esq. |
| Secretary to the Local Government Board | George William Erskine Russell, Esq. |
| Under Secretary, Home Department | John Tomlinson Hibbert, Esq. |
| Under Secretary, Foreign Department | Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. |
| Under Secretary for Colonies | Hon. A. Evelyn Ashley. |
| Under Secretary for War | Earl of Morley. |
| Under Secretary for India | J. Kynaston Cross, Esq. |
| Paymaster General | Right Hon. Lord Wolverton. |
| Judge Advocate | Right Hon. George Osborne Morgan. |
| Attorney General | Sir Henry James. |
| Solicitor General | Sir Farrer Herschell. |

## SCOTLAND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Advocate | Right Hon. J. B. Balfour. |
| Solicitor General | A. Asher, Esq. |

## IRELAND.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Lieutenant | Right Hon. Earl Spencer, K.G. |
| Lord Chancellor | Right Hon. Sir E. Sullivan, Bart. |
| Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant | H. Campbell-Bannerman, Esq. |
| Attorney General | Right Hon. John Naish. |
| Solicitor General | Samuel Walker, Esq. |

## QUEEN'S HOUSEHOLD.

| | |
|---|---|
| Lord Steward | Right Hon Earl Sydney. |
| Lord Chamberlain | Right Hon. Earl of Kenmare. |
| Master of the Horse | His Grace the Duke of Westminster, K.G. |
| Treasurer of the Household | Right Hon. Earl of Breadalbane. |
| Comptroller of the Household | Right Hon. Lord Kensington. |
| Vice Chamberlain of the Household | Right Hon. Lord Charles Bruce. |
| Captain of the Corps of Gentlemen at Arms | Right Hon. Lord Carrington. |
| Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard | Right Hon. Lord Monson. |
| Master of the Buckhounds | Right Hon. Earl of Cork and Orrery. |
| Chief Equerry and Clerk Marshal | Lord Alfred H. Paget. |
| Mistress of the Robes | Her Grace the Duchess of Roxburghe. |

# ROLL OF THE
# LORDS SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL

In the Sixth Session of the Twenty-Second Parliament of the
United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

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## 48° VICTORIÆ 1884.

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Mem.—*According to the Usage of Parliament, when the House appoints a Select Committee, the Lords appointed to serve upon it are named in the Order of their Rank, beginning with the Highest; and so, when the House sends a Committee to a Conference with the Commons, the Lord highest in Rank is called first, and the rest go forth in like Order: But when the Whole House is called over for any Purpose within the House, or for the Purpose of proceeding forth to Westminster Hall, or upon any public Solemnity, the Call begins invariably with the Junior Baron.*

His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales.

His Royal Highness Alfred Ernest Albert Duke of Edinburgh.

His Royal Highness Arthur William Patrick Albert Duke of Connaught and Strathearn.

His Royal Highness Leopold Charles Edward George Albert Duke of Albany.

His Royal Highness George William Frederick Charles Duke of Cambridge.

Edward White Archbishop of Canterbury.

Roundell Earl of Selborne *Lord High Chancellor.*

William Archbishop of York.

Chichester Samuel Lord Carlingford, *Lord President of the Council* and *Lord Privy Seal.*

Henry Duke of Norfolk, *Earl Marshal of England.*

Edward Adolphus Duke of Somerset.

Charles Henry Duke of Richmond.

Augustus Charles Lennox Duke of Grafton.

Henry Charles Fitzroy Duke of Beaufort.

William Amelius Aubrey de Vere Duke of Saint Albans.

George Godolphin Duke of Leeds.

Francis Charles Hastings Duke of Bedford.

William Duke of Devonshire.

George Charles Duke of Marlborough.

Charles Cecil John Duke of Rutland.

William Alexander Louis Stephen Duke of Brandon. (*Duke of Hamilton.*)

William John Arthur Charles James Duke of Portland.

William Drogo Duke of Manchester.

Henry Pelham Archibald Douglas Duke of Newcastle.

Algernon George Duke of Northumberland.

His Royal Highness Ernest Augustus William Adolphus George Frederick Duke of Cumberland and Teviotdale.

Henry Duke of Wellington.

Richard Plantagenet Campbell Duke of Buckingham and Chandos.

George Granville William Duke of Sutherland.

Harry George Duke of Cleveland.

Hugh Lupus Duke of Westminster.

John Marquess of Winchester.

Henry Charles Keith Marquess of Lansdowne.

John Villiers Stuart Marquess Townshend.

Robert Arthur Talbot Marquess of Salisbury.

John Alexander Marquess of Bath.

James Marquess of Abercorn. (*Duke of Abercorn.*)

Hugh de Grey Marquess of Hertford.

John Patrick Marquess of Bute.

William Alleyne Marquess of Exeter.

William Marquess of Northampton.

John Charles Marquess Camden.

Henry Marquess of Anglesey.

William Henry Hugh Marquess of Cholmondeley.

Ernest Augustus Charles Marquess of Ailesbury.

GLAMORGAN COUNTY—*cont.*

MERTHYR TYDVIL.
Henry Richard,
Charles Herbert James.

CARDIFF, &c.
Sir Edward James Reed, K.C.B.

SWANSEA, &c.
Lewis Llewellyn Dillwyn.

### MERIONETH COUNTY.

Samuel Holland.

### MONTGOMERY COUNTY.

Stuart Rendel.

MONTGOMERY, &c.
Hon. Frederick Stephen Archibald Hanbury-Tracy.

### PEMBROKE COUNTY.

William Davies.

PEMBROKE, &c.
Henry George Allen.

HAVERFORDWEST.
Rt. Hon. Lord Kensington.

### RADNOR COUNTY.

Sir Richard Green Price, bt.

NEW RADNOR.
Charles Coltman Rogers.

## SCOTLAND.

ABERDEENSHIRE.
(*East Aberdeenshire.*)
Hon. Sir Alexander Hamilton Gordon, K.C.B.
(*West Aberdeenshire.*)
Dr. Robert Farquharson.

ABERDEEN.
John Webster, LL.D.

ARGYLE.
Lord Colin Campbell.

AYR.
(*North Ayrshire.*)
Robert William Cochran-Patrick.
(*South Ayrshire.*)
Major-General Claud Alexander.

KILMARNOCK, RENFREW, &c.
John Dick-Peddie.

BURGHS OF AYR, &c.
Richard Frederick Fotheringham Campbell.

BANFF.
Robert William Duff.

BERWICK.
Hon. Edward Marjoribanks.

BUTE.
Charles Dalrymple.

CAITHNESSSHIRE.
Sir John George Tollemache Sinclair, bt.

WICK, KIRKWALL, &c.
John Pender.

CLACKMANNAN AND KINROSS.
Rt. hon. John Blair Balfour.

DUMBARTON.
Archibald Orr Ewing.

DUMFRIESSHIRE.
Robert Jardine.

DUMFRIES, &c.
Ernest Noel.

EDINBURGHSHIRE.
Rt. hon. William Ewart Gladstone.

EDINBURGH.
Thomas Ryburn Buchanan,
Samuel Danks Waddy.

UNIVERSITIES OF EDINBURGH AND ST. ANDREWS.
Rt. hon. Sir Lyon Playfair, K.C.B.

BURGHS OF LEITH, &c.
Andrew Grant.

ELGIN AND NAIRN.
Sir George Macpherson Grant, bt.

BURGHS OF ELGIN, &c.
Alexander Asher.

FIFE.
Hon. Robert Preston Bruce.

BURGHS OF ST. ANDREWS.
Stephen Williamson.

KIRKCALDY, DYSART, &c.
Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I.

FORFAR.
James William Barclay.

TOWN OF DUNDEE.
George Armitstead,
Frank Henderson.

MONTROSE, &c.
Rt. hon. William Edward Baxter.

HADDINGTON.
Lord Elcho.

HADDINGTON BURGHS.
Alexander Craig Sellar.

INVERNESS.
Donald Cameron.

INVERNESS, &c.
Charles Fraser Mackintosh.

KINCARDINESHIRE.
Sir George Balfour, K.C.B.

KIRKCUDBRIGHT.
John Maxwell-Heron.

LANARK.
(*North Lanarkshire.*)
Sir Thomas Edward Colebrooke, bt.
(*South Lanarkshire.*)
John Glencairn Carter Hamilton.

GLASGOW.
George Anderson,
Charles Cameron, LL.D.,
Robert Tweedie Middleton.

UNIVERSITIES OF GLASGOW AND ABERDEEN.
James Alexander Campbell, LL.D.

LINLITHGOW.
Peter McLagan.

ORKNEY AND SHETLAND.
Samuel Laing.

PEEBLES AND SELKIRK.
Charles Tennant.

PERTH.
Sir Donald Currie, K.C.M.G.

TOWN OF PERTH.
Charles Stuart Parker.

RENFREWSHIRE.
Alexander Crum.

PAISLEY.
Stewart Clark.

GREENOCK.
James Stewart.

ROSS AND CROMARTY.
Ronald Craufurd Munro-Ferguson.

ROXBURGH.
Hon. Arthur Ralph Douglas Elliot.

HAWICK, SELKIRK, &c.
Rt. Hon. George Otto Trevelyan.

STIRLING.
Joseph Cheney Bolton.

STIRLING, &c.
Henry Campbell-Bannerman.

FALKIRK, &c. BURGHS.
John Ramsay.

SUTHERLAND.
Marquess of Stafford.

WIGTON.
Sir Herbert Eustace Maxwell, bt.

WIGTON, &c. BURGHS.
Rt. hon. Sir John Charles Dalrymple Hay, bt.

## IRELAND.

ANTRIM COUNTY.
James Chaine,
Edward Macnaghten.

BELFAST.
William Ewart,
James Porter Corry.

### LISBURN.
Sir Richard Wallace, bt.

### CARRICKFERGUS.
Thomas Greer.

### ARMAGH COUNTY.
James Nicholson Richardson,
Maxwell Charles Close.

### ARMAGH (CITY).
George De La Poer Beresford.

### CARLOW COUNTY.
Edmund Dwyer Gray,
Donald Horne Macfarlane.

### CARLOW (BOROUGH).
Charles Dawson.

### CAVAN COUNTY.
Charles Joseph Fay,
Joseph Gillis Biggar.

### CLARE COUNTY.
The O'Gorman Mahon,
William Henry O'Shea.

### ENNIS.
Matthew Joseph Kenny.

### CORK COUNTY.
William Shaw,
David Latouche Colthurst.

### CORK (CITY).
Charles Stewart Parnell,
John Deasy.

### YOUGHAL.
Sir Joseph Neal McKenna, knt.

### BANDON BRIDGE.
Richard Lane Allman.

### KINSALE.
Eugene Collins.

### MALLOW.
William O'Brien.

### DONEGAL COUNTY.
Thomas Lea,
John Kinnear.

### DOWN COUNTY.
Lord Arthur William Hill,
Viscount Castlereagh.

### NEWRY.
Henry Thomson.

### DOWNPATRICK.
John Mulholland.

### DUBLIN COUNTY.
Ion Trant Hamilton,
Edward Robert King-Harman.

### DUBLIN (CITY).
Maurice Brooks,
Robert Dyer Lyons.

### DUBLIN UNIVERSITY.
Rt. hon. David Robert Plunket,
Rt. hon. Edward Gibson.

### FERMANAGH.
William Humphreys Archdale,
Viscount Crichton.

### ENNISKILLEN.
Viscount Cole.

### GALWAY COUNTY.
Mitchell Henry,
Colonel John Philip Nolan.

### GALWAY (BOROUGH).
John Orrell Lever,
Thomas P. O'Connor.

### KERRY.
Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, bt.,
Rowland Ponsonby Blennerhassett.

### TRALEE.
The O'Donoghue.

### KILDARE.
James Leahy,
Charles Henry Meldon, LL.D.

### KILKENNY.
Edward Mulhallen Marum,
Patrick L. Martin.

### KILKENNY (CITY).
John Francis Smithwick.

### KING'S COUNTY.
Sir Patrick O'Brien, bt.,
Bernard Charles Molloy.

### LEITRIM COUNTY.
Arthur Loftus Tottenham,
Colonel Francis O'Beirne.

### LIMERICK COUNTY.
William Henry O'Sullivan,
Edmund John Synan.

### LIMERICK (CITY).
Daniel FitzGerald Gabbett,
Edward McMahon.

### LONDONDERRY COUNTY.
Sir Thomas M'Clure, bt.,
Samuel Walker.

### COLERAINE.
Sir Henry Hervey Bruce, bt.

### LONDONDERRY (CITY).
Charles Edward Lewis.

### LONGFORD COUNTY.
George Errington,
Justin McCarthy.

### LOUTH COUNTY.
Philip Callan,
Alan Henry Bellingham.

### DUNDALK.
Charles Russell.

### DROGHEDA.
Benjamin Whitworth.

### MAYO COUNTY.
John O'Connor Power,
Isaac Nelson.

### MEATH COUNTY.
Edward Sheil,
William Meagher.

### MONAGHAN COUNTY.
William Findlater,
Timothy Michael Healy.

### QUEEN'S COUNTY.
Richard Lalor,
Arthur O'Connor.

### PORTARLINGTON.
Robert Abraham Brewster French-Brewster.

### ROSCOMMON COUNTY.
Andrew Commins, LL.D.,
James O'Kelly.

### SLIGO COUNTY.
Thomas Sexton,
Nicholas Lynch.

### TIPPERARY COUNTY.
Patrick James Smyth,
Thomas Mayne.

### CLONMEL.
Arthur Moore.

### TYRONE COUNTY.
John William Ellison Macartney,
Thomas Alexander Dickson.

### DUNGANNON.
James Dickson.

### WATERFORD COUNTY.
Hon. Henry Villiers Stuart, of Dromana,
Patrick Joseph Power.

### DUNGARVAN.
Frank Hugh O'Donnell.

### WATERFORD (CITY).
Richard Power,
Edmund Leamy.

### WESTMEATH COUNTY.
Timothy Daniel Sullivan,
Timothy Harrington.

### ATHLONE.
Justin Huntly M'Carthy.

### WEXFORD COUNTY.
John Barry,
John Francis Small.

### WEXFORD (BOROUGH).
William Hoey Kearney Redmond.

### NEW ROSS.
John Edward Redmond.

### WICKLOW COUNTY.
William Joseph Corbet,
James Carlile M'Coan.

# HANSARD'S

# PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

IN THE

*Sixth Session* of the *Twenty-Second Parliament* of the
United Kingdom of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*,
appointed to meet 29 April, 1880, in the Forty-third
Year of the Reign of

## HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA.

FIRST VOLUME OF SECOND SESSION 1884.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

*Thursday, 23rd October*, 1884.

THE PARLIAMENT, which had been Prorogued successively from the 14th August, 1884, to the 15th September; thence to the 23rd October, met this day for the despatch of Business.

The Session was opened by Commission.

The House being met;

The LORD CHANCELLOR acquainted the House,

"That it not being convenient for Her Majesty to be personally here present this day, She has been pleased to cause a Commission under the Great Seal to be prepared, in order to the holding of this Parliament."

Then Five of the Lords Commissioners—namely, The Lord High Chancellor; The Lord President of the Council (The Lord Carlingford); The Earl of Kimberley (Secretary of State for India); The Lord Chamberlain (The Lord Kenmare); and The Lord Monson (Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard)—being in their Robes, and seated on a Form placed between the Throne and the Woolsack, commanded the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod to let the Commons know "The Lords Commissioners desire their immediate Attendance in this House to hear the Commission read."

Who being at the Bar, with their Speaker:—The Commission was read by the Clerk:—Then

### THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

The LORD CHANCELLOR *delivered* Her Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament, as follows:—

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"I HAVE brought you together after a recess unusually short, in order that you may be enabled at once to give your further consideration to the great subject of the representation of the people in Parliament.

"I continue to maintain relations of amity with all foreign Powers.

"The information received from the Soudan includes painful uncertainties; but the energy, courage, and resource, conspicuously displayed by General Gordon in the successful defence of Khartoum, deserve my warm recognition.

"The advance of my troops to Dongola has for its object the rescue and security of that gallant officer, and of those who have so faithfully co-operated with him.

"In Egypt itself I am using my best endeavours to promote further improvement; and I have given my support to the Egyptian Government in the difficult financial position in which it has been left through the failure of the recent Conference.

"I have to regret that circumstances have occurred on the south-western frontier of the Transvaal which demand my vigilant attention. In conjunction with the Government of the Cape Colony I am engaged in considering the means which may be required to secure the faithful observance of the Convention of the present year.

"Papers on this subject will be presented to you at an early date.

"*Gentlemen of the House of Commons,*

"The operations in the Soudan will render it necessary to ask from you a further pecuniary provision.

"*My Lords, and Gentlemen,*

"The Bill for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise will at once be introduced.

"In conclusion, I humbly and most anxiously trust that the blessing of Almighty God may attend upon your labours."

Then the Commons withdrew.

House adjourned during pleasure.

House resumed.

PRAYERS.

ROLL OF THE LORDS—Garter King of Arms attending, *delivered* at the Table (in the usual manner) a List of the Lords Temporal in the Sixth Session of the Twenty-second Parliament of the United Kingdom: The same was ordered to lie on the Table.

### SELECT VESTRIES.

Bill, *pro formâ*, read 1ª.

### PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.—OBSERVATIONS.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I may take this opportunity of acquainting your Lordships as to what the Government think will be the most convenient course to adopt with regard to the meeting of the House after the Address has been agreed to this evening, which I trust will be the case. Her Majesty's Government have no Business to bring before your Lordships; but Notice of a Question has been given by a noble and gallant Lord to-day, which he does not mean to put until the First Lord of the Admiralty returns to this country. Therefore, if it is convenient to your Lordships, I shall this evening move the adjournment of the House to Monday week, the 3rd of November.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I have no objection whatever to the proposal of the noble Earl. I understand there is likely to be some Business of interest on Monday week; but that before that time there will not be any.

## THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

## ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

The QUEEN'S SPEECH *reported* by The LORD CHANCELLOR.

LORD BELPER (who wore the uniform of the South Notts Yeomanry), in rising to move an Address in reply to Her Majesty's Gracious Speech from the Throne, said: My Lords, in rising to address myself to the Motion which has been placed in my hands, I feel how much I stand in need of the kind indulgence and generous support of this House. Not only because I know how important is the occasion on which we are met together this evening, and how grave are the issues which depend on the decision which you will give on the measure brought before you, but because I am deeply conscious that I cannot call to my aid that eloquence or those powers of expression which have so often distinguished those who have performed this duty on previous occasions. My Lords, I am aware that there is a wide diversity of opinion on the principal measure for the consideration of which the Session is held, and I will endeavour to the utmost of my power to avoid saying anything to intensify any feeling that already exists. I am deeply sensible of the responsibility which devolves upon me; and I can assure you it will be my earnest endeavour not to use any expression which can tend, in the remotest way, to interfere with the calm and deliberate judgment of the House, or to adopt a tone calculated to impede, even for the shortest time, what I hope will be a speedy and a satisfactory settlement of the question. If I have any claim to stand in the position I do, I can only find it in the fact that, believing, as I do, that there is a strong, earnest, and spontaneous feeling in the country in favour of this measure, I have given my cordial support to Her Majesty's Government in the course they have pursued. May I add that I believe I am one of the oldest supporters of the principle of the measure in your Lordships' House, because I had the opportunity of supporting its principle on the first occasion when it was introduced by Mr. Trevelyan in a Resolution in the other House of Parliament in favour of household suffrage; and I naturally, therefore, take a very warm interest in its prospects. Your Lordships cannot be surprised that the Government have summoned Parliament at this unusual period, when you consider not only the nature of the measure which will be brought before you, but how fully and amply it has been discussed in the country, and that the other House has already passed it by a large and even an overwhelming majority. Although the course adopted in summoning Parliament now is unusual, it is not without precedent or a parallel, for I may remind your Lordships that, at the period of the first Reform Bill, Parliament was called together in December, 1831, under almost identical circumstances. I do not know whether there are any of your Lordships who can recall the circumstances of that Bill; but I believe I am correct in stating that it had been rejected by your Lordships' House, and Parliament was called together, after a Recess of two months' duration, under circumstances very similar to the present. If the precedent is important, it is because there are points of difference between the two occasions which it is requisite to consider. In the two months' preceding the Session of 1831 there was great excitement in the country, which had culminated in disorder that had resulted in the destruction of property, and even in the loss of life; and in the Speech from the Throne it was, unfortunately, necessary to call attention to those disorders, and to ask Parliament to take measures to put a stop to them. During the last two months there has certainly been excitement and interest, if this can be judged from the number of meetings which have been held and the large number of people attending those meetings. But, until 10 days ago, there was not a single case of disorder or riot; and I am sure it will be a matter of profound regret to your Lordships, and especially to those on the Ministerial side of the House, that there should have been any occasion on which a meeting legally assembled should have been disturbed by riot or disorder. Undoubtedly, the meetings have been of great importance on one side and on the other; but, putting aside those where large audiences were attracted by distinguished orators, it will be found that there has been a demonstration of earnest feeling, especially on the part of the unenfranchised classes, who have assembled in large masses to ask your Lordships' to pass the second reading of the Bill. These demonstrations have been made, with one or two exceptions, with moderation, and without disorder; and, I trust that that consideration will do something to assist your Lordships in coming to a calm and deliberate decision. There is another difference between 1831 and the present time. In 1831 the measure was conscientiously opposed by many who believed that it was too strong and sweeping a measure, and that its consequences would be disastrous to the country, and, perhaps, the Constitution as well; but, with respect to the present measure, it can truly be said that if it has not met with much approval from those who oppose it, its principle, at least, has received a general assent. Even by those who have thought it their duty to oppose it, the acknowledgment has been made that, sooner or later, the principle of household suffrage in counties will have to be conceded. If that is so, if both sides are so far agreed upon the principle of the measure, surely there ought to be no obstacle to the settlement of the question, which may not be surmounted by judgment and prudence. I am quite aware that a clear and distinct issue has been taken by noble Lords opposite, and by the Opposition in the other House of Parliament; they have said that it is an incomplete measure, and that they do not wish to give the Government the power which would be given to them if the Franchise Bill were passed without redistribution, or without any security that the redistribution scheme will be a fair and just measure. Parliament having been called together now to give "further consideration to the great subject of the representation of the people in Parliament," it is impossible to ignore the issue which has been raised by noble Lords opposite—which has been discussed at every public meeting from one end of England to the other; but if I do allude to it, it is because, in the calmer atmosphere which should prevail in this House, we can take our stand on a somewhat higher ground than is possible to those who have been addressing crowded meetings of enthusiastic supporters from Party platforms. In this spirit I will ask whether there is a single Member of your Lordships' House who sincerely and conscientiously believes that, if this Bill were read a second time in this House, Her Majesty's Government would make use of the power given to them by their majority in the other House to force an unfair measure of redistribution through Parliament? I do not believe that any of your Lordships can think so. For myself, it is needless to say that, standing in the position which I occupy, I have full confidence in the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. I will go further, and will venture to say that there is no statesman, whether he represents the Party on that side of the House or on this, who, having given deliberate pledges to the country, with a knowledge of the grave responsibility resting upon him, in a crisis like the present, would deliberately make use of his majority for passing through either House a Bill which does not fairly represent the interests of the country, or which will give one section of the community a larger power of voting than they are entitled to; and that he would do that, on the chance of getting a temporary Party advantage, with the certainty of alienating from himself a large section of moderate and fair-minded men. If a majority of this House can trust the fair intentions of the Government, surely the solution of this question should be neither distant nor difficult. If we are agreed on the principle of the Bill, if we are agreed that a moderate and a fair measure of redistribution must be passed; if the majority of this House, or a considerable section of this House, are satisfied that the Government will attempt to deal fairly with redistribution, or if it should be possible to give such security to those who are not satisfied as to enable them to accept the measure which is now introduced, I do venture to express a confident hope that your Lordships will accede to what I believe is a very strong and a growing feeling in the country—that the Bill should pass into law without any further delay.

I have dwelt at some length on the question, because it is one of the most important matters which has been brought under your Lordships' attention on the present occasion; but, if public interest has been somewhat engrossed by this question at home, certainly affairs abroad require your Lordships' attention. At the present moment, an Expedition, almost of a novel kind, has been despatched to the interior of Africa. I believe that in the General who has been chosen to command that Expedition—Lord Wolseley—your Lordships have a guarantee and a security that every precaution will be taken to insure for that Expedition a satisfactory result. I think I need hardly recall your Lordships' minds to the circumstances under which General Gordon was sent out. He went out from this country, at almost a moment's notice, to rescue the garrisons of the Soudan, which were cut off from all help from outside. He went there with Colonel Stewart, with a simple and unquestioning devotion to the call of duty, knowing only how great were the dangers and difficulties before him. Since he arrived in Khartoum, we have had very little information to enable us to say exactly what has taken place there. But I think we may certainly gather this from the telegrams which have been received, and from the information which has reached us in other ways — that soon after General Gordon reached Khartoum he found it was impossible, with the resources at his disposal, to rescue those whom he was sent out to save; and, knowing that, he determined that he would not desert them. He took measures to fortify Khartoum, and we know how successfully he carried them out. He not only repulsed the attacks of the Mahdi's forces, but he was even able to carry the war into the enemy's country, and to bombard, if not to recapture, Berber. I need not dwell on the character and the career of General Gordon; but I do not believe there ever was an enterprize which depended more for its success on the personal qualities of one man. The success which General Gordon has attained is owing, not only to his knowledge of the character of the Natives, but also to his own great personal influence and courage. I am sure your Lordships all hope that the Expedition which has now started to relieve him will meet with complete success. But, as the Speech from the Throne says, there are, unfortunately, painful uncertainties in regard to the information which has been received from the Soudan. Foremost among them is the report which has reached us of the murder of Colonel Stewart. I feel that all the Members of your Lordships' House will join in a fervent hope that that report may not be confirmed; that Colonel Stewart's life has been spared; and that he may return with General Gordon to receive the well-deserved thanks of his country.

The Speech from the Throne goes on to refer to the internal affairs of Egypt; and I am sure that your Lordships will cordially agree with Her Majesty's Government in the announcement that Her Majesty has given her support to the Government of Egypt in the difficult financial position of that country. Your Lordships naturally know that Lord Northbrook has been sent out to inquire into the financial affairs of Egypt, and that he has not yet returned; and your Lordships will await with anxiety the measures which may be proposed on his return; but I will venture to say that this country, having undertaken a grave responsibility in Egypt, and having made great sacrifices since the first occupation, will support Her Majesty's Government in any measure they may consider necessary to improve the government of that country.

There is one other subject which I should not like to pass over without comment. The last paragraph in the Speech from the Throne states that Her Majesty regrets the circumstances which have occurred on the South-Western Frontier of the Transvaal. Some months ago a final Convention was made with the Boers of the Transvaal, and it was our hope that we should not so soon have heard of new difficulties in that country. I venture to think, in treating with the Transvaal, Her Majesty's Government made every concession which was possible under the circumstances. They allowed the boundaries to be enlarged, and also showed that they were willing to meet any difficulty which might arise in a just and liberal spirit. It must, therefore, be with deep regret that your Lordships will have heard of the circumstances which have now occurred in the neighbouring country. It appears that a band of freebooters has invaded the territory of a friendly Chief, who is under our protection, have killed his people, have plundered him, and have also murdered the English Resident. Moreover, Montsioa has been forced into a Treaty, which places him entirely at the mercy of the Transvaal Government. It is satisfactory to know, however, that the Transvaal Government have now withdrawn the Proclamation with regard to the annexation of the country of Montsioa, that Mr. Joubert has resigned, and that he has made a strong protest against the illegal action of the Transvaal Government. More than that, it appears that the feeling in the Cape Colony, not only amongst the English, but amongst the Dutch, supports our view; and, therefore, it is satisfactory to know that the authorities of the Colony have agreed with Her Majesty's Government to take steps which will put an end to these illegal proceedings. Your Lordships will not wish to show any feeling of revenge for what has occurred; but the country, I think, will demand that the Convention which was made with the Boers a few months ago shall be absolutely and entirely respected and maintained.

In conclusion, I have only to thank your Lordships for the kind indulgence which you have extended to me, and, before I sit down, to express a hope that although the Session may be a short one, it may not be a barren one, and that the result of our deliberations will tend to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people, and to maintain the dignity and authority of both Houses of Parliament. I beg to move the following humble Address to Her Majesty:—

Most Gracious Sovereign,

"We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in Parliament assembled, beg leave to offer our humble thanks to Your Majesty for the gracious Speech which Your Majesty has addressed to both Houses of Parliament.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that Your Majesty continues to maintain relations of amity with all foreign Powers.

"We learn with satisfaction that although the information received from the Soudan includes painful uncertainties, yet the energy, courage, and resource conspicuously displayed by General Gordon in the successful defence of Khartoum deserve Your Majesty's warm recognition.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that the advance of Your Majesty's troops to Dongola has for its object the rescue and security of that gallant officer, and of those who have so faithfully co-operated with him.

"We thank Your Majesty for informing us that in Egypt itself Your Majesty is using Your best endeavours to promote further improvement, and that Your Majesty has given Your support to the Egyptian Government in the difficult financial position in which it has been left through the failure of the recent Conference.

"We learn with regret that circumstances have occurred on the south-western frontier of the Transvaal which demand Your Majesty's vigilant attention; and we humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that, in conjunction with the Government of the Cape Colony, Your Majesty is engaged in considering the means which may be required to secure the faithful observance of the Convention of the present year.

"We humbly thank Your Majesty for informing us that the Bill for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise will at once be introduced.

"We humbly assure Your Majesty that our careful consideration shall be given to any measure which may be submitted to us; and we earnestly trust that the blessing of Almighty God may attend upon our labours."

Lord LAWRENCE (who wore a Court dress), in rising to second the Motion, said: My Lords, the arguments with regard to the franchise are so well understood by those of you who have read and listened to the speeches of able men of both sides and both Parties that we must come to the conclusion that little can be said one way or the other that has not already been said. I think, however, it is rather a mistake that the question should have so absorbed the mind of the country, and that other matters of great and critical importance should have been overlooked. Attention has recently been directed to such questions as the state of the Navy, our harbour defences, and our coaling stations; and it really seems to me as if it is almost necessary that public opinion should force large expenditure on the Government. This ought to strengthen the hands of the Executive, for even the strongest Government is unable to do this unless supported by that force of public opinion. At the same time, I believe that the country has every confidence in the Government. I shall abstain from calling attention to the issues now before Parliament and the country. We are thoroughly aware of the strain between the two Houses, and, in my own humble opinion, that strain can only be relaxed by mutual concessions from both sides. We are accustomed to hear about reforms of your Lordships' House; but, I will ask, are no reforms necessary in "another place?" We have it on the authority of the Prime Minister himself, for he has said that the most important question, after the subject of the franchise has been disposed of, is the reform of the internal administration of the House of Commons itself. He stated that, whatever Government came into power, that would be one of the most important considerations which could be brought before it.

The Speech from the Throne comments upon the condition of Egypt, and, with respect to that subject, the country is looking anxiously to the progress of the Expedition to relieve General Gordon; and I hope that, as a result of that Expedition, some permanent Government will be established at Khartoum. The conduct of General Gordon, and his able lieutenant, Colonel Stewart, with regard to whose fate we are now in a state of uncertainty, deserves the high terms in which my noble Friend (Lord Belper) has spoken of it.

Your Lordships will be rejoiced to hear that Her Majesty's Government have resolved upon taking strong measures with regard to the Transvaal; that they are about to protest against the breach of the Convention so very lately concluded with that country; and that they will insist on the Boers carrying out their Treaty engagements, and keeping open the trade routes into the interior. There is a report that Colonel Sir Charles Warren, who has the highest experience with regard to matters at the Cape, has received instructions to proceed there. The only requisite for the success of his mission is that he should be strongly supported; and, since he has the confidence of the Government, no doubt he will be so supported, and, if necessary, force will be employed.

I further think your Lordships ought to congratulate the Government on the admirable appointment they have recently made of a Member of this House to the Viceroyalty of India. His career as a statesman and administrator is of world-wide repute, and all Parties are agreed on the judiciousness of the selection. The noble Earl (the Earl of Dufferin) will leave this country with the hearty good wishes of your Lordships' House and of the country. I will, in connection with the noble Earl, quote a sentence in a recent speech of the Earl of Dufferin, which is to this effect—

> "That he wished for no higher encomium or recognition than that his administration had been uneventful, and that he had kept the Empire intrusted to his guardianship tranquil and secure"—

words that will alone stamp him as one who has the confidence of his country, and fit also for the highest position under his Sovereign. I will also say one word on the noble Marquess who is on the point of relinquishing that Viceroyalty (the Marquess of Ripon). It can truly be said of him that he has kept India tranquil and secure, prosperous and happy. It is entirely owing to his policy that we have a friendly Ruler on our North-West Frontier; and I maintain that the Liberal policy in Afghanistan has absolutely succeeded. Whatever criticisms we may pass upon his administration, we must recognize the enormous difficulties which a Ruler of more than 250,000,000 had to contend with. The Office of Viceroy is no sinecure, and we are all too ready to criticize his administration of affairs. It should, therefore, always be borne in mind that our Governors General invariably did their duty to the best of their ability. In conclusion, I beg to second the Motion of my noble Friend. [See p. 11.]

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, it is usual, or, at all events, very common, in following the Mover and Seconder of the Address, to compliment them on the speeches they have made. In this instance, in addition to the ordinary reasons which can justly be given for such a course, I have other grounds on which I can express my admiration with real sincerity. I heartily admire the fertility of resource and the breadth of treatment which enabled the noble Lord who moved the Address to elaborate a speech of three-quarters of an hour out of so short and insignificant a text.

EARL GRANVILLE: Half-an-hour.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Half-an-hour, then. But this does not detract from the credit due to the noble Lord. It was a very interesting speech. I do not think the topics could have been treated in a more interesting manner, nor could much more have been made from a Queen's Speech which is remarkable principally for its omissions. It is very creditable to the noble Lord.

As to the noble Lord the Seconder, the quality of his speech which I should most like to compliment was its candour. As I listened to him I rather felt some doubt whether he had been subjected to that educational process usual on such occasions under my noble Friend at the Table (Lord Cork), and whether he had not fallen accidentally into the hands of my noble Friend not now in the House (Lord Lathom). He noticed, I thought, with great justice that the Speech did not contain many things which the public would like to hear of; that it was a great mistake to suppose that the franchise was the all-engrossing subject which the Government seemed to believe it; that there were other objects which required to be reformed besides that House of Lords for which Mr. Chamberlain reserves his projects of reform; that the Government might have told us something of that question which deeply occupies the minds of all political thinkers at the present moment—namely, the state of our defensive Services, and the remedies for their defects which the Government propose. He told us—and I was very glad to hear it—contrary to the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, that he thought it necessary that Khartoum should be retained; and he went on to point out that India also had not received that notice in the Speech put forward by Her Majesty's Government which its importance and the special relations in which we stand to it naturally deserve. But of all these sentiments, which, as I say, rather puzzled me as to the origin of his speech, the one with which I sympathized most was the one in which, after announcing to us that a distinguished servant of the Crown was about to proceed to South Africa, in order to remedy the disorders that have arisen there, he expressed, in meaning language, the hope that he would not be left to do it alone, and that he would be supported in his arduous task by something else besides words. I think the noble Lord expressed himself with as much candour as could be expected. Of course, what he meant was that he hoped his fate would not be that of General Gordon. My Lords, as I have said, the Speech of Her Majesty is remarkable chiefly for its omissions. With the exception of the single matter of the franchise, there is no allusion whatever to domestic legislation. The requirement of domestic legislation is not entirely absent, and I believe that there is no precedent for entering upon important domestic legislation without, in the Speech from the Throne, giving the Houses of Parliament some indication of the course which the Government intend to take. An explanation of this omission might be made by the suggestion that the Government are initiating a Session which they intend shall last only four weeks, and which they are certainly determined shall close its course of life at the expiration of that time. But it is not possible to accept that explanation. In the first place, this is not a Session that has to deal merely with the franchise. It is a Session which must have taken place if the Franchise Question had never arisen. It is a Session which has been rendered absolutely necessary by the expenditure which Her Majesty's Government have incurred with regard to their military proceedings in Egypt; and, therefore, it is utterly without precedent that, summoning Parliament for that purpose, they should treat the Session as one of only a month or five weeks, and should put two Appropriation Bills into a single year, which has never been done before, or, on the other hand, that they should withhold all knowledge of their intentions with regard to domestic legislation. And I am the less able to assume that it is because they intend to cut the Session short, because the noble Lord, in that clear exordium with which he commenced his remarks, told us that he understood the opening words of the Speech to pledge the Government to introduce the subject of redistribution, and they must be extremely sanguine if they think that that can be done in five weeks. It is possible that the Government have reflected in their minds that there are certain grave questions of legislation with regard to Ireland, which, in due time, must be faced, but with regard to which it is much more convenient at this period of the Session to refrain from saying whether they intend to act, or not to act; and to that reticence may possibly be ascribed the curious character of the Queen's Speech. Then we come to foreign affairs. The language of the Speech has that notorious felicity of grammar which seems always to attach to inspired productions of the Royal pen. I say inspired, and I lay stress upon it, because I do not know why it is that a Government consisting of an unusual number of eloquent and highly literary men should have such a singular faculty for producing unliterary Speeches. The Speech says—"The information received from the Soudan includes painful uncertainties." That seems to me to be very much like the observation of the Irish gentleman, who said that his available assets included a great number of debts. But it proceeds—

> "The energy, courage, and resource, conspicuously displayed by General Gordon in the successful defence of Khartoum, deserve my warm recognition."

How does the Government know what General Gordon has been doing? We have no intelligence. It is not even known whether he has confined himself to the defence of Khartoum, and, if he has done so, whether he has been successful. On the contrary, gloomy rumours have come across to the bazaars, which we all hope are untrue; and it is a very strange statement for the Government to make that they warmly recognize the energy, courage, and resource which are said to have been conspicuous in General Gordon, but which have been hidden by a thick veil of ignorance from the knowledge of all the world. I should like to know in what particular position the Mission of General Gordon stands? There is a good deal of variation of language in the tone in which the Government speak of that Mission. At the beginning of this year the Government, in a Speech from the Throne, explained to us what that Mission was, and they did so in these terms—

> "I have also despatched Major General Gordon"—

not to defend, but—

> "to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the interior of the Soudan, and have permitted him to act in the execution of that measure."

Now, the only Report which General Gordon has sent home is that the policy of the Government has covered it with indelible disgrace, and having sent that he has discharged his duty, as far as reporting is concerned. Now, he is permitted to act in the execution of the measure of withdrawal—which seems the last thing that General Gordon appears to be inclined to do. He has not withdrawn. On the contrary, he has gone into the Soudan. He has placed himself in its foremost and most important fortified place, and, according to the account of the Government, he has defended that post with great zeal and courage; but, in doing so, he has absolutely cut from beneath them the ground of the policy which he was originally sent to carry out. Everything he has done has been in distinct contravention of the policy which he was sent to carry out. We admire immensely the manner in which he has done it, and we have very little doubt that his policy is much better than that of the Government; but his policy is not that of the Government, and, therefore, I read, with some surprise, this warm eulogium of his conduct, unaccompanied by any indication that his attitude has entirely changed, and that he has, apparently, forced the Government to entirely change their policy at the same time. I hope that upon this point the noble Earl opposite will imitate the candour of the noble Lord who seconded the Address, and will tell us what the policy of Her Majesty's Government is, and whether he will recognize the necessity of keeping Khartoum, and whether, when it has been either successfully defended by General Gordon, or has been relieved, the Government will retain it as a portion of the Egyptian Empire. At all events, if he does not do so, it seems to me that he must revise another part of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. I cannot understand how the proposal to cut off all that is south of Wady Halfa from the territory of Egypt is compatible with the resolution to abandon Egypt to its fate. In the opinion of those who are best qualified to judge of the strategic necessities of those countries—certainly in the opinion of the foremost statesmen and soldiers in Egypt—this territory south of Wady Halfa is of vital importance to the defence of Egypt. If you are going to stay in Egypt to support the Khedive, and to make yourselves permanently responsible for the safety of the country, I do not say that to force her to give up the portion of the Soudan south of Wady Halfa is a wise policy, but at all events it is an intelligible policy; but if you are going first, by exercising an unexampled pressure, to force the Khedive to abandon that which Egyptian statesmen and soldiers believe to be of vital importance to the safety of the country, and then, having cut off that means of defence, to leave Egypt to shift for herself, all I can say is, that the adoption of such a course would exceed in baseness anything that is recorded of a protecting Power. I trust, however, that the noble Earl opposite will be able to tell us that Khartoum is not to be parted with, or, at least, that Egypt is not to be abandoned to its fate. Then there is another statement with respect to Egypt that has still more of the character of obscurity which attaches generally to Queen's Speeches. It is this—

> "In Egypt itself I am using my best endeavours to promote further improvement."

That seems to imply that some improvement has already taken place; but from all accounts received it would appear that not only has no improvement taken place in the affairs of the country, but the retrogression has been steady and conspicuous. The tax-paying powers of the people are lowered, the authority of the Khedive is weakened, and the name of England stands lower in Egypt than ever it did before. Not only has her power diminished, but even the veracity of her statesmen is impugned; and how is it possible, starting from this point, to say—"I am using my best endeavours to promote further improvement?" And then the Speech goes on to say—

> "And I have given my support to the Egyptian Government in the difficult financial position in which it has been left through the failure of the recent Conference."

Well, I earnestly hope that if ever Her Majesty's Government has occasion to give me its support in case I am involved in financial difficulties it will be by some more effective means than that which they have given to the Government of Egypt. The only support they have given them is the advice not to pay their debts. That is the beginning and the end of it. That, of course, is very comforting to the creditors; but whether it can be described as supporting a man in pecuniary or financial embarrassments I very much doubt. The Egyptian Government may fairly say—"Call you this backing? A plague on such backing, say I." But, perhaps, we have not heard the whole policy of the Government, and the noble Earl may be able to announce that a large financial subsidy is to be part of the financial means of support which they intend to offer to the Egyptian Government. The concluding statement of this attenuated Speech is in these terms—

> "I have to regret that circumstances have occurred on the south-western frontier of the Transvaal which demand my vigilant attention."

I cannot join in that sentiment at all. That the vigilant attention of Her Majesty's Government should have been drawn to anything at all appears to me to be a matter for congratulation. If they had said, "the matter demands my strong intervention," I could have understood it; but this expression of regret because their vigilant attention has been excited gives one an ill opinion of the ordinary mental attitude prevalent in the Government Departments. The ordinary attitude of the Colonial Office is a *nirvana*, a kind of absorption in itself, a contemplation of its own perfections, a sleep from which it is only aroused by circumstances of an extraordinary character, and from which it emerges with great reluctance and regret. I should hope that, following the noble Lord who seconded the Address in this as in other matters, the noble Earl will say that something more than a vigilant attention will be given to the affairs of the Cape—something of a more solid character. The noble Lord who moved this Address went considerably into the question of the franchise dispute. I hope I may be permitted to say that I am too weary of that question to follow him into the argument. It has not been his pleasure or his pain to discuss that subject as often as I have done; and I hope I may be permitted to refrain from following him until a more legitimate opportunity arises. But, in the course of these voluminous discussions, two things have been said to which I think it desirable to call your Lordships' attention. One of these concerns the mode in which a Minister of the Crown assists in keeping the Queen's peace, which is the first part of his duty; and the other concerns the mode and action of your Lordships' House. I know there is a certain inconvenience here in calling attention to what is said by Mr.

Chamberlain. No doubt, that will also be done "elsewhere;" but his utterances are so exceptional, and so absolutely unprecedented in official history, that I do not think it would be fitting that we should meet here on the first night of the Session to carry our Address to the foot of the Throne without some notice being taken of language which has already, I fear, produced evil results, and may produce still worse results. I know that Her Majesty's Government have a strange theory as to conjoint official responsibility. Their view is that Members of the Government may say and do very much as they like, and that if only they can be brought with difficulty to agree on the precise points at issue before Parliament at the time it is as much harmony as can be expected from them. Even for them, with this lax view of official duty, I am surprised that no remonstrance against the conduct of their Colleague has been heard. At Hanley, on the 7th of October, Mr. Chamberlain said—

> "I think that those gentlemen"—

referring to your Lordships—

> "presume on your love of order and hatred of violence. These are, no doubt, characteristics of the English people; but unless this generation has lost other qualities, which have made the name of Englishmen respected and honoured throughout the world, they will show courage and resolution."

That is, they presume on your love of order and hatred of violence; but these characteristics are, unless Englishmen have lost their character, to be set aside by a display of "courage and resolution." Is it possible more clearly to indicate that the love of order and hatred of violence are to be abandoned? I trust we shall have some disclaimer from the noble Earl of language which is not only dangerous and injurious to the public peace, but is as discreditable to the Minister who uttered it as to the Ministers who remain his Colleagues. I will now call attention to a less serious matter, and here the observations are not of a dangerous kind. But they say that the highest happiness is to see ourselves as others see us. Well, it must be next door to that happiness to see ourselves as some portions of ourselves see us; and it is interesting to see in what light the proceedings of this House are viewed by some Members of it. A noble Lord opposite (Lord Durham), speaking at Chester-le-Street on the 4th of October, addressing his audience, proceeded to give a fancy sketch of the Conservative Peers. The noble Lord said it was 50 or 60 Peers who formed the majority on the Franchise Bill—

> "He wished his audience could have seen some of them. There were old men in skull caps—the lame, the deaf, and the blind. Heaven knew where some of them came from, and he did not know where they would go to. Possibly they might be sent to the British Museum. These devoted gentlemen were the subservient tools and voiceless followers of Lord Salisbury."

Now, this remarkable utterance is, perhaps, more worthy of attention than it otherwise would be, because this noble Lord, I believe, is the only Peer that Mr. Chamberlain has ever eulogized; at all events, he is the Peer that Mr. Chamberlain has held up as a model, and, considering the influence Mr. Chamberlain has on the destinies of the country, we do not know what may happen. Your Lordships have, no doubt, all been delighted by the caricature, showing what this House would be like if it consisted of a multiplication of Home Secretaries; but this extract is interesting as showing what the character of our debates would be, and what the species of language would be that would be employed if, instead of Sir William Harcourt, Mr. Chamberlain had the filling of this House. There would be no skull caps upon the skulls; but what there would be inside the skulls it is too painful to speculate. However, I do not admit that skull caps are peculiar to the Conservative Party. I do not see any. My impression is that a skull cap is peculiar to a noble Lord (Lord Houghton), whom I might at one time have described as the "only poet" in the House. I am not aware that that disgraceful appanage has been seen on any other head. As to the lame, the deaf, and the blind, as far as the Conservative Party is concerned, I deny that there are any lame, deaf, or blind, and I ask the assistance of the noble Lord in pointing them out, if there are any to be found. But my impression is that we can show as good members, ears, and eyes, as the other side. This, however, is merely an exaggerated specimen of the kind of argument rather common on the other side, which I regret. It is an argument of which the purport is that the majority in this

House is formed by men of whom a very large proportion are not in ordinary attendance on the debates in this House. I believe that absentee doctrine is wholly unsupported by statistics. I believe, if you allow for the fact that a certain number of Members of this House must be absent through age, you will find the attendance is, on the average, as good as in the House of Commons. But the point on which I wish to remark is that it is not always the critics who are the most virtuous in the matters which they censure. There are some people who, like the sign-post, point to the way they do not themselves go. I asked a friend to examine from the records how often in the year 1883 the Earl of Durham had attended our deliberations, and I find that he did not attend more than five times. That is not a matter of much importance; but I suspect it will be found that if there are such absentees they are equally divided on both sides of the House, and that the Members of this House make as good attendances as Members of the House of Commons. My Lords, the Speech introduces the question of the franchise in the following words:—

> "You may be enabled at once to give your further consideration to the great subject of the representation of the people."

Last Session the Franchise Bill was introduced simply as "an enlargement of the Occupation Franchise." I hope there is meaning and significance in the difference of these two expressions. I am not going to express my opinion upon the dispute which prevails. My opinion will be found expressed very accurately in the Resolution adopted by your Lordships in July last. I have nothing to alter in the opinion there expressed. But this statement in the Speech from the Throne leads me to the belief that we have made converts; that Her Majesty's Government, seeing that the representation of the people is really a great subject, that it cannot be dealt with in any imperfect and half-hearted or mutilated fashion, do understand the importance of introducing both a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill, and that they intend to press them forward without any artificial obstacles or interruptions—with all the rapidity that may be—and doing all that in them lies to place them both at the same time on the Statute Book of the Realm. I am quite sure that in any fair and honest efforts made by them they will have the earnest and hearty co-operation of Members of this House.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, notwithstanding the warning of the noble Marquess, I shall endeavour to follow the example of Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, and be brief in the observations which I have to make. I have listened with considerable amusement to one of the most lively and facetious speeches I have heard for a long time in this House. We have heard of a statesman of a great country talking of the light heart with which he was about to enter into war which proved disastrous to his own country. *Absit omen!* I must say that the occasion of the meeting of Parliament at this time is not to be met by the Leader of the Conservative Party in that tone of levity which marked his words from the beginning to the end of his speech. My Lords, it has been my happy fate of late years—and I think I can assert that I never paid a compliment that was not sincere—to have been able to compliment the Mover and Seconder of the Address. I entirely join in the remark which the noble Marquess made with respect to the speech which the Mover of the Address gave us. I think it was a remarkable speech. The circumstances of our meeting are remarkable, and the Mover has risen to the importance of the occasion. I listened with great attention and interest to the speech of the noble Lord behind me (Lord Lawrence)—I believe it was his maiden speech—and I must say there was singular grace—and he spoke with a certain authority—when he alluded to the high character of Lord Dufferin and Lord Ripon, considering the honoured name which he bears. But I think it is a pity that the noble Marquess mixed up with the compliments to the Mover and Seconder some misrepresentation of what they said. The noble Marquess said that the Mover had announced the intention of Her Majesty's Government to introduce a Redistribution Bill as well as a Franchise Bill. My noble Friend informs me he did not say that it was the intention of Her Majesty's Government to do so. But I am not at all sure that he would not have been perfectly justified in saying that. It is only to repeat what we have been saying from the beginning—that we want to deal with the whole question, and in the manner in which we think it is most likely to be carried to a successful end, and that both the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill shall have our most vigilant and urgent attention, and, I would add, mixing it up with the vitality of our existence as a Government in the hope of arriving at a satisfactory result. In answer to the noble Seconder of the Address, the noble Marquess chose as his text that which the noble Seconder did not say at all. He said that my noble Friend insisted that it was our duty to retain Khartoum. My noble Friend said nothing of the kind. What he did say was that he hoped the result of this Expedition would be to leave a strong Government at Khartoum. That promises one thing, and the other another. The things are entirely different, and the noble Marquess did not act fairly to my noble Friend in transposing the observation made by him. The noble Marquess then took upon himself to assert that the Queen's Speech at the beginning of the Session, in only alluding to one measure, and not to others, was entirely without precedent. I think if the noble Marquess looks back he will find that exactly the same thing happened under a Conservative Government, no measure being mentioned except the business they had in hand. The noble Marquess then went on to speak of General Gordon. I do not think it is quite fair to argue with the noble Marquess, because the noble Marquess has not seen all General Gordon's telegrams. It will be the duty of Her Majesty's Government to present them to Parliament, and then your Lordships will find in these telegrams that General Gordon agrees with the policy of Her Majesty's Government. And I must say I was never more disappointed in my life than when the noble Marquess asked how on earth we knew what General Gordon had done? It is exactly in the same deprecating tone that the noble Marquess adopted about General Gordon as soon as he was appointed and was sent out. I maintain that what General Gordon has done is known to England and to Europe, and has excited the most enthusiastic admiration of that genius—which General Gordon is—and yet the noble Marquess says that he does not know anything that General Gordon has done. We have been told day by day that the General was starved; that we were neglecting him; and that he was in the greatest personal danger; but as soon as we get information we find that he is not in personal danger, and that he is victorious instead of being defeated, and that there is every reason why we should expect that the Expedition that has been sent out should be perfectly successful in its object. I must say that the noble Marquess is inconsistent to an extraordinary degree. He bases on our conduct with regard to General Gordon the assumption that we are not going to do anything in order to maintain the Convention agreed to with the Boers the other day, and this after we have actually sent an Expedition to the relief of General Gordon. I decline to argue that matter with the noble Marquess. I think the noble Marquess has got into a careless habit from addressing, during the autumn, enthusiastic audiences who cheered whatever he said. [*Opposition cheers.*] I can understand that cheer. No doubt, they would cheer whatever he said—whether it was correct or incorrect they were equally delighted and enthusiastic. The next question is with regard to the Transvaal. Among all the *facetiæ* of the noble Marquess, on what appears to me a most solemn occasion, he told us a story about an Irishman who included in his assets his debts. But I have heard of another Irish gentleman who, when he paid his debt to Nature, left to his sorrowing friends the melancholy duty of discharging his other obligations. I think this sentiment somewhat applies to the criticism of the noble Marquess with regard to South Africa. Did the late Government, or not, when they paid their debt to Nature, leave to their Successors the duty of discharging various liabilities of the severest character in South Africa? Then, what was the remainder of his speech? It was the continuation of that long autumnal duel which the noble Marquess carried on with Mr. Chamberlain during the Recess. It is not for me to defend Mr. Chamberlain, who is well able to do that for himself. It is not likely that I should share in his appreciation of the House of Lords, though I am bound to say, when the noble Marquess refers personally to me to know whether there are blind and lame and deaf to be found among your Lordships, I have to make the melancholy confession that I am somewhat deaf, and that I am sometimes lame; but I hope to keep my eyes a little longer. The noble Marquess insisted on our responsibility for everything that Mr. Chamberlain may have said. I remember that Lord Beaconsfield disclaimed any responsibility for what any Member of his Government might say on such occasions; and yet the noble Marquess demands that we should be responsible for every word a Member of the Government may say in any part of the country. May I ask, is the noble Marquess ready to endorse every epithet and every expression used by the Leaders of the Conservative Party?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I am only responsible for myself.

EARL GRANVILLE: Well, then, I ask the noble Marquess whether, after cool reflection, he would take upon himself the responsibility of the many offensive epithets he has applied to Her Majesty's Government during the autumn? When you complain of violent language on the part of others, you must consider whether you have yourself contributed to that violence and strength of language, and whether you are not the person who gave powder and shot for those discharges which have been made. The noble Marquess has said hardly anything about the Franchise Bill—the object of this Session. The absence of all remark in his speech is so striking, that I think I had better not make some remarks, which otherwise, I believe, would not be without justification with regard to this great subject. If the noble Marquess prefers adjourning all discussion on the question until the Franchise Bill comes before the House I will submit to his decision. I think, when that Bill does come before the House, your Lordships will be prepared to discuss it in that spirit and manner which were so eloquently described by the noble Lord who moved the Address.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: My Lords, before the discussion on Her Majesty's Speech closes, I should like to say two or three words upon that short paragraph which refers to South Africa. My noble Friend the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Salisbury) commented not unfairly upon the grammatical structure of the sentences in question. I wish rather to call the attention of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (the Earl of Derby) somewhat to the substance of the case. My noble Friend will remember—and I should wish the House to remember as far as possible—that, in this question of South Africa, there are no less than three distinct subjects involved—there is the case of the Bechuanas, the case of the Zulus, and also the case of the Transvaal; and I will take the liberty of commenting very briefly indeed upon these three subjects. I wish I could say that there was anything of a redeeming character about any one of them; but everything respecting them appears at this moment to be as dark as can be; and I am at a loss to understand where it will all lead to. I think it will require all the dexterity of my noble Friend, and every effort he can put forward, to extricate us from our present dangerous and difficult position. It has been said that my noble Friend succeeded to an inheritance of difficulty. But I am bound to say that, during the last year, the difficulties have in no respect diminished. It is impossible to conceive a more unsatisfactory condition than that which exists in South Africa at this moment. The power of England, which, only a few years ago, was unquestioned and unquestionable, has been shaken, if not materially lessened. There is antagonism to us on the part of the Natives; so far as the English population is concerned there is the deepest indignation and a tendency to alienation from this country; and with regard to the Dutch I wish to point out, what is known to all familiar with the case, that the movement in favour of Dutch nationality, so to say, has acquired a growth and an influence which are wholly novel. During the last few years, the Dutch language has become the official language of the Colony. I again repeat, as it is a matter of the greatest importance to this country, that the Dutch influence, nationality, and power have increased to a degree that may well complicate matters. I do not wish to enter into any subjects of debate at this moment; but I cannot avoid saying that all those difficulties which we witness now, and those with which we are threatened hereafter, are clearly traceable and owing to that unfortunate transaction at Majuba Hill, and to the Convention which followed and was founded upon it. There is no man who looks back upon past circumstances who does not feel that from that moment the whole of our difficulties, both with regard to the Dutch and with regard to the Transvaal, began. There is one other point of a difficult nature. The condition of the Natives seems to me to be as deplorable as anything possibly could be, and that lamentable condition has gradually increased during the past few months, both as regards the Zulus and the Bechuanas. As regards the Bechuanas, a few years ago you had a civilized, a contented, a Christian, and an improving population; and I can safely say that during the time I had the honour of holding the Seals of the Colonial Office there were no accounts which we received from any part of the world which were more full of satisfaction and of promise than those from the Bechuana territory. I constantly felt and said that, whatever might be the work which England was doing in other parts of the world, there, at least, was satisfactory progress and fair promise for the future. But these unfortunate people have been handed over to the Boers, and the contentment and prosperity which existed have been utterly blown to the winds. I may go further, and take the case of the Zulus. In former years the wise and benevolent efforts of Sir Theophilus Shepstone produced a great improvement in the Zulu country, and a state of content and prosperity, leading the Natives on step by step to a higher condition, and preparing them for something better, which, even under Cetewayo, was not removed. But during the past 12 months all that has been changed. Freebooters have gone into their territory, and those unfortunate people, whom we disarmed, whose power we overthrew, and for whom we were in honour pledged, have been handed over to the tender mercies of the Boers, without the slighest satisfactory promise for their security. With regard to the Transvaal itself, we have had, during the past few weeks, a pretty good illustration of the feeling which exists in the Transvaal towards this country. It is a feeling of absolute contempt for England. They have departed from, if not from every one, at least the last two or three Conventions into which they entered, and the violation of their engagements has been followed by violent and brutal outrages upon those tribes and Chiefs to whom, as I conceive, our honour is pledged, and upon those British officers who have been brought into more or less official relations with them. There is the brutal murder of Mr. Bethell. I do not know whether the Colonial Office has full details of that murder; but I hope that, when the Papers which are promised appear, such details as the Government may possess will be fully and frankly given in them. I have heard stories so bad, so varied, and outrageous, that I hesitate to give credence to them. If they are true, it should be made known; and if not, it is equally fair to the Transvaal authorities that that fact should be stated. I hope all the Papers promised to us will contain full details, because I fail, at present, to understand how the case stands. A little time ago, it was announced, apparently on authority, that the Cape Government were acting with us in this matter; but since then we have been told that Sir Charles Warren has received orders to proceed to South Africa. But against that statement we are again told, in the language of the Speech from the Throne, that the Government is acting in conjunction with the Cape Government in this matter. Now, what I wish to know is, what the Cape Government has undertaken to do, and what we have undertaken to do; how far the Cape Government have undertaken to support us by forcible means, if necessary; and how far they are merely carrying on the position of negotiators at this moment? I also wish to understand, and I hope the Papers will show it, what Sir Hercules Robinson has said, done, and advised on this subject. It is notorious that he has laid the greatest stress upon the organization of a police force on the borders. In his opinion, the one essential condition of the success of the last Convention with the Transvaal rested upon this—that there should be an adequate police force on the borders. I do not believe that that police force has ever come into existence; but, if it has, it has in such small numbers as to be of no use whatever, being utterly inadequate for the duties it has to perform. I hope my noble Friend will tell us what has been the cause and reason of the delay in this matter. I rejoiced, with a great many persons in England, when I heard that Mr. Mackenzie was appointed Commissioner upon this frontier. I knew his past character, his clearness of mind, his perfect familiarity with the whole subject, and his disinterested devotion to the Native Races among whom he has worked so long; and I feel that his appointment was a strong earnest of, and security for, the carrying out of that policy for which we have had so many assurances. Well, Mr. Mackenzie proceeded to his station. He discharged his duties for a while; but before long he met with remonstrances and opposition, and, at last, such active antagonism on the part of the Boers, that he was compelled to retire. I hope it will be made perfectly clear what are the circumstances under which he retired. I notice, in a speech delivered by the Prime Minister of the Cape, that the blame for his retirement was thrown on the Government. I hope the noble Earl will be able to contradict that statement. Then there is another point upon which I will say one word. It is not mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, though it is connected with South Africa. My noble Friend behind me (Viscount Sidmouth) last Session repeatedly called the attention of your Lordships to the case of Angra Pequena, and I supported him, urging repeatedly upon Her Majesty's Government the extreme importance of acting speedily and without delay, and warned them that, if delay did occur, very unsatisfactory conclusions would result. My prophecy has come true; and, while the Foreign Office was negotiating, it appears that Germany stepped in and occupied the ground which was the matter of dispute. I am not here to make any charge against the German Government. We have no Papers as yet before us on the subject; and I may go further, and say the more I know of German colonization, I am not at all jealous of it, but am rather favourable to it. But what I do complain of is, that this matter should have been allowed to drag on in such a way that this issue should be forced upon us, and that, without our knowledge or power of protest, we should have been forced into a seeming collision with the German Government, and that, as we know, a Conference should have been invited to assemble at Berlin to discuss South African affairs. I hope it will be made perfectly clear to us on what terms we are going to enter that Conference, and how far English interests may be prejudiced in the transaction. There is one other question which, I think, might have found a place in the Speech from the Throne. Her Majesty's Government began their career with every protest against the annexation of territory; but I think that during the four or five years that they have been in Office they have annexed more territory than any two other Governments which have preceded them. My noble Friend, to whom I know annexations of territory are peculiarly distasteful, has now taken a step in this direction, and within the past few weeks has announced, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, the annexation of the whole of the Southern Coast of New Guinea. I am not prepared to say that that is in any degree a faulty decision on the part of the Government; on the contrary, I should be much disposed to approve of it, and I have recommended it on former occasions; but I do hope that we shall have some Papers laid on the Table with regard to this matter, which, to my mind, is of sufficient importance to have deserved mention in the Speech from the Throne, both as regards the amount of territory added to the British Empire, and the important Australian interests which are involved. As far as my memory serves me, the original desire of our annexation or Protectorate of New Guinea arose out of the position of the Natives requiring protection, not on the Southern Coast of New Guinea, but on the North-Eastern Coast. Now, it does seem rather strange that when you are annexing a large territory, that you should annex that which was never asked for, and omit altogether that which was the origin of the question of annexation. I do not desire to go into any further questions, as, no doubt, during the Session, other opportunities of discussing them will occur; but I desire to ask my noble Friend for some explanations on the points I have raised, and I hope that Papers will be produced without delay dealing as fully as possible with the points to which I have called attention.

VISCOUNT CRANBROOK: Before the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby) rises to reply, I wish to put a question to him. As I understand the last despatch which has been written by the noble Earl with reference to Zululand, the steps to be taken for the defence of the Reserve are not to extend to measures outside the Reserve. I observe that the noble Earl takes no notice of the fact mentioned by Sir Henry Bulwer, that the Reserve Territory had been three or four times invaded by Zulus, who were supported by Boers in possession of the adjacent territory. I want to know whether the noble Earl is going to produce Papers telling us the present position of the Boers in Zululand, and what action is to be taken to prevent any such inroads upon the Reserve? I wish to ask whether the noble Earl takes upon himself to instruct officers in charge of the Reserve that, when they are attacked, they are not to be allowed to follow those who attack them into adjoining territory? It seems to me to be a most extraordinary position that we should allow our territory to be invaded three or four times, and that we should not take any steps to prevent these inroads by going outside them, when that would be the most likely course to put an end to them. Surely, it is most inexcusable that our officers should be told that they are not to go beyond the boundaries of the Reserve. There is, at all events, a doubt about it; and if the noble Earl gives permission to the strategical authorities to take steps to prevent these invasions, I have nothing more to say.

THE EARL OF DERBY: One complaint which has been made in the course of this debate is as to the number of omissions from the Queen's Speech. I think my noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon), in the questions he has put, has contrived very ingeniously to supply those omissions. He has travelled over a wide range of topics, and if I were to attempt to follow into the wide range of subjects he has invited me to discuss, I should have to address your Lordships at greater length than would be desirable or convenient at present. I do not think anyone can complain of my noble Friend for thinking that the question of South Africa is one which should be brought before the House without delay, although it is not so exciting a topic as some of those with which we shall have to deal. It is not one that has been much dealt with by speakers in the Recess. Still, it is one of great importance, and I am not going to make the pretence of believing that the state of things in that part of the world is satisfactory. It has not been satisfactory at any time I can remember since I have entered upon public life; but I do not admit the soundness of the view taken by the noble Earl when he represents it as growing worse instead of better. He quite correctly divides the question into three different heads — our relations with the Transvaal, our relations to Zululand, and our relations with the Bechuanas; but he did not mention what a year ago might have been counted as a fourth—namely, our relations with Basutoland; and as in that part of the country the state of things was one of great danger, and it is now one of peace and tranquillity, I can quite understand that it would not suit the noble Earl to bring it forward. He asks where we are drifting to; he thinks our difficulties have not diminished, but increased; that the power of England in South Africa is diminishing; and that the antagonism between the Dutch and the English is greater than it has ever been before. That is a general assertion which it is very difficult either to prove or to disprove. He has given his view, and I will give mine. In answer to his first question, where are we drifting to, I say nowhere; we know perfectly well where we are going. With regard to his second question, the difficulties have not increased, but diminished. I do not know what he means by saying that the power of England is destroyed or broken.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: I did not say that. I said it was lessened or weakened.

THE EARL OF DERBY: Well, that is a matter of opinion; and I will point out that whereas, some years ago, the Colonists in Natal were in constant fear of what might happen to them in the way of attack or incursion from the Zulus on their frontier, their apprehensions on that score have ceased. There is now no part of Natal or Cape Colony which is disaffected to the Imperial Government, or in danger of any attack. The noble Earl speaks of the antagonism of the Dutch and English races. Well, that is an old story. No one knows better than he does that there has been a certain amount of antagonism probably ever since the English occupied any part of the Continent; but I do not think there is any reason to suppose that it has been increased or embittered by recent events. It is quite true that at the Cape there is what is called a Dutch Party, and that it is now in power; but it has gained its power in a Constitutional way at the elections; it is using that power, as far as I can see, in a fair and moderate manner, and there can be no interference on our part, unless we are to say that the Cape Colony is not to be free to govern itself in a Parliamentary manner. With regard to our relations with the Zulus, I do not think my noble Friend has fairly represented the state of affairs in the country, when he speaks as if the present Government are responsible for what has happened. No doubt, there was a time when the Zulu nation, under Cetewayo, was more prosperous and powerful than at present; but who was responsible for putting an end to that state of things? Not the present Government, nor anyone on this side of the House. It was done in 1879; but I am bound to say I do not think it was the work of the Colonial Office, then administered by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach. Sir Bartle Frere took a very decided view of the dangers which were supposed to arise from the power of Cetewayo, and he undertook to break it. A war ensued; the Zulu Kingdom was broken up; and it has never been placed, nor could it be placed, on the same footing again. What followed, not by way of permanent settlement, but rather as a temporary and provisional arrangement, was the division of the country among 13 Chiefs. At the time, that arrangement was probably as good as could be made; but after a time it became clear it would not last; the Chiefs would have been fighting one another; it was broken up, and its breaking up was followed by the restoration of Cetewayo. I have heard that restoration criticized in various ways. It has been described as a sentimental concession to the wishes of some parties in this country. It was nothing of the kind. In a position of great difficulty, it was resorted to in the hope that peace and order might be restored to Zululand by placing over the country the one man who was supposed to have most authority there. I am not at all clear it would have failed if Cetewayo had not been got at and surrounded by certain persons, who put into his head absurd and exaggerated ideas about his grievances and his rights, so that almost from the first moment of his restoration he began to seek extension of territory, and the effect was that the arrangement under which he was restored never had a fair chance. Had it not been for that, he might, at least, have gained something of his former position. When he died, there appeared to be only two practical alternatives—either to take upon ourselves a Protectorate amounting to virtual annexation, or to leave the Zulus to settle their own affairs. We did the last, not thinking it desirable, except under the pressure of absolute necessity, to extend the range of our power. Annexation, no doubt, would have been the more popular course at Natal and the Cape; but it would have involved the provision of a large force sufficient to protect Natal from the danger of invasion. Unfortunately, it is true, as the noble Earl has said, that these savage tribes were divided among themselves; they began to fight, and that happened which has happened before in many parts of the world, the party that got the worst of it sought allies; they called in the Boers, who accepted the invitation, and occupied the territory, not as invaders, but as allies. I do not know that they are any worse neighbours than the Zulus would have had otherwise, or than they were to one another. There was, as I have said, no choice between the two alternatives—either of taking the country under our control, the responsibility of which would have been enormous, while the territory would have been useless to us for the purposes of trade or immigration or any other object, or of leaving it; and the Government have done the latter. With regard to the Transvaal, I will not go beyond the point of time at which I am responsible for the condition of affairs. We have so often discussed the question of its retrocession and our defeat at Majuba Hill that I do not think there is much use in going over it again. There may be differences of opinion as to whether the retrocession was satisfactory or not; but after the experience of late years, knowing what we now know of Boer feeling, you cannot indulge the idea that the Transvaal could have been kept as a part of the British Empire except by a constant display of force. The question, I remember, was asked two years ago, and it never has been answered, What is the advantage of creating for yourselves another Ireland in South Africa? There would have been constant rebellions, which could only have been kept down by military force, and difficulties would have been created for us, and a display of force required, just at the moment we required our resources in some other part of the world. The noble Earl has spoken of the Natives generally, and more especially in the Transvaal, and of their present condition as regards ill-usage, and I am not at all prepared to assert that it is all that we could wish it to be. At the same time, that ill-usage does not arise from anything we have said or done. My noble Friend made a speech upon the same subject some 18 months ago. It has been alleged that there has been ill-usage and oppression on the part of the Boers. It is, of course, utterly impossible to say that in a country as large as France, where there is only a small and scattered White population, there may not have been cases of ill-usage by the Whites. But the fact remains, and there is no doubt about it, that the Black population of the Transvaal is constantly on the increase, and that there is a continual Native immigration going on into that country, which does not look as if the condition of the people were one of suffering and oppression. My noble Friend referred to Bechuanaland. Now, I am not going to deny that the state of things which has arisen there is one of a very unsatisfactory character. I think that the reference to this subject in the Speech from the Throne shows that the Government are not guilty of neglect or indifference with respect to this question; and when they say the circumstances of the country require their attention, it is scarcely fair to assume that they mean to look on and do nothing. Attention in such a case can only mean attention with a view to action. My noble Friend has asked for an explanation as to what has passed in regard to Bechuanaland between ourselves and the Government of the Cape, and he has referred to statements in the newspapers to the effect that Her Majesty's Government were making military preparations. All I need say now is that Her Majesty's Government are fully determined to carry out the terms of the Convention—they must be enforced, and the steps which have been taken will show that Her Majesty's Government are proceeding upon that footing; but, no doubt, my noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon) will wish—as we do—that the matter should be settled in a peaceful manner; and, as the Cape Government have expressed their wish to negotiate, Her Majesty's Government have telegraphed out that they are content that they should do so, and that the Cape Government are to carry on their negotiations; but, in so saying, Her Majesty's Government are not parting with their control over the ultimate result, and will remain the judges, in the last resort, of what should be done. My noble Friend asks whether the Government of the Cape will supply a military force? I do not think they will supply either men or money. I think they will be content to put that on our shoulders, leaving us to our own resources; but, undoubtedly, they will give us a moral support, which means a great deal in a case of this kind. I do not think that is an unnatural view for them to take, as they would say it is as much our matter as theirs. There is no doubt in my mind that they are anxious to put an end to this unpleasant complication. Then my noble Friend asks what is the object we look to—what is to be the ultimate result of these proceedings? I am quite ready to tell my noble Friend and your Lordships what I consider is the result likely to be obtained with regard to Bechuanaland, and which I do not think could have been obtained 18 months ago—namely, that the Cape Government will be induced to make that country a part of the Cape Colony. This course would save us from further expense and responsibility, and put these unfortunate people under a civilized Government. With regard to Mr. Mackenzie's appointment and subsequent resignation, I will refer my noble Friend to the papers which will be presented. I will only say now that I do not attach blame to Mr. Mackenzie in any part of these transactions. He was appointed on the strong recommendation of Sir Hercules Robinson; but after some observation of the working of Mr, Mackenzie's arrangements Sir Hercules Robinson, without casting any blame upon Mr. Mackenzie, thought it unlikely that his system would lead to a satisfactory settlement; and as the Cape Government looked upon his appointment with considerable jealousy, and as the co-operation of the Cape authorities was indispensable, Sir Hercules Robinson thought that Mr. Mackenzie's resignation was desirable, and Mr. Mackenzie, showing a creditable public spirit, at once acquiesced. When the details are seen in the Papers to be presented, your Lordships will see that no blame is attached to any party concerned. The noble Viscount (Viscount Cranbrook) has asked a question in reference to the Reserve Territory, and whether Her Majesty's Government will protect it; and the answer is that they will do so, and will regard any attack upon it as an attack against Natal itself; but as to following over the frontier those who attack it, I have not laid down any general rule upon the subject, and I do not think it necessary to do so. My noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon) has also asked a question in reference to Angra Pequena. That is a large question, and cannot be discussed in an off-hand manner; and, notwithstanding the high authority of some noble Lords, who attach great value to it as a possession, I believe that it is one of the most barren spots on the face of the earth, and though for 50 or 60 years English settlers have had free access to it, there has been no attempt to make any settlement upon it. I do not know that the Germans have taken steps to colonize it; and, certainly, it is not a very promising field for that purpose.

Viscount CRANBROOK, interposing, inquired whether any more Papers would be presented?

The Earl of DERBY: Papers relating to Zululand and Bechuanaland will be laid upon the Table. My noble Friend made reference, in a general way, to the subject of annexation. Well, it is quite true that some annexations have been forced upon us. There seems to be a scramble going on among European Governments for Colonies in different parts of the world, and Her Majesty's Government were bound to make our position secure in those localities in which this country is interested. If Her Majesty's Government had not acquiesced in the demand on the part of the Australians for a Protectorate over the Southern Coast of New Guinea, our refusal would have been deeply resented by all the Australian Colonies; and, on the whole, we thought it better to run the risk of some jealousy on the part of Foreign Powers, than to quarrel with our Colonists in a matter in which they are so deeply interested, and on which they feel so strongly. We have, accordingly, secured that part of the Coast from which alone they would have reason to apprehend danger, if it were in the hands of a Foreign Power.

The Earl of ROSEBERY said, that he desired to ask whether it was true, as stated in the newspapers, that General Scratchley had been appointed High Commissioner to New Guinea?

The Earl of DERBY: Yes.

The Earl of ROSEBERY said, he wished to know whether he had been appointed High Commissioner simply with reference to New Guinea; and, if so, whether there was any High Commissioner of the Pacific?

The Earl of DERBY: As a matter of fact, the papers have been a little premature, for the appointment has not yet been actually made; but I have no hesitation in saying that Major General Scratchley is selected for the post. As to the precise functions he will have to perform, I cannot undertake to define them accurately off-hand and in a few words; but the noble Earl will find them described in the Papers, when they are laid upon the Table of the House.

Lord BRABOURNE said, he felt bound to express the satisfaction which he experienced at the declaration of the Government of their intention to stand by the latest arrangement made with reference to the Transvaal. If they had evinced a similar firmness three years ago, and had maintained it in deeds as well as words, much of the subsequent disaster, bloodshed, and misery would have been avoided. If the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Derby) supposed that the name and reputation of England had not been lowered by the policy which had been followed by Her Majesty's Government, he was the only man in the Kingdom with any knowledge of South Africa who entertained that opinion; for, of late years, the influence of Great

Britain in South Africa had greatly diminished. He was frequently receiving letters from South Africa concerning the state of affairs there, and it appeared that the name of Great Britain was mentioned with expressions of contempt, and that Englishmen were no longer, as formerly, considered as the superior race. The noble Earl (the Earl of Derby) had spoken of the freedom of Natal from her old dread of the Zulus; but he would do well to bear in mind that Natal had been threatened with absorption from the Boers, who considered that they had conquered Englishmen and could do as they liked for the future. They had rebelled against Great Britain as soon as she had overcome their enemies, Sikukuni and the Zulus, and it was from them that trouble was still to be apprehended. He rejoiced, however, to find that the Cape Government, which now was mainly composed of the Dutch element, were giving Her Majesty's Government a hearty support in the course they were taking in maintaining the Convention and protecting the Reserve. It was perhaps, moreover, a good thing that the Dutch element should now preponderate in the Cape Government, or that those who had for years past only held the balance between two contending British Parties should now themselves experience some of the responsibilities of government. The prosperity of the Cape Colony depended upon a good feeling being maintained between the Dutch and English elements of the population, and that good feeling would not be increased, but retarded, by any want of firmness on the part of Her Majesty's Government in relation to the latest Convention with the Boers, and by any failure to show beyond all doubt that we were not going to be bullied and shouldered out of South Africa.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL: My Lords, I rise simply for the purpose of occupying the attention of the House for a moment with reference to a document, which, at first sight, may seem to be, but which I do not think is, irrelevant to any subject before us. Like many other Members of this House, I have come up from a great distance, involving two days' travelling, and I have not had an opportunity of reading a very interesting letter until this evening. But I may observe that our marvellous and almost supernatural Prime Minister, if I may say so, has taken the time and trouble to address a letter to a Bishop, at a Diocesan Conference of the Church of England, on the subject of the Disestablishment of the Church of England. It was not until to-night, when I went into your Lordships' Library, that I had an opportunity of reading that remarkable address. I read it with immense delight. It pointed out that there was in the Church of England a great variety of opinion which might develop into serious and dangerous disagreements. It pointed out the absolute duty of all Parties in the Church to look upon each other with charity, and it especially pointed out the duty of endeavouring to measure the difference of opinion which really existed among themselves. Admirable advice! I read it with infinite pleasure. I could not help asking myself—"Has it no application to other subjects?" I confess that it appears to me that the State of England is in a more serious dilemma than the Church of England at the present moment; and I could not help thinking that if the Heads of the rival Parties would look at the differences which separated them, on the great question on which we are mainly met, in the spirit of that advice of the Prime Minister, in which the Church of England was told of its absolute duty to look at their internal differences, the deadlock into which we have been driven would not last a week. My Lords, let me simply ask the House to remember this—Both Parties profess, and I believe with truth, to admit the absolute necessity, if not the justice, of extending the household franchise to the county voters. That is one great truth or principle on which we are all agreed. The other principle also in which we profess to believe, and I hope with equal truth, is that the question of redistribution should also be dealt with in this present Parliament, and in the constituencies with their present voters, and distributed in their present form. I sit down by saying this—that if any being from another planet, or even from a distant country of the world, from Europe or Asia, were brought to this country and were told that the two Houses of Parliament were coming to a deadlock, and that the fundamental principles of our historic Constitution were called in question, because the only difference was one of procedure, he would be amazed, and he would say that the Leaders of the two Parties were demented. I say that the entire difference between the two Parties being one of procedure only, there ought to be no difficulty whatever in arriving at a satisfactory solution of the problem before us.

The Earl of DUNRAVEN said, that he rose for the purpose of asking Her Majesty's Government what was the specific object of the Expedition which had been sent out, nominally for the purpose of relieving General Gordon? It had been asserted, on the one hand, that it was to stop when it reached Dongola; and, on the other, that it was to go to Khartoum; and he would like to know whether the noble and gallant Lord (Lord Wolseley) had instructions not to go beyond Dongola, even though it might be considered necessary? As it was, they were completely in the dark as to the object of the Expedition. All they knew was that the Mission of General Gordon was to arrange for the evacuation of the Soudan, and to bring away the garrisons, and to provide for the safety of the Europeans and the Egyptians who were in that part of the Khedive's Dominions. Was the Expedition now in progress sent to enable General Gordon to carry out those objects, or solely to relieve General Gordon himself? He must also complain of the omission from the Queen's Speech of all reference to the unsatisfactory state of our Navy, with regard to which public anxiety had been greatly excited, as well as of all reference to the depression of trade and commerce. He begged to give Notice that on an early day he should call attention to the subject of the depression of trade and commerce, and should move that an inquiry be instituted into the causes and extent of that depression.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, that one of the questions asked by the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven), that which related to the object of the Egyptian Expedition, was completely answered in the Queen's Speech, in the following words:—

> "The advance of my troops to Dongola has for its object the rescue and security of that gallant officer, and of those who have so faithfully co-operated with him."

That meant that the object of the Expedition was not merely to rescue General Gordon, but to do what was the original purpose of his Mission—namely, to rescue the garrisons. In carrying out his Mission, General Gordon had been, on the whole, successful; but not to the extent of being able to bring away the garrisons from the Soudan by his own exertions merely. In reply to the noble Earl's question, whether the Expedition would advance beyond Dongola, everyone would be rejoiced if the object of the Expedition were accomplished without its going beyond that place; but, if it were not accomplished, it might have to proceed further. It was not to be supposed that a man of Lord Wolseley's eminence would be sent out without power to take all the measures he might find necessary for the attainment of the objects of the Expedition. With regard to the Notice which the noble Earl had given in reference to trade and commerce, he was not going to enter into a discussion of the question on that occasion. He believed his noble Friend entertained strong Protectionist ideas.

The Earl of DUNRAVEN: No; I do not.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY: Well, his noble Friend called it Reciprocity, which was only Protection under another name. The Government were fully aware that for some considerable time the trade and commerce, and also the agriculture of this country, had been by no means in the state of prosperity of former times; but, on the other hand, to say that there was an extraordinary and special depression peculiar to this country would be an entire mistake. Whatever the causes, it was a singular fact that this depression existed, not only in this country, but all over the world. In France agricultural depression existed equally as in this country. At that moment the French Government were under great pressure from the peasant proprietors on account of the extreme depression; even in the United States the agriculturists were by no means in a state of exaltation at the prevailing prices. The same might be said of the sugar trade, and of almost every other trade abroad. It was also said that the tea trade had never been in such a bad state as it was at present. Without attempting to discuss abstract principles of political economy, he might suggest that one explanation of the cause of this general depression of trade and commerce was to be found in the fact that production had overrun consumption, because, owing to railways and telegraphs, there was an immense increase of power in bringing commodities to market. He did not think it was necessary for the Government to call special attention to the state of trade and commerce; and, as to agriculture, he was not aware that there was such an extraordinary depression as to require any reference in the Speech from the Throne.

Address *agreed to*, *nemine dissentiente*, and ordered to be presented to Her Majesty by the Lords with White Staves.

### AUSTRALIA—CONFEDERATION OF THE COLONIES.—QUESTION.

**THE EARL OF CARNARVON** asked, If Her Majesty's Government intended to introduce a Bill, in accordance with the decision of the Australian Colonies as to Confederation, in the present Session?

**THE EARL OF DERBY**, in reply, said, he was glad this subject had been mentioned. It was, no doubt, one of extreme interest to the Australian Colonies. He was, however, unable, at the present moment, to answer the Question of the noble Earl, because they had not yet received the reply of the Government of New South Wales; but they had reason to believe that they would receive it in about a week or 10 days. If the answer was a favourable one, he should have no objection to introduce a Bill in that House, and, no doubt, there would be time to discuss it; but whether it would be possible to discuss it in "another place" he could not undertake to say.

### CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEES.

The Earl of REDESDALE appointed, *nemine dissentiente*, to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session.

COMMITTEE FOR PRIVILEGES — Appointed.

SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE JOURNALS— Appointed.

APPEAL COMMITTEE—Appointed.

House adjourned at half past Seven o'clock, to Monday the 3rd of November next, a quarter past Four o'clock.

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# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday*, 23rd *October*, 1884.

The House met at half after One of the clock.

Message to attend the Lords Commissioners;—

The House went;—and having returned;—

### NEW MEMBERS SWORN.

John Tremayne, esquire, *for* Devon County (Southern Division); Patrick Joseph Power, esquire, *for* Waterford County; Ronald Craufurd Munro-Ferguson, esquire, *for* Combined Counties of Ross and Cromarty.

### NEW WRITS ISSUED.

*For* Radnor, *v.* Samuel Charles Evans Williams, esquire, Manor of Northstead; *for* Stirling, *v.* Henry Campbell-Bannerman, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

## *MOTION.*

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### SESSIONAL ORDERS—THE METROPOLITAN POLICE — POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS.

#### RESOLUTION.

**MR. SPEAKER** read the following Sessional Order:—

> "That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall, or in the passages leading to this House, during the sitting of Parliament, and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid."

Question proposed, "That this House doth agree to the said Sessional Order."

**MR. CHAPLIN**: If any apology were needed on my part for intruding between the House and the adoption of this Order, which you, Sir, have just put from the Chair, I think I should be able to find it in certain circumstances which occurred during last Session, and which probably many hon. Gentlemen will remember. It will be in the recollection of the House that grave complaints were made one day last Session by certain hon. Members of the obstruction which they had encountered, on the day of the Radical Demonstration in support of the Franchise Bill, in endeavouring to take their places in this House. I myself, on that occasion, ventured to put a Question to the Secretary of State for the Home Department on the subject; and I asked him whether it was with the sanction of the Government, directly or indirectly, that this Sessional Order of the House of Commons had been violated, as it undoubtedly had been violated, on that occasion. Well, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman, in his most jocose manner, replied that it was certainly not with the sanction of the Government, and that, as far as he was aware, the Order had not been violated at all. I may mention that I had previously informed the right hon. Gentleman, in the few observations I made on that occasion, that I myself had encountered such obstruction in my endeavour to pass through Parliament Street to the House of Commons, that I was absolutely defeated in the endeavour, and that unless I had been a Member of St. Stephen's Club, from which establishment there happens to be a subterraneous passage, I should have been unable on that afternoon to take my seat in the House of Commons at all. I thought that the reply of the right hon. Gentleman was so unsatisfactory, that it threw such discredit on my statement, and was so exceedingly wanting in the courtesy I had expected from the right hon. Gentleman, that I gave Notice that I would take the earliest opportunity of calling attention to this question; and it appears to me that the Motion now made from the Chair is a proper and fitting opportunity for me to take that course. The Secretary of State for the Home Department, in the statement he made, explained, in some detail, the precautions he had taken. In order to make my case good, I will ask the kind attention of the House for a few minutes, and I hope I may not detain hon. Members longer. In the first place, I ask the kind attention and consideration of the House to the terms of the Sessional Order, and, secondly, to what actually occurred. The House has heard put from the Chair the Order passed last year, and which it is asked to pass again to-night; and perhaps I may be allowed to point out that these words occur—

> "It is ordered that the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House."

The Order put from the Chair does not say that "little," but that "no" obstruction shall be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House. Nothing can be more definite or more clear than the instructions contained in that Order. And now let me call attention to what happened in this case. The procession assembled on the Victoria Embankment, and it proceeded from thence along the Embankment, round Bridge Street, down Parliament Street, through Whitehall, and so on to Pall Mall; so that a Member of Parliament who found himself in the particular locality in London between the Victoria Embankment and Parliament Street was absolutely precluded, unless he could force his way through the procession, from taking his seat in the House that afternoon. That was what actually happened to myself. I happened to have business which required me to be between Parliament Street and the Embankment, and when I attempted to cross Parliament Street I found it absolutely impossible. Now, there is no doubt whatever as to the route taken by the procession on that occasion, and no doubt whatever as to its effect upon Members who found themselves in that part of London; and it is upon those facts that I base my case—first, that the Order was distinctly violated; and, secondly, that it was owing to neglect of duty on the part of the present Secretary of State for the Home Department. I should like to ask him this question. Why was the procession permitted to go by that route at all? The natural and convenient course for the procession was by Northumberland Avenue. And why was it permitted to go half-a-mile or a mile out of its way, in order that it might pass by the House of Commons? The right hon. Gentleman told us he had no right to dictate what course that procession should take. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Hear hear!] The right hon. Gentleman says "Hear, hear!" and I quite agree with him on that point; but allow me to remind him that he had the right, and that it was his positive duty, to dictate what course the procession should not take, if that course entailed a positive breach of the Sessional Orders of the House of Commons. It is all the more necessary for me to call attention to this subject to-day when we consider some recent proceedings which have occurred in connection with public meetings on the part of some of the supporters of the right hon. Gentleman. I suppose the right hon. Gentleman is as well aware as any Member of the House of the blackguardly proceedings that occurred at Birmingham the other day, which are popularly, and, I believe, truly, supposed to have originated with and been conducted by the "Caucus," with which body a distinguished Member of the present Government, the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), it is popularly rumoured, is more or less connected. But if he be connected with it or not, he has certainly, in no adequate terms, condemned, if it cannot be truly said that he has attempted to palliate, and be the semi-apologist for, its proceedings. Then, this morning and yesterday we have read of the occurrences at Dumfries the other day. Such is the extreme chivalry of some of the Liberal supporters of the present Government, that a dastardly outrage upon Lord Salisbury was suffered to occur, although he was accompanied at the time by ladies in his carriage. As we are informed, there was neither hesitation nor scruple on the part of members of the Liberal Party in committing a most outrageous assault upon the noble Lord. Then, I say, as it is becoming more and more clear every day that there is an evident intention and determination on the part of some of the members of the Liberal Party to use whatever violence and intimidation they can in connection with this question, it is the more necessary that we should have a clear and distinct understanding in regard to any future processions which may take place in the neighbourhood of the House of Commons. I want to have a distinct and explicit understanding from the Secretary of State for the Home Department as to whether this Sessional Order, which we are asked to place on our Journals, is to be a reality in the future or only a farce? I contend that, owing to his action last Session, it was on that occasion absolutely nothing but a farce, and I want a distinct statement from him that nothing of the kind will be allowed to occur in the future. If we do not get such an assurance, it will become a question whether it is desirable to have any Order of this kind upon the Journals at all. It is quite clear that it is highly objectionable to vest powers in the hands of a Secretary of State for the Home Department, who would not hesitate to enforce them on one occasion and to refrain from doing so on another. And when we consider that there may be demonstrations on both sides—by Conservatives as well as Liberals—[*Cries of* "Oh!" *and laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite seem to be surprised; but it is as well that if these are to be the methods which, on the Liberal side in the country, are to be resorted to in the future, we should know it. If violence and intimidation and gross outrages are to be practised by them, we shall know pretty well how to take care of ourselves. It is perfectly obvious that, in the hands of an unscrupulous Secretary of State—[*Cries of* "Oh!"] —of course, I do not refer to the right hon. Gentleman—this is a weapon that might be used in the interests of one Party, and to the serious injury and detriment of the other. I need say nothing further upon the matter. I have endeavoured to state as distinctly as possible the grounds on which I have thought it right and necessary to make these observations to the House. I hope my remarks will have the effect of eliciting from the right hon. Gentleman a distinct and explicit statement that this Sessional Order shall not be violated again; but, as far as he is concerned, that it shall be strictly enforced in future.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Sir, it would be entirely inconsistent with the Office I have the honour to hold, even if it were compatible with my sense of what is proper and fitting on such subjects, to deal with a question of this kind in the partizan tone the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chaplin) has chosen to adopt. What I shall have to say on this subject will be entirely free from any spirit of that kind. The hon. Member has chosen to call an me unscrupulous Home Secretary. [Mr. CHAPLIN: "No!" *and cries of* "Withdraw!"]

MR. CHAPLIN: I expressly stated that I did not apply that term to the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am very glad to hear the hon. Gentleman's explanation; but the statement did not reach my ear. Well, then, having the good fortune to be acquitted by the hon. Member of being an unscrupulous Home Secretary, I hope I may make a statement consistent with that admission on his part. I regard it as the very first duty of any man who holds the Office I hold, quite irrespective of Party, to act in regard to public order without favour to one side or the other. I have always endeavoured to do so, and I shall always continue to do so. The hon. Member has called attention to the Sessional Orders of the House. It is to be regretted that the hon. Member did not discuss the particular case to which he refers at the time it occurred, when the circumstances were more fresh in the recollection of the House than they are now. I had, indeed, thought that the common sense of the House had pronounced upon this matter in July or August last. But the hon. Member seems to have been brooding over it during the Recess, and he has thought it necessary to revive the question. Well, I have nothing more to say on the subject than I did on the former occasion. The Sessional Order was certainly present to my mind at the time of this procession, and I gave orders to the police to protect the accesses to this House, and to see that they were kept clear. When great gatherings of people take place in London, upon whatever occasion, they do cause, and must cause, some inconvenience. An hon. Gentleman in a remote part of London, near where the gathering takes place, may, if he wants to come to the House of Commons, be interrupted in so doing. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) says that I ought to have dictated the route of the procession. I stated before, and I state again, that if I had done so——

MR. CHAPLIN: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to explain. That was not what I said. What I said was that it was not only the right, but the duty of the Secretary of State to dictate the route it should not take, if that route was likely to occasion a breach of the Sessional Order.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, Sir, I do not think there is any great difference between dictating the course which the procession ought to take, and dictating the course which it ought not to take. ["Oh, oh!"] At any rate, I apply my observations to the negative as well as to the positive assertion. I say I had no right to dictate the course which the procession should not take. As I understood my duty, and endeavoured to perform it, it was to see that if that procession took place it should cause no inconvenience, or as little inconvenience as possible, to the access of hon. Members to this House. I gave instructions to the police to this effect, and I say that practically those instructions were effectually carried out. As I have said before, it is impossible that, when large gatherings take place, no inconvenience should be caused. But we have had certain gatherings in the neighbourhood of Westminster in the month of November; and I would venture again, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, to allude to a certain gathering which used to take place in the neighbourhood of Westminster on the 9th of November. I do not know whether, since the New Law Courts were removed—for my experience is too recent—whether the Lord Mayor still comes down to Westminster.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): No.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: He does not now come to Westminster at all?

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR): No.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, that will be a relief in future; but I am pointing out that, in the good old days, there have been gatherings in the Strand and elsewhere which stopped the traffic, and which filled Westminster Hall, and yet nobody complained of them. Certain inconvenience has been occasioned; but people bear the inconvenience, whether it is a Lord Mayor's Show or a procession of any other description. The police, however, always did their best to protect the traffic. If it were true that this procession had deliberately attempted to interfere with the access of Members to this House——

MR. CHAPLIN: It did interfere.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If it had endeavoured, as the hon. Member says, to interfere with the free access of hon. Members to Parliament, which it did not, then there might be some grounds for his complaint. But when hon. Members recollect the circumstances of the case, and the great number of people gathered together, and remember that although there may have been some slight obstruction, hon. Members were not prevented from getting to the House of Commons, I think this House and people in general will come to the conclusion that, as regards the procession, it was very well conducted, and as regards the police that they did their duty under the Sessional Order to the best of their ability, and did preserve access to the House of Commons. Now, what is the outcome of the remarks of the hon. Member? What are the alternatives he presents? That I should have prohibited the procession altogether. Does the hon. Gentleman propose that?

MR. CHAPLIN: I say that such processions are prohibited by the House of Commons.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member proposes that these processions should be prohibited by the House of Commons. Then let him make a Motion to that effect, and we shall see what the opinion of the House of Commons is.

MR. CHAPLIN: The right hon. Gentleman entirely misapprehends what I said. Perhaps it is very convenient for him to do so. What I said, when he asked me what I would have prohibited, was that he should have prohibited the procession passing by the House of Commons, in order to maintain the Sessional Order of the House.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If the hon. Gentleman desires to have such a special prohibition, let him bring forward a Motion to that effect. Let him define his prohibition, and let us see what it is he is contending for. I maintain, on the other hand, that in the interests of order it is far better not to interfere with these processions, from whichever side they come. The hon. Gentleman says his Party is going to have a procession. I am quite sure that every endeavour will be made to preserve order in his procession, and there will be no distinction made. If I had done in this case what he says I ought to have done, and had said that the procession should not go down certain streets, I think it would have been highly inconvenient, and I should have been undertaking a responsibility in regard to the procession which it was not desirable that the Executive Government should undertake. All that the Secretary of State, in my opinion, can do, or ought to do in such cases, is to employ every effort to preserve order, and to preserve the access to the Houses of Parliament. All I can say is, that that duty I endeavoured, to the best of my ability, to perform; and it is for the House to judge whether that duty was, without inconvenience to any Member in any part of London, substantially performed in regard to the procession to which the hon. Member has referred.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I must confess that I have listened with some disappointment to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department. It does appear to me that my hon. Friend, in calling attention to this matter, deserved a somewhat different answer to that which he has received. I quite believe that the right hon. Gentleman acted, as he thought, for the best; but there are two things which are perfectly clear. One is that the course taken by the procession did interfere, and interfered rather inconveniently, with the access of Members to the House. I will take my own case, and will state what happened to me. I came on that day from some distance out of London, and arrived at Waterloo Station. I took a cab to drive to the House of Commons, and found that I could not cross by Westminster Bridge, but that I had to go all the way round by Lambeth Bridge. I do not make any complaint as to what happened to me; but what happened to me may have happened, in one degree or other, to other hon. Members. I do not put the matter on that ground. What I wish to express my regret at is the tone of the right hon. Gentleman, who seems to think there is no duty on the part of the Secretary of State to take care that the instructions and Orders of this House, in regard to access being left free, should be observed. It is futile to talk of gatherings that may take place from accidental circumstances in different parts of the Metropolis, and still more futile to talk of matters so well understood as the Lord Mayor's procession. I am reminded that these Lord Mayor's processions take place in the morning, and at a time when the House is not usually sitting, so that they could not in any way interfere with the access of Members to this House. But it must be remembered that if political processions, organized specially for political objects, and in reference to the action of Parliament—if political processions are to be organized in reference to action still going on in Parliament—there is something more than a mere physical obstruction to Members passing along. You have to consider other possibilities. In the present instance we have nothing to complain of in regard to the conduct of the processionists; but it easily might have been otherwise; and I think it is the clear duty of a Minister who is responsible in such matters to see that proper arrangements are made—at all events, that improper arrangements are not made—which might have the effect of disturbing the easy and proper access of Members to this House. I own that I am disappointed at the language of the right hon. Gentleman; and I hope it may not be taken as an indication of the action which, on other occasions, he may be disposed to take.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

*Ordered*, That the Commissioners of the Police of the Metropolis do take care that, during the Session of Parliament, the passages through the streets leading to this House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of Members to and from this House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall or in the passages leading to this House during the sitting of Parliament; and that there be no annoyance therein or thereabouts; and that the Serjeant at Arms attending this House do communicate this Order to the Commissioners aforesaid.

## PRIVILEGES.

*Ordered*, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed.

## OUTLAWRIES BILL.

Bill "for the more effectual preventing Clandestine Outlawries," read the first time; to be read a second time.

*Sir Stafford Northcote*

## NOTICES.

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### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg to give Notice that I will, to-morrow, move for Leave to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Representation of the People of the United Kingdom; and that I will, on Monday, move that the several stages of any Bill relating to the Representation of the People have precedence of all Orders of the Day, and Notices of Motion, on every day for which they may be set down by the Government.

Mr. TOMLINSON gave Notice that, to-morrow, he would ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he was correctly reported to have said in a speech at Preston Railway Station, on the 26th September—

> "That the Franchise Bill was a very simple measure, but everything was done by the Tories to make it complicated. With that object they tried to bring in the woman's franchise;"

whether he referred to the Amendment on the Franchise Bill of last Session proposed by the hon. Member for Stoke, and seconded by the hon. Member for Manchester, or what Amendment he referred to; whether he intended to refer to those two hon. Members as having a desire to overweight the Franchise Bill; and, whether he was aware that several Leaders of the Conservative Party had for several years been in favour of the female suffrage?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will answer the Question now. I think that the report, as far as I have heard it read, is perfectly correct. I did not refer to the proceeding of my hon. Friend the Member for Stoke, who evinced the sincerity of his conduct on that occasion by doing what he was perfectly entitled to do, and what was very inconvenient to the Government and to his Party. I do not think any further answer is necessary.

Mr. TOMLINSON: I beg to call the right hon. Gentleman's attention to the fact that he has not answered the last paragraph. [*Cries of* "Order!"] I will put the Question down on the Paper.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK: On Tuesday, the 4th of November, to move that no Redistribution Bill will be satisfactory which does not recognize the principle of proportional representation.

Mr. LABOUCHERE: To ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee, with power to summon and examine witnesses, to inquire into the mode in which one of the schemes of Redistribution, which were printed for the private consideration of certain Members of Her Majesty's Government, was obtained and published in *The Standard?*

Sir JOHN HAY: To-morrow, to ask leave to bring in a Bill for the redistribution of seats.

Mr. MAC IVER: I beg to give Notice that I shall move an Amendment to the Address in the following terms:—To add the words—

> "But we humbly direct Her Majesty's attention to the depressed condition of commerce and agriculture, and regret that Her Majesty's gracious Speech contains no reference to a subject of such paramount importance."

## *QUESTIONS.*

—o—

### THE MINISTRY—THE SECRETARY TO THE ADMIRALTY.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Prime Minister, Whether any successor had been appointed to Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, for whose courtesy he was very grateful? The right hon. Gentleman must be aware that at present the Admiralty was represented in neither House of Parliament; and he (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), therefore, wished to know to what Minister inquiries respecting that Department were to be addressed?

Mr. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I have no statement to make on that subject, except that the hon. Member has, I think, inadvertently fallen into an error. There is one of the Lords of the Admiralty sitting in this House, and any Questions touching affairs relating to that Department can be addressed to him with perfect convenience.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman what Privy Councillors there are at present responsible for the affairs of the Admiralty in the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I may observe that there has not been for some time a Privy Councillor directly responsible for the affairs of the Admiralty in this House—my hon. Friend the late Secretary to the Admiralty (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) not having been a Member of the Privy Council.

### NAVY—STATE OF THE NAVY.

Mr. W. H. SMITH: I wish to ask the Prime Minister a Question of which I have given him private Notice—namely, Whether the Government contemplate taking any measures to relieve the anxiety which prevails in the public mind as to the state of the Navy, and particularly as to its sufficiency for the protection of the trade and commerce of the country in the event of war?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I will take the liberty of answering the Question in the general terms in which the right hon. Gentleman has put it, which do not precisely correspond with the Notice that he was kind enough to give me; but I will not refer to that. For some considerable time the Admiralty have had the subject of the Naval Establishments of the country under their consideration in a somewhat larger way than must, of course, always be the case with reference to the annual Estimates for each year. The Papers relating to the coaling stations have been recently circulated, and are now in the hands of hon. Members; and the Department will be prepared, in the course of next month, to bring before the House, in whatever form may appear to be most convenient, a statement of their views and intentions generally on that subject.

### AFRICA (SOUTH)—BECHUANALAND.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I wish to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies a Question of which I have given him private Notice—namely, Whether the statement which appears in the newspapers this morning is correct, to the effect that Sir Charles Warren is to be sent out to the Cape in connection with the present position of affairs in Bechuanaland; and also whether he can inform the House what will be the powers with which Sir Charles Warren will be sent out, and what is the nature of his instructions?

Mr. GORST asked when the Papers on that subject would be laid on the Table?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that all he was able to say at present was, that the Colonial Office was now in communication with Sir Charles Warren on the question whether he should go out or not; and he was not able for a few hours to give the right hon. Gentleman a more detailed answer. As to the Question about those Papers, he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) wished to express his deep regret to the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) that the promise he had made to him at the end of last Session that the Papers would be distributed had not been carried out. The reason for that was the Papers were of a highly confidential character, and the Government thought it so important that they should be given to the House to enable it to understand the matter thoroughly, that the Papers were sent off to the Cape to be submitted to Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie, that they might go over them and correct them for publication —[*Laughter, and ironical cheers*]— and the Government only received them back lately. [*Renewed laughter.*] Well, the hon. Members who laughed and cheered had evidently not had much official experience. They should know that private letters were frequently written by public men referring to other public men in language which, as a matter of fact, they would not like to be published. Those letters referred to personal matters—matters personal to Mr. Mackenzie, and the Colonial Office did not think it right, without Mr. Mackenzie's consent, that they should be published. There was no mystery about the Papers; and, as a matter of fact, they had been laid on the Table. He had been in communication with the Printing Department; and he hoped, by a great effort, to get some copies of them ready by Saturday. The cause of the delay was the necessity of sending them to the Cape.

## THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

Mr. SPEAKER *reported* Her Majesty's Speech, made by Her Chancellor, and read it to the House.

## ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[FIRST NIGHT.]

Mr. E. STAFFORD HOWARD (who wore the dress of a Deputy Lieutenant) said: Mr. Speaker—Sir, I do not suppose that it has often happened that Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech from the Throne at the commencement of a Session has been so limited in extent, and at the same time has dealt with such important and great questions, as is the case on the present occasion. There may be, however, some hon. Members who are disposed to doubt the necessity for so early an assembling of Parliament as set out in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech; but I do not think they will regret the opportunity which is now offered them of discussing the condition of affairs in Egypt and in South Africa, and the policy of Her Majesty's Government in relation to them.

I think it will be observed with satisfaction that Her Majesty is able to state that her relations with all Foreign Powers continue to be amicable; because, not so very long ago, a portion of the foreign Press attempted to show that those relations were likely to be disturbed in consequence of what had occurred in relation to the failure of the Conference upon Egyptian affairs. I think we ought not to attach too much importance to such statements as these; but, at all events, the country will welcome the assurance contained in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech.

Sir, the question of Egypt is one which has occupied a great deal of time and attention in this House, and the Mission of General Gordon has excited the sympathy and interest of everyone in this country; I think, however, that by the debates which took place in this House last Session it was made abundantly clear that there were many persons who were more than uneasy at the delay on the part of Her Majesty's Government in sending relief to that gallant officer. The necessity seemed beyond doubt, and, therefore, I believe that everyone will approve the steps which Her Majesty's Government have taken, whilst the progress of the Expedition is being watched with the intense interest which the circumstances naturally excite. I think, Sir, also, that the terms in Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech which refer to the services rendered by General Gordon in his perilous Expedition are such as will command the assent of all. The exceptional difficulty and danger of the task he was called upon to perform, the remarkable character of the man himself, the wonderful energy displayed by him in maintaining in safety himself and everyone with him in their isolated situation at Khartoum, cut off from all communication with his friends, surrounded by treacherous enemies—all these circumstances combine to make him and his companions the central figures in the thoughts of all who take an interest in what is occurring abroad, and a pride in the gallant deeds of their countrymen. I wish it were in my power to say anything to the House as to the painful uncertainty which surrounds the position of the gallant Colonel Stewart. So far as can be found out, all the fresh information that has been received does not go far to encourage our hopes; but the fact that Lord Wolseley has been sent out to command the Expedition, and that Her Majesty's Government have to ask for additional supplies, show that they mean to spare no effort which may be necessary to open up the route to Khartoum, and to enable General Gordon and those whom he has been helping to defend themselves to return in safety. Whatever may be the opinion of hon. Members as to the policy adopted by Her Majesty's Government in relation to the Soudan, I think everyone must agree that, so far as this Expedition is concerned, they are only fulfilling a duty to General Gordon, whose perilous position has been due to no fanciful policy of his own, but to the necessities of the problem which he was sent out to solve. It will be found, I feel confident, that when he is able to make those communications which before long we hope he will be able to make, although his action on some occasions may have caused us surprise, and caused the Government surprise, it will be found that during the whole time he has been loyally endeavouring to carry out the instructions given to him in circumstances of unexampled difficulty.

Sir, I think, with regard to Egypt Proper, the difficulties of the position in which we are placed are, undoubtedly, numerous; but I believe, also, it will be found that, so far as the reforms which we have been attempting to inaugurate are concerned, a steady progress has been made. As to the present position of the finances of Egypt, Her Majesty's Government have naturally supported the Government of the Khedive in taking the steps which were forced upon him, owing to the failure of the Conference upon Egyptian affairs, to solve the difficulty; but I think we may expect that the Government of the Khedive will be able shortly to resume its proper financial position, and that the House and the country will endorse the policy of Her Majesty's Government. The task which has fallen to us in Egypt is not one that is likely to be accomplished in a moment; but I think if we can succeed in time in establishing order and good government in that country, and if in so doing we can establish among the people feelings of respect for us and a recognition of our good-will towards them—I think, if we can do this, there will be some compensation for all the money we have spent and all the infinite trouble we have been exposed to in our endeavour to accomplish that task.

Now, Sir, it is necessary for me to say a few words on the subject of South Africa. The situation of affairs there is, I regret to say, far from satisfactory; but, at the same time, we must admit that this is a description which I am afraid cannot be said to be an unusual one. I shall not attempt now to enter into the details of what has taken place there, or to fix the responsibility for them upon any particular policy past or present, because I have no doubt that the subject will be fully discussed in this House by those who are much more able than I am to do so, and because to speak of a question of this kind in the spirit of any Party can lead to no good. But I think I may say truly that however easy it is to be wise after events, and to say "You should have done this," or "You ought to have done that," there is no part of the globe in which the British Government have to act where the conditions that have to be dealt with are so complicated, so shifting, and so contradictory as they seem to be in South Africa. The late Government made a very vigorous attempt to unite the conflicting elements in South Africa; the premature attempt at Confederation, however, failed, and I think I may say that the last state of affairs there has been worse than the first. The present Government, on acceding to Office, found themselves involved in difficulties with the Transvaal Government, and those difficulties have continued ever since. Twice have Her

Majesty's Government attempted to establish a *modus vivendi* with the Boer Government and people, and twice have the Boers broken the Convention made with them, before, so to speak, the ink was dry; and so people are beginning to ask themselves, not unnaturally, what is the use of making agreements with a Government which seems either unwilling or unable to carry them out when made? Would it not be much better for us to make up our minds as to what we ought to insist upon, and then insist upon its being done? One of the great difficulties which has beset every Government in South Africa has been the undoubted fact that the majority of the Boer population in the Cape Colony has sympathized with their fellow-countrymen in the Transvaal; but there was, I believe, a hope entertained a short time ago that public opinion in the Cape Colony was ready vigorously to support the re-assertion of the Convention which has been broken, and I believe, Sir, that the inhabitants of the Colony are now ready to re-assert that Convention. I hope they will be successful, and that, having done so without the shedding of blood, we shall be able to congratulate ourselves that the question has been settled without another South African War; if not, I do not see that there is any alternative to the pushing forward of those preparations which Her Majesty's Government are already making, which will insure the faithful performance of the Convention, and the security of the Natives to whom we have pledged our word. Sir, I think the lesson which this country ought to learn from these events is that if peace is ever to reign in South Africa, if respect for the British name is to continue there, and if South Africa is to remain an integral portion of Her Majesty's Dominions, we shall have to deal with the matters arising there with a firm and steady hand. There is no more precious trust committed to the care of the Government of this country by the people from whom they derive their power than the national reputation for good faith—there is nothing which they should more vigilantly guard; and while the people of this country are anxious that the Government should avoid all engagements, the difficulties in the execution of which might involve us in embarrassment and complication, they will always be found willing to support them in rigidly fulfilling those to which they have pledged their word.

Now, Sir, turning from these important topics, I come to that great question which is the cause of our meeting here to-day. I do not think it is necessary for me to further refer to the circumstances which have called us together; but I may take this opportunity of expressing my most earnest hope that, having been summoned to discuss this question in Parliament, we shall address ourselves to the task of overcoming—not of aggravating — the difficulties of the position. I believe sincerely that it would be both a discredit to the good sense and reputation of the people, and a misfortune to the country at large, if this question be not settled without further agitation. Those who have watched the proceedings at the many meetings held throughout the country will have seen that there has been a tendency on the part of the speakers to deliver their addresses with increased warmth of expression, and on the part of the audiences an inclination to do something more than listen. So that, if there were no other reason for the assembling of Parliament, I think there are many who will agree with me that it is high time to change the scene of the controversy from the platforms of the country to the floor of this House, where, Sir, under your strict supervision, we may hope that our discussions will be conducted with somewhat less excitement, and with a greater desire to arrive at a settlement of this question, than the stimulating atmosphere of public meetings seems generally to promote. Now, in speaking on this question, I wish, as far as possible, to do so without Party feeling, and to approach it with the honest desire of seeing a measure pass which, I believe, will be for the benefit of the people; and I think I am only stating a fact when I say that every Member on this side of the House, except the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), came here pledged to support this measure, the natural, unavoidable, and desirable complement to the Act of 1867. From that pledge, Sir, we cannot and will not recede, and we shall fail in our duty to those who returned us to this House if we deliberately adopt any course that would place the fate of that measure in the hands of those who are not responsible for it. In every other respect I believe we are most anxious to meet the views of our opponents, and as, with, I believe, the exception of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), we are all agreed upon the principle of the measure, there seems to be no reason why, if good sense is to prevail, we should not arrive at a settlement of this question. But, Sir, there is one thing which I admit must be first got out of the way, for it has tended greatly to aggravate the agitation which has taken place throughout the country. It will have been observed that in this agitation there are two sections, which seem to be each actuated by an ulterior motive, and not only that, but in whose minds that ulterior motive is the paramount idea—the one section desires to destroy, the other section desires to re-assert, to revivify, if I may say so, the powers of the Upper House of Parliament. Now, I ask this question—Are these ulterior motives to prevent the passing of this great measure for the better representation of the people, on the passing of which all reasonable men have set their minds? Surely both the sections to whom I have referred have reason to be satisfied with the advance that has been made. Those on the other side of the House would do well to be satisfied, I think, with the thousands who have flocked to their standard for one reason or another, and rest for a time with the comfortable assurance to be drawn from that fact before they put the question to any ruder test; while hon. Members on this side must surely be satisfied with the fact that they have brought this great question within the region of practical politics. If they will but remain quiet, and allow their opponents to cherish a little more the delusion under which they labour, it will not be long before they receive a challenge on the longed-for issue. Let each of these sections, then, give thanks for what it has received, and let us proceed to a practical consideration of the work which is immediately before us; and I repeat that it is my conviction that if these ulterior motives can be got rid of there is no reason why we should not come to a settlement. The only condition which Her Majesty's Government lay down is that the Representation of the People Bill and the Redistribution of Seats Bill shall not be made dependent the one upon the other; and I say, without fear, that if Her Majesty's Government were to consent to such a condition they would have betrayed the confidence reposed in them, and would be inviting Parliament to a deliberate waste of time; because it must be patent to everyone who has observed the difficulty of passing any Bill through Parliament that were the Franchise Bill made dependent on the Redistribution Bill the interest in the details of the latter would become so enormous, and the temptation to criticize at length and move Amendments to them, always great, would be so increased, that the discussions would become almost interminable, with the result that there would not be the slightest chance of either of the Bills for the representation of the people passing into law during the present Parliament. If the Government consented to such a course they would be deliberately sacrificing the Bill to which they are pledged, and inviting Parliament to waste its time. Everyone must admit that such would be the case. ["No, no!"] That is our view, although hon. Members opposite do not look upon it in the same light; and therefore we consider that Her Majesty's Government cannot be too strict with regard to the terms laid down. But, on the other hand, it seems to me that hon. Members opposite are possessed with a great suspicion that Her Majesty's Government have two Redistribution Bills in their minds, and that the character of the Bill which they will eventually introduce depends entirely upon whether the Franchise Bill is made dependent on the Redistribution Bill or not. If the Government can pass the Franchise Bill apart from redistribution, they appear to think that so great will be the power they will obtain and the leverage they will get, and so unscrupulous the use they will make of them, that they will produce a Bill which will annihilate the Conservative Party. If, on the other hand, the passing of one Bill is made dependent on the other, they seem to suppose that the Government will be obliged to produce a Bill which will save the Conservative Party from the extinction which they fear. Now, Sir, I want to show how unreasonable these suspicions are. In the first place, the Franchise Bill, if taken as evidence of the frame of mind of the Government, goes to show that there is no desire to be unfair to the Conservative Party. What temptation is there for us to pass an unfair Bill? I say, Sir, that the temptation lies entirely in the opposite direction. We have the declaration of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) that it is impossible to produce any scheme of redistribution not obviously unfair, which will not be Liberal in its operation. ["No, no!"] Well, Sir, that is our opinion, and, that being so, I repeat that, so far from there being any temptation on our part to do that which is unjust, so strong is our position that the temptation lies all in the other direction. For the sake of getting the Bill, we can afford not only to be just, but generous. I am sure the Government have every disposition to meet the views of their opponents, whether it be in securing that the agricultural interest shall not be swamped by the urban, or by giving any other reasonable pledge that may be asked for. But it is said that the Government have no intention of carrying out its pledges. Well, Sir, I reply that that is an unworthy suspicion. I believe that there are enough honest men in this House to see that the Government does fulfil its pledges, and the fact that there are 180 Members of this House who have pledged themselves to the principle of proportional representation is a strong guarantee that nothing unfair will be done in any Redistribution Bill that passes this House. Whether any practical scheme can be formed which will give effect to their views and be acceptable to the country is a matter of doubt; but there is one thing which is not a matter of doubt, and it is that in subscribing to that principle each and all of those 180 Members are bound to oppose any proposition which is designedly calculated to give an unfair advantage or preponderance to any Party or interest. Those hon. Members make a formidable Party, and to my mind constitute a very powerful guarantee that any unfairness in a Bill of this kind will be corrected, and that any attempt to alter what is fair will be successfully resisted. Then, again, there are on this side of the House a large number of Liberal county Members whose natural tendency will be to assert the claims of the country to as full a representation as the towns, and to prevent the swamping of agricultural interests by a great infusion of purely urban population. As to the independence of these hon. Members, the Government has, on more than one occasion I believe, discovered that they were not always on their side. Taking all these things together, I feel most strongly that there are, in the present state of this controversy, elements of agreement which ought to prevail. The Government, I am sure, short of yielding the vital point for which they are contending, will go far in the direction of conciliation, and I need hardly add my conviction that they ought to be met in the same spirit; we ought to desire to see the settlement of this question for its own sake, apart from the consideration of the consequences that will result, if it be not settled, grave as they are. Public opinion witnesses to the fact that there are hundreds and thousands of our fellow-countrymen—men and women—who, in spite of our boasted prosperity, civilization, humanity, and religion, are living in a state of degradation and wretchedness, which we know we ought to be ashamed of, and which is not only a disgrace, but a source of danger to the country. And, Sir, while I do not, for a moment, wish to exaggerate the powers of legislation as being greater than those of religion, or of moral or social reform, yet it is through Parliament that the wants of the people find a voice, and through Parliament that their grievances are discussed, and the proper remedies, be they social or be they legislative, are brought before the attention of the public. The disgrace of our great towns is the miserable accommodation for the poor—the hovels in which thousands of our fellow-countrymen are living. The curse of the country is the degradation and wretchedness caused by drink, aggravated, in a great degree, by the system of licensing. None but those who have taken an active interest in matters of this kind know what the feelings of the people with regard to them are. Give these people votes, and we shall find that these questions, and many others like them, will no longer be neglected or tinkered at by a half-attentive Parliament. Whatever can be done by legislation to promote a better state of things will be done, and whatever cannot be done by legislation will be pressed on and stimulated by a widened and strengthened public opinion, and so the position of the country will be strengthened, as nothing else will strengthen it, by the greater happiness, welfare, and contentment of the people.

Sir, I must conclude the observations I have had the honour to make on this occasion by asking pardon of the House for having trespassed on its time, and by thanking hon. Members for the kind attention with which those observations have been received. If I have deviated at all from the general lines of usage on these occasions, I must plead, as my excuse, the strong interest which I take in the great measure to be brought before us, and my anxious desire that it will be passed into law during the present Session. Sir, I beg to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty, to convey the thanks of this House for the Most Gracious Speech delivered by Her Command to both Houses of Parliament:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that Her Majesty continues to maintain relations of amity with all Foreign Powers:

"To assure Her Majesty that we learn with satisfaction that, although the information received from the Soudan includes painful uncertainties, yet the energy, courage, and resource conspicuously displayed by General Gordon in the successful defence of Khartoum deserve Her Majesty's warm recognition:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that the advance of Her Majesty's Troops to Dongola has for its object the rescue and security of that gallant officer, and of those who have so faithfully co-operated with him:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that in Egypt itself Her Majesty is using Her best endeavours to promote further improvement; and that Her Majesty has given Her support to the Egyptian Government in the difficult financial position in which it has been left through the failure of the recent Conference:

"Humbly to assure Her Majesty that we learn with regret that circumstances have occurred on the South-western frontier of the Transvaal which demand Her Majesty's vigilant attention; and humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that, in conjunction with the Government of the Cape Colony, Her Majesty is engaged in considering the means which may be required to secure the faithful observance of the Convention of the present year:

"To thank Her Majesty for informing us that the operations in the Soudan will render it necessary to ask from us a further pecuniary provision:

"Humbly to thank Her Majesty for informing us that the Bill for the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise will at once be introduced:

"Humbly to assure Her Majesty that our most careful consideration shall be given to any measure which may be submitted to us, and that we earnestly trust that the blessing of Almighty God may attend upon our labours."

MR. SUMMERS (who wore a Court dress) said: Sir, in rising to second the Address in answer to Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech, it will hardly be necessary for me to bespeak the kind consideration and indulgence of the House. That consideration and that indulgence have always been extended to an hon. Member placed in the trying position in which I now find myself; and they will not, I am sure, be withheld from one who, though he may have no other claim upon the attention of hon. Members, has this, at least, to urge in his own behalf—that during the four and a-half years that he has enjoyed the honour of a seat in this Assembly, he has not unduly obtruded himself upon the notice of the House, or wasted any considerable portion of its precious and invaluable time.

Mr. Speaker, the House will doubtless have learned, with feelings of pleasure and satisfaction, from one of the opening sentences of Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, that her relations with all Foreign Powers are of a friendly and harmonious description. By a statement of this character, it is not, I imagine, intended to convey the impression that, since Parliament rose in August last, there has not been so much as a ripple upon the smooth surface of European politics. In dealing with a difficult and complicated question like that of Egypt, and a question, be it remembered, in respect of which each of the Great Powers of Europe has a recognized *status* and *locus standi*—it is impossible at all times, and under all circumstances, to avoid the occurrence and recurrence of a certain amount of friction, and, it may be, even of conflict. What we have to congratulate ourselves upon is that, up to the present time, at all events, that friction and conflict have been kept within reasonable limits, and have not assumed any serious or alarming proportions. The various Powers of Europe, and more especially the neighbouring Government of France, though they may have differed from us at particular junctures, on particular points of policy, have felt bound to admit the disinterestedness of the aims, and the purity of the motives, by which Her Majesty's Ministers have been actuated. Nor is it, Sir, in any way surprising that differences of opinion should have existed amongst the European Powers. It would, indeed, be the merest affectation to deny that serious differences of opinion exist even within the walls of this House; and there are probably few men of candid and impartial mind amongst us who, looking back upon the connection of this country with Egyptian affairs for the last six or eight years, would not be prepared to make the admission that grave errors of judgment and of policy have been committed by one or other, or possibly by both, of the great Parties in the State. To hon. Gentlemen who may be disposed to condemn without mercy the action of the present Advisers of the Crown with respect to Egypt, I will simply say that it will not be possible for us to pass a final judgment upon their proceedings until we know the end as well as the beginning of their policy. Three years ago I remember to have heard the Prime Minister, when addressing the working men of Leeds, tell them that in all that he and his Colleagues would do in Egypt, they would proceed not for dynastic purposes, not for selfish views, not by any endeavour to make the interests of the English people paramount in the Government of Egypt as compared with the interests of the Egyptian people, but that their great aim and object would be to secure those ends which were for the benefit of Egypt herself. I make bold, Sir, to express my firm conviction that it is precisely in proportion as Her Majesty's Ministers rise "to the height of this great argument," or fall short of it, that they will be applauded or condemned by posterity. Shall I be regarded as a man of too sanguine and confiding a temperament if I venture, at the same time, to see in the reforms that have been already accomplished, and in the Mission of Lord Northbrook, with all that that Mission of necessity involves, sufficient and conclusive evidence that Her Majesty's Ministers are redeeming the solemn pledges under which they lie, and are furnishing the world with proof which cannot be shaken that they have really and sincerely at heart the interests and the welfare of the Egyptian people?

My hon. Friend the Mover of the Address (Mr. Stafford Howard) has dealt so fully and exhaustively with matters relating to the Soudan and South Africa, that it will not be necessary for me to trouble the House with any further observations upon foreign affairs. Indeed, Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, on the present occasion, may be said to reflect very faithfully the mind and feeling of the country, in that it gives especial prominence to one particular topic, and that a question of domestic concern. In my humble judgment, Mr. Speaker, it is matter rather for rejoicing than regret that the great question of Reform, for the moment, at all events, has, like Aaron's rod, swallowed up all other political questions whatsoever. Hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, no less than hon. Gentlemen opposite, are doubtless filled with the swellings of a just and lawful pride when they reflect upon the wonderful achievements of the men of our race who have gone forth from our shores to plant the British language, British liberties, and British laws in the uttermost parts of the earth. We, on this side of the House, no less than hon. Gentlemen on that, regard the government of the teeming millions of our vast Indian Dependency as, perhaps, the greatest trust ever imposed by Providence upon a powerful and high-spirited people. We likewise recognize, to the fullest possible extent, that Great Britain has duties to discharge, and interests to protect, in almost every quarter of the globe. But whilst we entertain these views, we are, at the same time, most firmly convinced that those are not amongst the least wise of our statesmen and public men who have not scrupled to express the opinion that, after all, it is here in England that the real strength and power and greatness of the Empire lie. How, then, could our Parliaments, how could our statesmen be more wisely or more profitably employed than by seeking to extend the limits of human freedom on English, on Scottish, and on Irish soil? Mr. Speaker, it will not, I am sure, be necessary for me, at this time of day, to argue out the Franchise Question upon its merits. By almost universal confession and acknowledgment, the Franchise Bill, which was introduced by Her Majesty's Ministers, and carried through this House by enormous majorities in the last Session of Parliament, was a just, a moderate, and a reasonable measure. It might even be described, without the smallest exaggeration, as an essentially Conservative measure. It left the freemen undisturbed in the counties. It introduced no new principle into the Constitution. It simply sought to extend to householders in the counties those political rights and privileges which, by the Act of 1867, had been conferred upon householders in the boroughs. The remarkable thing, Mr. Speaker, is in reality this—that in the last quarter of the 19th century we should be still discussing the question whether one-half of the nation is any longer to remain in a condition of political dependence and political servitude. As my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan), whom we are all delighted to find filling, at last, his proper place in a Liberal Cabinet, told us, long ago, if the English agricultural labourer had been born a negro in the United States of America, he would have acquired the suffrage as soon as he had attained his majority; if he had been a peasant of Switzerland, or of France, he would have been in the possession of the franchise for a generation; and if, instead of being an Old Englander, he had been a New Englander, he and his forefathers before him would have enjoyed all the rights and privileges of citizenship for a couple of centuries. The Bill introduced by the Government being then as just, as moderate, and as reasonable as I have described, I proceed to ask the question, What was the reception it met with at the hands of the two great branches of the Legislature? As all the world knows, it met with great and growing favour in this House. If it had simply depended upon the action of the Representative Chamber, the Franchise Bill would, at this moment, have been an Act. Upon the second reading—when we affirm the principle of a measure—it was carried by a majority of 130; and when we went into Committee the majority for the Government assumed still more formidable proportions. The just, wise, and statesmanlike proposal of the Government that Ireland should be included within the scope of the measure was carried, not merely by a majority of 130, but by a majority of 195. And when, Sir, we came to the third reading of the Bill, the opposition entirely collapsed, so that it stands recorded on the Journals of this House that the third reading of the Representation of the People Bill was carried *nemine contradicente.* It is no exaggeration, therefore, but the plain and simple truth, to say that the Franchise Bill went from this House to "another place" with the practically unanimous assent of the Representatives of the people. What happened when it reached that "other place?" I am well aware, Mr. Speaker, that I must be careful in the language that I use. I observe that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) has his eye upon me, and I can assure the right hon. Gentleman that I have not the faintest desire in the world to excite his indignation, or to disturb the serenity and equanimity of his temper. I shall not, therefore, say that noble Lords in "another place" rejected the Franchise Bill. I shall not even avail myself of the homely vernacular of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), and say that they "chucked it out." I shall content myself with the assertion to which no exception can, I trust, be taken, and shall say that their Lordships simply refused to allow the Bill to pass. That is the reason, Sir, and that is the only reason, so far as I am able to discover, why Her Majesty, acting on the advice of her Ministers, has summoned us together, after a Recess unusually short, for this extraordinary Session of Parliament. What is to be the issue of our labours? The Franchise Bill, we may reasonably anticipate, will once more be carried by large majorities in the Representative Chamber, and will once more be presented for consideration to their Lordships' House. What is to be its fate? That is the question of all-absorbing interest to us at the present time. We are sometimes told by men of high character and position in the country that it is altogether inconceivable that their Lordships should be so wanting in respect and consistency as to allow a measure to pass in November to which they refused their assent in July. I trust, Sir, that such a consummation it is not so inconceivable as some would have us believe. Since July last, many things have happened that might well furnish to the most careless and casual observers ample material for reflection. The ancient right of public meeting has been largely availed of throughout the length and breadth of the land. We have had from week to week, and from day to day, meetings of every conceivable kind and description, ranging from the magnificent demonstrations in the streets of London and of Glasgow to that now historic gathering in the back parlour of a Welsh public-house, which was so select that we are told it consisted only of a chairman, a paid secretary, and a very little boy, but was, at the same time, so influential that we have likewise been told, on no mean authority, that it spoke the voice of Wales. Mr. Speaker, it has been my privilege, during the Parliamentary Recess, to attend many large and important gatherings of my fellow-countrymen in various parts of Great Britain; and if the House will bear with me for a few moments longer, I should like to state very briefly, but, at the same time, with perfect frankness, what has been the impression produced upon my mind by what I have actually seen. Of the last and, in some respects, the most marvellous of the celebrated Mid Lothian campaigns, of which I was an interested spectator, I would simply say that, apart altogether from the particular opinions expressed by the Prime Minister at Edinburgh and elsewhere, it must have been matter for general congratulation to find that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government was in full possession of all his old vigour, and of all those powers of stirring and matchless eloquence with which he has so often charmed the minds and captivated the affections of the British people. And not, Mr. Speaker, of the British people alone, for that gifted and high-souled Irish patriot, who has recently passed away from amongst us, would have been the first to admit that the right hon. Gentleman has succeeded, in a way in which no British Minister ever did before him, in winning for himself a place in the hearts of the Irish people also. But, Mr. Speaker, it is not of the Mid Lothian campaign that it is my main intention to speak; I wish, in a few brief sentences, to state to the House what I believe to be the prevailing opinion and sentiment of the vast majority of the electors and non-electors of the United Kingdom on the topics which have so largely engrossed their attention of late. In the first place, then, I believe the people of this country are really in earnest in their desire for the passage of the Franchise Bill with the utmost possible despatch. After the agitation which we have witnessed during the last few months, no hon. Gentleman or noble Lord who has the smallest regard for his own reputation will have the hardihood to get up in his place and tell us that the British people are supine or indifferent on the subject of the extension of household suffrage to the counties. It is true that hitherto they have, speaking broadly and generally, been extremely moderate and good-humoured in their conduct of the agitation in which they have taken part in such vast numbers and with so much public spirit. Nor is the reason far to seek. They believed that there was in power a Government that was fighting their battle for them; and they were so confident of the justice of their cause, that they knew there could be but one issue to the conflict. They believed, I say, in the sincerity and earnestness of Her Majesty's Ministers on the subject of Reform; but it was not, I regret to say, by any means so easy to persuade them that the new-born zeal of hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite for the extension of the suffrage was above suspicion. I shall be told that many of them are poor, misguided Radicals, who could not be expected to take an impartial view of the actions of right hon. Gentleman opposite. Possibly that may be so. Right hon. Gentlemen, however, have it in their power to undeceive these misguided men by making their actions correspond with their words. Let them vote for the second reading of the Franchise Bill, the principle of which they profess to approve, and they will not only thereby earn for themselves the gratitude of the 2,000,000 of men who must shortly be enfranchised, but they will, at the same time, show themselves to be, in reality as well as in name, the protectors and guardians of the Constitution, I know not, Mr. Speaker, what may be the effect of my appeal to hon. Gentlemen opposite. It may be that it will fall upon deafened ears; but this I do know—that I can appeal with confidence to hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House to strengthen the hands of Her Majesty's Ministers, and thereby enable them to raise this Parliament to an elevation to which it has not yet attained, and to make it memorable in the annals of our history as the Parliament which did a tardy act of justice by granting to 2,000,000 of our fellow - countrymen, householders inhabiting the counties, those elementary rights and privileges of citizenship of which they had been too long deprived. I thank the House for the kindness and patience with which they have listened to my remarks, and I beg to second the Motion of my hon. Friend.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, &c."—[See page 69.]

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker—Sir, it is usual for anyone who addresses the House after the Mover and Seconder of the Address to express on the part of the House a sense of the skill and ability with which those Gentlemen usually discharge their duties; and I am sure I may say with regard to both the hon. Gentlemen who have spoken to-day that we feel and recognize and congratulate them upon their great eloquence and great power of speaking. The hon. Member the Mover has, I think, gone far beyond that, and merits our acknowledgment of the great dignity and good taste with which he has spoken on several very important subjects. I am afraid I cannot altogether speak of the Seconder in the same tone that I should of the Mover, for I think there have been some parts in the latter portion of his address which do not seem to me to be extremely well calculated to promote that which the hon. Mover has so well expressed when he spoke of his desire to overcome, and not to aggravate, the difficulties of the situation in which he said we are placed. It seems to me there were many parts of the speech of the hon. Member for Stalybridge (Mr. Summers) which are not calculated to assist the discussion of the Franchise Bill when it may come before us; but I would ask the permission of the House to abstain as far as possible from now entering into the discussion of that question, as it is a matter which must be brought before us very shortly, and is a matter which ought to be very carefully and very candidly considered. I own I was disposed to derive from the language of the Gracious Speech which Her Majesty the Queen has addressed to us some consolation, and to think that it showed an inclination on the part of Her Majesty's Government to take a broader view of the question of the representation of the people than was taken in the Speech from the Throne of last Session. I was pleased to observe that the Speech on the part of Her Majesty began by saying that she had brought us together

> "In order that we may be enabled at once to give further consideration to the great subject of the representation of the people in Parliament."

Now, I could not but contrast that with the language used by Her Majesty last February, when, at the commencement of last Session, she spoke of the measure which was to be presented to us as one

> "Which will have for its principal object the enlargement of the Occupation Franchise in Parliamentary Elections."

That was the minor portion only of the whole subject of Parliamentary Reform, and it was because the Government proposed to deal only with a portion of that great subject that so much difficulty arose. I saw with pleasure that Her Majesty had been advised on this occasion to take a wider and broader view, and to speak of the whole of the great subject of the representation of the people in Parliament; and I feel well assured that if Her Majesty's Ministers are prepared to make proposals to us which are adequately represented by that language, such proposals will receive candid consideration on the part of all hon. Members of the House alike. But it must not be understood that we can in any way depart from the view we have taken in this House and out of the House, that it is essential that this great question should be considered as a whole. I believe that there is a very large and general feeling throughout the country of a desire, as has been said by the Mover and Seconder of the Address, that the franchise should be extended. There is no question of that, and that accounts for the very many and very large attendances that have taken place at meetings held during the Recess on the subject. But that is not the point at issue. It is a question of how we are to bring about that extension of the franchise in a manner consistent with the maintenance of a proper system of Parliamentary representation. We maintain that this is so large and important — so vitally important—a question that the two parts must not be separated in our minds, but must be considered together, and that we must act with reference to the whole subject, and not merely only to a part of it. Therefore, the meetings in the country that have been referred to have been extremely significant, on the side of those whom we have had the honour of meeting, because those have been meetings of persons who were perfectly ready and anxious for the extension of the franchise, and yet who were ready to listen to the arguments and consider the grounds and reasons by which we showed that the two parts of the question ought not to be dissevered. I said I would not attempt at this time to go fully into this matter. I am anxious to hear from the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister and from the Government what are the proposals with which they now meet Parliament, and what course they propose to take. I can only say, on my own part, and on the part of those who sit on this side of the House, that I earnestly trust that the Government will take such a course as will enable us, consistently with the views we have not harshly but deliberately formed, to cooperate with them in this great measure. Now, Sir, we have been called together for the purpose of dealing with this question; but there are portions of the Queen's Speech which seem to show that even if there had not existed that reason for calling us together, still Parliament would probably have been asked to meet. There is no doubt that very great importance attaches to the other subjects which are brought forward in the Speech, such as to make us rejoice that we have the opportunity of meeting the Government and obtaining authentic information as to these matters. I am glad to believe that we shall receive full information with regard to those subjects; but I do not observe that anything is said as to the presentation of Papers relating to the Egyptian Question. It may be a mere accidental slip; but I understand that Papers are to be presented to us in regard to the Transvaal, and nothing is said as to Papers with reference to Egypt. I think that is a very extraordinary omission, for Egypt is a question which is assuming, year by year and month by month, more and more important proportions, and is developing greater difficulties. The Speech informs us that the information received from the Soudan includes "painful uncertainties." The phrase, I am bound to say, I think is original. I do not think that I have ever seen it in any Speech from the Throne before, and I do not exactly know what is its precise meaning. But, undoubtedly, there are most "painful uncertainties," and there have been for some time; and it is with a feeling of serious and deep disappointment that we come together and find that all that Her Majesty's Government is able to tell us is that there are "painful uncertainties" connected with the position of affairs in the Soudan. I was deeply grieved to hear—for I suppose the hon. Member spoke with some official information—the Mover of the Address say that the intelligence with regard to Colonel Stewart is not such as to lead us to form any very hopeful opinions as to his safety. I had hoped that we might find that the Government had some reassuring information, for this is a subject upon which the heart of England is deeply touched. We are anxious indeed to know what is the fate of that gallant man, and whether everything has been done that could have been done to avert the danger. We cannot help feeling that his position, like that of General Gordon, is one that not only calls for our admiration and for recognition on the part of Her Majesty and the Government, but it also requires that we should be assured that everything has been done that could have been done to secure the safety of those distinguished and gallant men. And I am bound to say that, as at present advised, it does not appear to me that the course taken by the Government has been such as to provide for that necessity. I cannot help remarking the way in which the statements in regard to General Gordon and his Mission have gradually developed themselves in the communications that have been made to us. I would ask the attention of the House for one moment to these extracts from the official communications made to us. In the Queen's Speech of the 5th of February we were told that Her Majesty had offered the Egyptian Government such counsels as were required by a prudent regard to the amount of its financial resources, and to the social condition of the country—

> "I have also despatched Major-General Gordon to report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the Interior of the Soudan."

Have we ever received any Report that answers to this description? I doubt very much indeed whether the Report he did give at all answers to that description. At all events, General Gordon went to the Soudan, as he afterwards tells us, with the full expectation that he was to be supported by the Government. He went out to a position of very great peril and very great responsibility; and from the communications with which we have been favoured by him up to the time when communications were practically broken off, it appears that he had found, by degrees and step by step, that he was not to receive that support upon which he had calculated, and upon which he had founded his hopes and his plans for conducting the operations that he undertook. However, time went on, and late in last Session, on the 5th of August, Her Majesty's Government came down to the House and proposed a Supplementary Vote, not exceeding £300,000, to enable Her Majesty to undertake operations for the relief of General Gordon, and to make certain preparations in respect thereof if they should become necessary. We are not told what has occurred since, but are now informed that the energy, courage, and resource conspicuously displayed by General Gordon in the successful defence of Khartoum deserve Her Majesty's warm recognition. We had heard nothing of the successful defence of Khartoum up to this point, and it occurs to me to ask what is the intention of the Government with regard to Khartoum. What is it that General Gordon is doing there which deserves Her Majesty's recognition, and yet which is consistent with the communications which were made before he went out, when it was understood that Khartoum was to be abandoned? We want to know what is the real state of the case; and I presume, at all events, that when application is made to us for money we shall obtain full information on the subject. But I think it would be desirable if earlier than that we could receive from the Government some intelligible statement of what the exact position of General Gordon and of our forces respectively are in Egypt. What is the plan that they have in view, and what is the intention with which that plan is framed? Then with regard to another matter connected with Egypt. I find that on the 14th of August, at the close of the Session, Her Majesty made reference to the failure of the Conference upon the finances of Egypt, and proceeded to say—

> "I shall continue to fulfil with fidelity the duties which grow out of the presence of my troops in the valley of the Nile; and I trust that the special mission, which I have determined upon sending to that country, may materially aid me in considering what counsels to tender to the Egyptian Government, and what steps to adopt in connection with that country."

Are we to receive any communication as to what the effect of this special Mission has been? Are we to be told what Lord Northbrook advised? Are we to have Papers laid before us? We know that in the course of last Session a Conference was summoned, and that Her Majesty's Government was represented at that Conference, and we know that that Conference failed in its result. We know also that there were in connection with that Conference very important proposals made and very important communications between Her Majesty's Government and that of France. But we do not know what has happened since—we do not know at all in what position matters stand. We were told that they were urgent then, and they cannot be less urgent now, unless something has happened of which we have no idea, and it is very important that we should be told at the very earliest moment what is the position of the Government in regard to Egyptian affairs, and when information is to be given to us on the subject. I have no doubt the Government will give an early day for bringing this matter before us in a Constitutional and proper manner when they ask for the Vote in Supply. But we must not be content with merely having a discussion upon the Vote in Supply for the military operations. We ought to have an opportunity of considering the information which no doubt will be presented to us in regard to the Egyptian policy generally, and the policy which cannot be discussed upon a mere question of Supply. I hope, therefore, that the Government will find time to enable the House to discuss that policy fairly and fully. There is another matter mentioned in Her Majesty's Speech, and upon which there is very great and very natural anxiety—I mean the condition of affairs in South Africa. The hon. Member for East Cumberland (Mr. S. Howard), in his speech, gave us some information—I do not know whether it is to be regarded as official—that preparations are already being made for military operations in the Transvaal. I think we ought to be told whether that is so, and we ought to have full information on that subject. But I observe it is stated in Her Majesty's Speech that Papers are to be presented on that subject; and therefore I do not think it necessary for me now to go further into the question, or to refer to it more, than to make a note of it as one which it will be our duty to further consider on another occasion. One other point there is which I must notice, because it is not included in the Speech. I think that if the information that we have received in the public journals is correct, it is a matter of great interest, on which we naturally expect some information. We are informed that the Government have agreed to join, with the other Powers, a Conference on the subject of the Congo and of West Africa. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] I see the right hon. Gentleman appears to dissent from that. I can only say that the statement is made and published; and if not true, it is well that attention should be called to the subject, because the matter is one of considerable importance, and of great interest to the commercial community of this country, and in regard to the civilization of Western Africa, as well as, indeed, of very great interest generally to all those who are anxious for the promotion and extension of civilization generally; and I hope the right hon. Gentleman may be in a position to give the House some information as to the position of affairs in that part of the world.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, there has been a perfect calmness of tone pervading the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, which I shall endeavour to imitate. It appears to me that it is wise that we should keep as nearly as we can to the ancient custom of Parliament in regard to discussions on the Address. Polemical discussion cannot possibly lead on this occasion to any result; and the premature entrance into it has no other effect, I think, than that of rendering it more difficult to deal with the practical issues when the proper time for them arrives. I therefore thank the right hon. Gentleman, and I will endeavour to follow the good example he has set. The right hon. Gentleman began his speech with a just and grateful compliment to my hon. Friends the Mover and the Seconder of the Address for the ability with which they discharged their difficult task. In that compliment I entirely concur; and the only difference from the right hon. Gentleman that I should make is this—that he thought it necessary to draw a distinction between the Mover and the Seconder, which distinction I am not disposed to draw at all. I perfectly admit that the right hon. Gentleman has the entire right to express his own opinion upon matters that were said by either of those Gentlemen; but he will agree with me that, on the occasion of moving and seconding the Address, there is invariably allowed to the two Gentlemen who perform that Office, by the kindness and the indulgence of the House, a certain degree of licence, a certain degree of latitude—I will not say licence—and the sentiments they utter are by no means to be taken as adopted by the House simply because the House concurs in the Motion which they make. With that observation I think the House will not be of opinion that that liberty was exceeded on the present occasion; and, as the right hon. Gentleman said, both my hon. Friends showed themselves to be possessed of a power of speech well entitling them, when they think fit, to take part in the debates and discussions of the House. In referring to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman I will notice first, because I can very briefly dispose of it, the reference to the subject of the Congo—a Conference which goes beyond the subject of the Congo—and I rather think the expression, though I am not quite sure, is that the subject of it embraces Western Africa in general. I am not quite sure of the phrase; but in substance I believe I am correct. It was impossible for us to advise any reference to that subject in the Speech of Her Majesty, because it had not reached such a stage of ripeness as would have enabled us to make a positive communication to the House. It was felt by Her Majesty's Government to be necessary to obtain certain preliminary information, and that preliminary information was only obtained in such time as to enable the acceptance of the proposal for a Conference to go from this country so lately as yesterday, from which the right hon. Gentleman will perceive that we were not in a position to make a communication to the House through the medium of the Speech. I believe we shall be able to lay information on the subject before the House very shortly, and I think the House will find that the subject opens hopeful and not unpleasant prospects to the country, so far as we are able to estimate what may probably be the attitude of the Powers on this subject. The right hon. Gentleman has referred with a just reserve to the subject of South Africa. My hon. Friend the Mover of the Address aimed, I think, at depicting what he deemed to be a just position on this subject—namely, that we ought to make up our own minds as to that which we deem to be necessary, either for the honour or for the just interests of the country; and, having made up our minds, to adhere firmly to the intention so formed. That is, I believe, a perfectly accurate description of the present position. In framing the Convention of 1884, we certainly endeavoured to proceed on the lines of moderation; but that was with the view that, having proceeded on those lines, the stipulations contained in that Convention must be respected, and it would be our duty both ourselves to adhere to them, and likewise to expect, and if necessary require, that they should be adhered to by others. That is the direction in which it will be our duty to move. We shall move in that direction, and I think, as far as we are able to judge, in entire concurrence and harmony with the Government of Cape Colony; and I must say, although recent events have been in certain respects painful, yet I will not assume that they have yet received their final colour, even as far as the Transvaal is concerned, while I think we may contemplate with great satisfaction this important fact—that, perhaps for the first occasion in the recent history of South African controversy, there is a general sentiment in the population as to the course of policy that ought to be pursued, and the old distinction of Dutch feeling and Anglican feeling, so far as our information yet goes, is no longer in existence. I am not speaking of the population of the Cape Colony. I must not speak as if we were in possession of final and complete information. The House will recollect that these matters are transmitted by telegraph, which, although it has the advantage in giving us information at an extremely early date, yet necessarily limits its character as compared with that given by the old method. But, so far as our knowledge goes, I think I am justified in the statement I have made to the House. With regard to the subject of Egypt, the right hon. Gentleman observed that we had promised information in the shape of Papers as far as South Africa is concerned; but that we had made no similar promise with regard to Egypt. The reason is a very simple one. In the case of South Africa, Papers are laid on the Table from time to time; but in the case of Egypt there has been an almost constant and scarcely intermittent flow; and although it is perfectly true that there is no reference to the subject of Papers in the Speech, yet Papers have actually been laid before the House by my noble Friend the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Those Papers, I believe, will come down to the end of September, and will include general information with respect to Egypt, excepting those matters in connection with finance which are specially embraced in the function of Lord Northbrook, and particularly, I will say, they will give to the House the latest information which we have obtained from General Gordon. The right hon. Gentleman observed that we have been silent for a long period respecting General Gordon. It is quite true, and the reason why we were silent was a very good reason—a reason applicable to the conduct both of Governments and individuals with great advantage; and it is, they should be silent when they have nothing to say. The extraordinary difficulties which General Gordon has had to cope with have had the effect of keeping Her Majesty's Government and the country in almost entire ignorance, not so much of his position, but of his views. We have had from other parts incidentally, casually, but still in no inconsiderable quantity taken together, indications as to his actual position, so far as security is concerned; but with respect to his views, I may say that until the arrival of telegrams perfectly recent we have no means of pronouncing upon them. In these circumstances, the course we have taken is, that never has a disparaging or questioning word passed from the mouth, so far as I know, of any Member of Her Majesty's Government. I did think it unfortunate when the right hon. Gentleman himself, at a very early period of the last Session, thought it necessary to say that the Mission of General Gordon had failed. I protested against that declaration at the time, because I felt this—that the Mission of General Gordon must not be considered merely with reference to what it achieved; but also with reference to what it prevented. We must remember the tremendous dangers affecting the whole of Egypt, possibly affecting countries beyond Egypt, which the great catastrophe which happened to the army of General Hicks in November last appeared to threaten. The whole of these dangers have been arrested, and the evil has been kept within local limits through the action of General Gordon; and even if this result had been the only result, it was one of the greatest importance with reference to the welfare of Egypt, and with reference to the state of the Eastern portion of the world. I will only, on the present occasion, refer very briefly to one or two matters mentioned by the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman says that within a short time after the Mission of General Gordon took place he found he was not to be supported. Now, the right hon. Gentleman will recollect—I do not remember the precise date, I think the 8th of April, but I am not quite sure—a telegram was received from General Gordon, in which he expressed his warm thanks for the support he had received. I think it was earlier than the 8th of April—["No, no!"]—at any rate, on a certain day he expressed his warm thanks for that support. What happened? Almost immediately afterwards General Gordon thought it necessary to centre his policy, and found his policy upon the Mission of Zebehr Pasha. With regard to that Mission, that was undoubtedly a great and sudden change of opinion on the part of General Gordon, because very shortly before he had deprecated in the strongest manner the Mission of Zebehr Pasha. Whether Her Majesty's Government were right or wrong in declining to send Zebehr Pasha, they were perfectly aware that it was fraught with great embarrassment to General Gordon, and great difficulty was introduced into their relations with General Gordon. But I may remind the House, in the first place, of the state of opinion which prevailed here with respect to the Mission of Zebehr Pasha—such a state of opinion that I very much doubt whether at that time one-tenth part of this House would have been ready to support or tolerate that Mission. Secondly, I must observe this—it is a most important point—when, unhappily, it came about that immediately after we were obliged to make that abrupt refusal, there came the interruption of the telegraph, and the impossibility of communicating with him and putting him in possession of our ideas, or receiving his ideas; and therefore there was much doubt, much embarrassment, and a state of opinion which I think it may be said that those who differed from us were not slow to profit by, and to lay numerous charges against Her Majesty's Government. However, Sir, that, happily, has passed by, and we are enabled to state what we think with respect to the astonishing gallantry and resource displayed by General Gordon. The House does not commit itself, on the occasion of an Address of this kind, to a single sentiment that is contained in the Speech, and I think it is well that the House should not deviate from that form of proceeding, because the precedent might be dangerous; but I am quite sure that among those who hear me there are many who would very gladly concur in the sentiment of the Speech with regard to General Gordon if the form of our proceedings permitted of such a course, and that the House, as well as Her Majesty, is of opinion that the energy, courage, and resources so conspicuously displayed by him deserve warm acknowledgment. It is asked what we mean by "painful uncertainties." We might, perhaps, if we had not been afraid in a case so difficult of placing too cheerful a colour upon intelligence—we might have advised that the Speech from the Throne should say that the general tone and tendency of the recent intelligence from the Soudan was satisfactory. I think, at any rate, it is not going too far for a Minister to express that opinion in the Speech, of course with the reserve that must necessarily attach to any opinion founded on information so imperfect as is ours, and amidst so many uncertainties as attach to a set of circumstances in a country at that distance and existing under these peculiar conditions. But the right hon. Gentleman asked, and was entitled to ask—"What do you mean by commending General Gordon for the defence of Khartoum? And is your policy with regard to Khartoum what it was?" Certainly it is. There has been no change in the policy of the Government in respect to Khartoum. If there had been such a change it would have been the prime duty of the Government to have made it known to the House of Commons. But what we understand, and believe to be the case, from the information before us, is that the defence of Khartoum was concluded by General Gordon to be a matter of absolute necessity, not for his own safety only, but likewise for the safety of those to whom he was committed, and who had committed themselves to him in regard to carrying forward the operations that were necessary to hold off the assailants that surrounded him. That, Sir, is the reason why the words "defence of Khartoum" are introduced into the Speech, and not because we consider there ought to be a retrocession from the policy previously announced. The right hon. Gentleman will now quite understand that "painful uncertainties" refer merely to the grave and serious doubts which I am afraid I must say still hang over the fate of Colonel Stewart. That is a subject on which there will be, as the right hon. Gentleman said, an universal feeling of anxiety and sympathy; and he will, I think, feel that it was a not very unnatural impression on our part that, under all the circumstances, and with the remarkable manner in which Colonel Stewart has participated in these gallant and heroic proceedings, there should be that mention of him in the Speech from the Throne. I do not think there is reason why we should abandon hope, though the apprehensions are certainly grave. All that we know about Colonel Stewart is laid actually on the Table, and will, I trust, be in the hands of Members in the course of a few days. Of course, with regard to the question of supporting General Gordon, the right hon. Gentleman knows that we have been limited by those peculiar conditions of climate attaching to a country like Egypt, and especially of the use of the River Nile as a means of military operations. It has not been a voluntary or capricious delay on our part; but we have felt that it would be improper to expose a mass of British soldiers, in defiance of all reasonable calculations of prudence, even for such an important object as conveying aid to General Gordon. It was our duty to ascertain, as far as we could, what the condition of General Gordon was; and it was our duty, in considering how aid could be supplied to him, to take into view the best means—even, under the most favourable circumstances, means of extreme difficulty—of bringing the Forces of Her Majesty to the point at which their presence would be useful. The right hon. Gentleman also wished to know what information and when information would be given with respect to the subject of Lord Northbrook's Mission. The present position of that matter is as nearly as possible this—We are under the belief that Lord Northbrook will quit Alexandria to-morrow, and that the space of about a week would bring him back, I hope, safe and sound, to this country. I need not say that it was his duty to avail himself of the whole time of his stay in Egypt—during which he really displayed an activity that we have viewed with pleasure, but with some surprise at the amount of fatigue he was able to undergo—it was his duty to avail himself of the whole of that time before endeavouring to bring into shape the important recommendations that he may have to make. No doubt, shortly after he returns he will have those recommendations in form. It will be the duty of the Government, and, in point of fact, the policy of the Government indicates that the Government recognize the necessity of giving to these recommendations their immediate consideration; and the result of that consideration, and the steps they may think fit to take in prosecution of it, will be made the subject of the earliest practicable communication to Parliament. I pass, then, to another question — the great subject that has attracted the heart and mind of the country, especially within the last two months—I mean the representation of the people. The right hon. Gentleman criticized the expressions of my hon. Friend the Seconder of the Address in his able speech; but I think there was an omission in his critical notice which he will forgive me if I supply. He cannot, I think, have failed to observe that while my hon. Friend—both my hon. Friends—delivered their own opinions conscientiously and clearly in respect to the duty of the Government, and the duty of the House to follow a certain course of policy, they both of them, in the strictest manner—and certainly the Seconder no less than the Mover of the Address—abstained from anything that could by possibility be construed as a menace to the House of Lords. Now, considering that the subject of menace to the House of Lords has been long the greatest and most favourite topic of complaint, I think I am right in taking note of, and recording, that undeniable feature of the speeches of the Mover and Seconder of the Address. Now, what am I to say of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite upon this subject? He was pleased to take notice of what he thought an improvement in the tone of the Speech from the Throne. He said that—"The Speech from the Throne in February directed our attention particularly to the Franchise Bill; while the Speech from the Throne at present directs our attention to the subject of the representation of the people, which may include a Bill for the redistribution of seats, or any other portion of the great question of Parliamentary Reform." The doubt, the friendly doubt, that has arisen in the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, is to know whether we intend to depart from the course we took in the last Session of Parliament. Now, Sir, as far as that doubt is concerned—and a certain degree of pain generally accompanies the existence of doubt on an important subject—I can [relieve the mind of the right hon. Gentleman, and, in fact, I believe I had relieved it by the Notice I have given to-night that to-morrow it will be my duty to move for leave of the House to bring in a Bill for amending the Representation of the People, which is precisely the same title that was given to the Franchise Bill last Session. I observe the technical words. If I had given it more briefly it would have been a Notice to ask leave for to-morrow to introduce the Franchise Bill. The House will, I hope, make no difficulty in giving leave for its introduction. It will then have the Bill in its hands, and then, no doubt, it will be perfectly legitimate for any Gentleman who thinks it his duty to make observations, with whatever scope and breadth he may think fit, on the subject of that Bill. But the right hon. Gentleman used some conciliatory words, of which, I am afraid, I must test the value. Nothing could be more gentle than the tone of the right hon. Gentleman; and I trust it will be felt, even by the younger Members of this House, who have not yet had as much experience as some of us have had of what may be called Parliamentary vicissitudes, and the real difficulties of carrying on public affairs. I trust it may be felt that the difficulties in which we stand involve grave, serious, and solemn responsibilities; and that, whatever opinions we may entertain, and whatever conclusions we may feel ourselves compelled to abide by, the maintenance of that gentleness and quietness of tone, of which the right hon. Gentleman has set us a good example to-night, is a duty incumbent on all hon. Members of this House. Now, Sir, what is, after all, the contention of the right hon. Gentleman? He says there are two parts of this subject. He thinks that the effort of Parliament ought to be how to bring about a proper system of representation; and that this cannot be done unless the two parts of the subject—extension of the franchise and the redistribution of seats—are combined together; they must be considered together; they must be treated as one subject; and he earnestly trusts that Her Majesty's Government will consent to treat them as one subject. What is the meaning of these words? In one sense, and that a most substantial sense, it has always been our desire to treat them as one subject; and here I ought to refer to a particular observation of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the phraseology of the Speech.

It speaks of Parliament as being brought together to consider the great subject of the representation of the people in Parliament. Well, Sir, what does that mean? Supposing we have our way—supposing that what we think the dictates of wisdom and prudence found their way to the minds of those who are concerned—supposing that, in consequence, the subject of the franchise is disposed of without difficulty—does the right hon. Gentleman suppose that we should be stickling for time on the subject of redistribution? On the contrary, there is no degree of pressure that could be applied to us to which we should not readily answer. It would have been most improper if we had advised the Crown to confine the Speech to the subject of the franchise. It would have been as good as saying that we totally excluded the hope of that reasonable accommodation which, we trust, may be obtained—so much so that we, quite as much as he, from the language of the Speech, desire to treat these two great portions—not the only portions—but these two great portions of the question of Reform as one subject, but as one subject, the parts of which are to be taken in their proper order, and are not to be so disposed and accumulated one upon the top of the other, so that the safety of the whole shall be endangered. It is but right that, without anger or warmth, I should express what I sorrowfully believe to be the true construction of the right hon. Gentleman's words. I am afraid that the true construction of his words is this—that by what he has called, and fairly called, his most "earnest trust," and with the most winning gentleness of phrase, he simply asks the majority in this House to abandon, after the experience of the last two months, the course which they took without and before the experience of the last two months. That is the request of the right hon. Gentleman. The request of the right hon. Gentleman, I am afraid, is this—"Adopt our views, pursue our methods of proceeding, recede from every declaration you have made; turn topsy-turvey all that you have said about the absolute necessity for the purpose of practically getting through the subject of separating and severing the Bill upon seats and the Bill upon franchise, and then, when you have gone through that process, and undertaken to wear a white sheet, you may rely upon it that we, the minority in this House and the majority in the House of Lords, having completely conquered you, and completely discredited and dishonoured you in the face of those to whom you have made contrary professions, shall be most happy to concur with you in carrying into effect what you propose." Now, Sir, is that a hopeful state of things? Am I wrong in my construction of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman? I would wish with all my heart that some of those interruptions, some of those cries of "No, no, no!" that we occasionally hear from various quarters on the opposite side of the House, were at this moment to arrest my progress and assure me that I am wrong. But I see hon. Gentlemen, like the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) sitting perfectly satisfied with what I have said. They will forgive the musical and gentle tones of the right hon. Gentleman with which his intentions are declared for the sake of the substance contained beneath them. How does this matter really stand? I must, after what the right hon. Gentleman has said, say a few words on my view of the case, and what I think is the view of the Government. They shall be very few; but they will fulfil the pledge I gave; they will contain nothing that ought to irritate or offend, nor will they attempt to discuss the question; they will simply aim at making plain and intelligible the situation in which we stand. There has been some reference to-night, in one of the speeches, to the conduct of the people in the course of the wonderfully active and extended gatherings and discussions on this great subject. There were few, but still there were certain, exceptions to the order and mildness of conduct which have marked the whole conduct of the nation upon the subject. With regard to these exceptions, I learn, like others, through the newspapers, what has happened at Birmingham; and, again, I learnt, if possible, with even greater regret, what happened personally to Lord Salisbury. I then learnt, though it came from the other side, of the outrages that had taken place in the city of Portadown in Ireland. For my part, if I refer to this subject, I must refer to it first with a strong expression of my extreme admiration of the general conduct of the people with regard to the whole matter. They have shown the greatest triumph of civilization in the capacity of the masses of the nation—sometimes greater, sometimes smaller — to meet together and to discuss questions of the deepest interest, on which the strongest difference prevailed, and yet show respect for every difference of opinion, and, above all, to maintain absolutely the laws of order. I will not do what I might be tempted to do, and will not express my regret about the language and the proceedings that might have been connected with the origin of these infractions of order; I reserve any criticism of that kind until the period when the subject can be controversially debated, which it cannot be by me to-night. I wish to record in the strongest manner my disapproval—I may say my grave condemnation—of all breaches of order in connection with this question, even under circumstances of temptation, or even incitement. The line between order and disorder is a definite line—the question of what is incitement and what is provocation is open to argument and dispute; but the line of order is a definite line, and the maintenance of it is necessary for the honour of the people. I should condemn any disorder in point of policy; and I should condemn it on principle if I did not believe it to be inexpedient. On this subject I am certain I speak the sentiments of my Colleagues as well as my own. What is the position in which we stand with regard to this great and solemn subject? We have, on the one hand, a considerable majority in the House of Lords which has not faced the plain question of affirmative or negative, but which has, by a collateral movement, arrested the progress of the Franchise Bill. We have, on the other hand, a large majority in the House of Commons, a majority so large that on the third reading it was not thought fit to challenge the delivery of the Speaker's opinion that the "Ayes" have it. I know that we had a discussion in which it appeared, on the testimony of two perfectly credible and most respectable Gentlemen, that both of them had uttered a negative; but I do not think that either of them disguises the fact that the negative was so uttered that it was not meant to reach the Chair; and negatives that do not reach the Chair—I believe I am speaking sound Parliamentary Law in saying—are no negatives at all. Well, Sir, that is our view of the position of the two powers that stand face to face; and, disguise it how you may, the real question is which majority is to prevail. Our contention is, Sir, without wandering into the problems of abstract politics — our contention is that upon the facts of the case before us the majority of this House ought to prevail. Well, why ought it to prevail? What is the function of a majority? I own it appears to me to be expected by some of the Party opposite that the minority is to have the privileges of the majority. What I understand to be the right of the minority—the positive right of the minority—is the right to fair, full, and free discussion, so that none of its arguments may be kept back, but always placed fairly and fully in the view of the country. That I understand to be the right of the minority. But, Sir, upon this occasion we have at all times gone further, and, while firmly exerting the right of the majority, and determined never to recede from it—we have always admitted, and not only admitted but asserted, that that right of the majority ought to be exercised in a spirit of equity and gentleness. We have always desired to give every assurance that could be given; we began by volunteering, which was an unusual step, declarations on the subject of redistribution, which, if they were defective, were not altogether unimportant. They were, it is true, my own declarations; but in their general scope they were successively taken up by other Members of the Government—I think by two Members of the Government whom I now see sitting on the Bench—my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) and the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain)—as they were likewise in the other House of Parliament. Would it not have been a natural course, if there had been a disposition on the part of the minority to push matters forward, for them to say—"Your declarations are good as far as they go, but they do not go far enough, or they ought to go further; you ought to tell us more about what your intentions are." Is it fair or right that the minority should make upon the majority demands which that majority cannot concede without abandoning all its most solemn pledges? We are ready and desirous to meet you by giving you every assurance as to the procedure upon redistribution, which can be given without fatally mixing up together two questions over which, when once mixed, we should have lost all effective power to prosecute to an issue. What is it that you ask of us? It is a surrender at discretion; it is a betrayal of the cause we have taken up. Ask us—and then the gentleness of tone which the right hon. Gentleman observed will be even more appropriate than it was to-night—what you think we can give; but to ask us to surrender at discretion, to ask us to pass under the Caudine Forks, to ask us, the majority, and the large majority of the people who are governed by representative government, to give in to the small, the comparatively small minority in this House which did not think it necessary to assert its convictions on the third reading of this Bill, because there is a majority against it in the House of Lords—do you, as reasonable men, each in your own Chamber, think that that is a demand which it is possible for us to meet? That is your contention; what is ours? Our contention is that while we ought to show all consideration for the minority, who, as yet, have given us no light at all upon the subject of in what any further consideration should be shown—that while we are willing and most desirous to show all consideration for the minority, while our desire is to press to the uttermost the subject of Reform, including the subject of redistribution of seats, to follow immediately upon the franchise, yet we cannot accede to the terms which involve the forfeiture of all our most solemn pledges, of all our deepest convictions, of all our most recent and reiterated declarations. Is our contention, after all, so very unreasonable? Does the right hon. Gentleman see no danger in the state of things that is before him? If this Bill be again—I will not say rejected—but put aside in the House of Lords, does the right hon. Gentleman think that when the controversy is resumed the question of the popular franchise, with or without redistribution of seats, will be the only question raised before the country? [An hon. MEMBER: That is a menace.] Sir, I have hoped against hope; I have laboured with all my heart, to the best of my ability, to confine this controversy within its present limits. I have no doubt there are those who would not be sorry to extend it, and I must say their generosity in consenting to allow me to strive to limit it I am bound to acknowledge; but I am sorry to say that from those who stand in the position of the Leaders of the opposite Party we have heard nothing down to the present time that encourages me to believe there can be any useful result from these efforts. I shall persevere in them notwithstanding, because I am not to assume that there may not be those of different political associations from mine, Members of the Conservative Party, but who, notwithstanding, are not willing to play the rash game of staking the fate of their order and the balance of the Constitution on the opinion they have formed with regard to the severance of the franchise from redistribution. I have been moved by a double motive, and I am moved by a double motive in what I say. We have met here—for what? Not, so far as I am aware, to discuss a new Franchise Bill. I frankly own I have said all I have to say. I believe that the whole of those who sit on this side of the House, or very nearly the whole, have said all that they have to say. Of course, they have no right and no disposition to prevent those who think otherwise from reiterating their arguments if they believe that those arguments are likely to produce any useful effect; but on every ground I cherish the hope that our discussions on the Franchise Bill may not be greatly prolonged, not merely for the important purpose of saving the time of the House, though that is very important in relation to the limits of physical strength—which we so seriously press upon, and in relation to those other subjects which the right hon. Gentleman expresses his anxiety to have time to discuss; but I am afraid a prolonged discussion of the Franchise Bill by this House may not tend to the easy settlement of the question. After all, what we have to do is to make a new appeal to the judgment of the other House of the Legislature. Our opinion is that most important evidence has been brought before the other House of the Legislature within the two months which have just passed. Take it as you like for the present; we shall be ready to discuss that when the time comes. Our desire is, that the consideration of that evidence should, as soon as possible, for the interests of all, come before the House of Lords, and that it should come not clouded and troubled by the effect of discussions, which might be angry discussions, in this House, with regard to which I am afraid the longer they are prolonged the greater will be the difficulties in settling the question. Why do we desire that this question should be settled? I desire it, I am not ashamed to say, on Conservative grounds. I desire it because I wish to secure the extension of the franchise, and afterwards of redistribution of seats, upon principles or rules, if that word is more applicable, which we have every desire to make intelligible to the House and to Gentlemen opposite. But, besides desiring that, I own I do desire that we should keep the question within its present narrow bounds. I deprecate this extension of the controversy; I do not wish it, and I will not be responsible for adding anything to it. Let Gentlemen who are desirous of combining redistribution with franchise take care lest they combine something more critical than either with them both. To the last I will not abandon the hope even of the Leaders of the Party opposite. Of the followers I cannot help entertaining some considerable hope. I tell the right hon. Gentleman that I most earnestly trust that he, while there is yet time, and those who sit around him, will join in the effort to keep this large and important question —I mean this franchise and redistribution question—apart from conjunction with other questions which he assuredly cannot wish to raise. [*Opposition cries of* "Why not?" *and* "Order!"] I own, Sir, I am taken by surprise, for I learn it is the desire of some Gentlemen sitting on the Conservative Benches to raise the question of organic change in the Constitution of the country. That is the only meaning which that energetic "Why not?" can possibly carry. I have often thought myself a great deal more Conservative than a great many of them are, and I am confirmed in that opinion by this exclamation. But it is far from my desire to enter into a conflict with anybody to-night. I have merely stated my desire, and I say that even now, at the eleventh hour and past the eleventh hour, I will not altogether allow the hope to be extinguished that the right hon. Gentleman may join in delivering this question from the dangerous neighbourhood of another question which, as a Conservative statesman, he ought to be the very last man in the House to wish to see connected with it.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: The right hon. Gentleman stated that it was far from his intention to enter into a conflict with my right hon. Friend or anybody else in the course of his observations; but the last 20 minutes of his remarks contained nothing but direct attack. The right hon. Gentleman disclaimed any intention of using words of menace; but what is his idea of a menace? He warned us against the danger of a great organic change. The right hon. Gentleman also said that he would not join in any effort to produce such a change until he had exhausted every other means of dealing with the question.

Mr. GLADSTONE: No; I am not aware that I used those words.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: I will accept any words which the right hon. Gentleman may suggest; but that was his meaning—[Mr. Gladstone: No.]—and was so understood by his supporters below the Gangway. The whole of the last part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech directly menaced the House of Lords and the Opposition in the House of Commons, that if they should not do as the right hon. Gentleman wishes there will be an agitation for an organic change in the Constitution; and he gave us to understand pretty clearly that if that should be the case we need not look for much assistance from him. The right hon. Gentleman began by stating that he had most carefully abstained, during the whole of his Scotch peregrinations, from saying anything disrespectful of the House of Lords.

Mr. GLADSTONE: No; I never said anything of the kind. What I said was that all my efforts had been directed towards narrowing the field of the controversy.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: But how did the right hon. Gentleman proceed to narrow the field of the controversy? He pointed out that during the last 50 years the House of Lords had taken no step for the advancement of public liberty, or for the public interest. That is a very strong statement, and that is the special mode which the right hon. Gentleman has adopted of narrowing the field of controversy between the two Houses. Why, the whole of the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman had one tendency only—namely, to bring into the disrepute and disesteem of the masses of the people the votes and position of the House of Lords; and the menaces of the right hon. Gentleman have culminated in his speech to-night. As a Member of the House of Commons, I will not shrink from any responsibility that may devolve upon me in consequence of the course which I pursue. We shall have to discuss this Bill when it comes before us. If the right hon. Gentleman can show any other reasons than those hitherto assigned with so little force and effect upon the matured judgment of the country why this question of the franchise should be altogether disconnected from that of the redistribution of seats, let him adduce them. Hitherto, however, we have heard nothing from the right hon. Gentleman but the language of menace and violence, and to such language there is only one reply—that we will not be guided by such considerations as the right hon. Gentleman has brought before us.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he thought it strange that no Member of the Government had thought it necessary to reply to the noble Lord who had last addressed the House. The statements made by the Mover of the Address had confirmed a suspicion he had long entertained, that the question of the franchise did not admit of any compromise properly so called. That hon. Member had said that under no circumstances must the two measures be made dependent upon each other, and the Prime Minister had more than endorsed that view. On the other hand, the Opposition entertained the notion that under no circumstances could the two measures be separated; and they held that an absolute guarantee ought to be given that one of the two Bills should not become law and take effect unaccompanied by the other. The Mover of the Address had told the House that if the Opposition were dissatisfied with the views on redistribution which the Government had expressed, the Government would, by grouping boroughs, or in some other way, prevent the swamping of the agricultural classes by the voters in towns. What was the value of such guarantees? In his opinion they were insufficient and unsatisfactory; for the right hon. Gentleman could not guarantee that his Government would remain in Office for three months longer; indeed, if the right hon. Gentleman should meet with his deserts he would not remain Prime Minister for a fortnight. Hon. Members below the Gangway on the Ministerial side of the House wished that the Franchise Bill should pass in order that an election might be held under the new franchise with the old constituencies. That was the wish of the extreme Party in the House. [*Cries of* "No!"] And as that Party almost invariably got their own way, what guarantee could the right hon. Gentleman give that, with the best intentions in the world, he would be able to pass his Redistribution Bill in the teeth of the obstruction of his own Party? The right hon. Gentleman spoke in terms of condemnation of the disorders that had attended some of the franchise demonstrations. But was it possible for the right hon. Gentleman to suppose that his language that evening would not be taken as a direct incitement to greater disorders and outrages? The concluding portions of the right hon. Gentleman's speech were nothing else than a prolonged menace against the House of Lords. They might be placed in a serious, grave, and solemn position; but who was responsible for it? Why did the right hon. Gentleman place Parliament and the country in this position by adopting a method of procedure in connection with the question of Reform which no one had more strongly condemned than he had himself? [Mr. GLADSTONE: Never.] The right hon. Gentleman on one occasion characterized as base and contemptible any Government who, when introducing the question of Reform, should omit from their proposals that which was the most important part of the subject—namely, redistribution.

MR. GLADSTONE asked for a definite reference to the speech which the hon. Member had in mind.

MR. CHAPLIN said, he had not the quotation with him, as he had not intended to speak; but he believed his statement was correct. Over and over again the leading Members of the present Government and of the Liberal Party had condemned in no measured terms the method they now proposed to adopt in dealing with the question of Parliamentary Reform. From what they had heard that night in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, he was bound to suspect that the right hon. Gentleman had throughout some dark intentions on the subject, and that he had adopted this novel method of dealing with it in order to raise a cloud of controversy in the country, which would help to obscure his misdoings. In one paragraph of the Speech from the Throne they were told that there was painful uncertainty in the information received from Egypt; but that was the character of the whole history of the present Government. Their whole proceedings since they had been in Office had been nothing but a chapter of uncertainties. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, in his speech, had described the position with regard to the franchise from his view of the case, and had wound up by saying—"Which majority ought to prevail? The majority in the House of Lords or the majority in the House of Commons." In his opinion, the majority which ought to prevail in this matter was the majority which truly represented the views of the people; and when the right hon. Gentleman talked of the accumulated views which he hoped would now be considered by the House of Lords, what was the evidence of them to which he referred? Except in Scotland, where the Conservative Party had always been in an insignificant minority, as far as he had observed the demonstrations that had taken place, a very large amount of feeling had been called forth in support of the action of the House of Lords. That feeling he felt sure would be shown at the next General Election, whenever the Government dared to take an Election, and would have the effect of removing the right hon. Gentleman from a position his tenancy of which had resulted in seriously endangering the country.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, the derisive cheers of hon. Members opposite at the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire's (Mr. Chaplin's) inability to name the occasion on which the Prime Minister had called it base and contemptible were somewhat premature, for he (Mr. Grantham) was in a position not only to name the occasion, but to read the words he then used. It was on the 12th of April, 1866, that he said, after speaking on the importance of redistribution—

> "I had not thought it necessary to say this, because it seemed to me so obvious that nothing could be more contemptible and base than the conduct of a Government which could give forth, with a view of enlisting the generous confidence of its supporters, that it would deal with the subject of Reform and would stand or fall by its propositions, and which all the while could silently exclude from the scope of their declaration all portions of that question, except only the reduction of the franchise, though among such questions we find one only second in importance to that of the franchise itself." (3 *Hansard*, [182] 1144-5.)

He had listened with the greatest regret to the language the right hon. Gentleman had used, for it must have been manifest to everyone who heard him that from the beginning to the end of his speech he had but one view in his mind, and that was that the majority in that House which he had led to victory last Session was to be led again by him to victory without the slightest concession being made. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that the minority had a certain right of free discussion, but nothing more, and that the majority had the absolute right to control the practical destinies of the nation. That was not the view which he had always held of the position of a minority, for a few years ago he published an article in a periodical in which he urged the right of a minority to endeavour to change itself into a majority; and he even went so far as to say that it was the right of a minority to do that by obstruction. [Mr. Gladstone: No.] The right hon. Gentleman said "No;" but that view was expressed in a public print, and the whole subject of that article was the question of obstruction. It was true, however, that at that time the right hon. Gentleman was trying to justify the obstruction of the Irish Members; but it now seemed that the right hon. Gentleman's words applied only when they were obstructing a Conservative Government, and not when the obstruction affected a Liberal Government. The position in which Parliament was placed now was a very simple one. It was similar to that of 1872, when the House of Lords differed from the majority of the House of Commons on the question of the Ballot Act, and refused to pass a Bill which they believed was a bad Bill, and one which would not benefit the country. The Radical majority of the Commons threatened the House of Lords just as much then as now, but the Lords wisely took no notice of it; and what was the result? The Government, instead of giving way to temper, gave themselves up to framing a better measure; and after it had passed the House of Commons the following Session it was accepted by the House of Lords, and all true Liberals in the country joined the Conservative Party in saying—"Thank God, we have a House of Lords." It was the Constitutional right of the House of Lords to check hasty legislation. It had often in the past exercised that right to the great advantage and benefit of the country; and he failed to see why it should be now threatened, because on this particular question, which was one of procedure rather than of principle, it ventured to exercise its undoubted right. The Prime Minister had expressed his thanks to the advanced section of his followers for having allowed him to be so moderate. This was somewhat ominous as to the future course of the agitation. The Prime Minister had referred them to the remarks which he made with regard to redistribution when introducing the Franchise Bill, and said they ought to have accepted them as indicating the intentions of the Government; but they were at the time told that these merely represented the views of the Prime Minister himself, and that the subject had not been considered in the Cabinet. It was quite certain that the Conservative Party would not be satisfied with these shadowy allusions to redistribution. They would not put a rope round their own necks, as suggested by the Prime Minister, by passing the Franchise Bill without a Redistribution Bill. A great deal had been said as to the majorities by which the Bill was carried last Session. It was, however, an absolute misrepresentation of the case to state that the Franchise Bill had been carried by majorities of over 100 time after time. The great principle as to the separating redistribution and the franchise was only decided against the Opposition by about 30 votes. Did hon. Members opposite represent the country? He maintained that they did not; and, indeed, the majorities which were held up with such delight did not represent the opinions of hon. Gentlemen opposite themselves. They voted in fear and trembling of the local wirepullers. One Liberal Member had assured the House that at least 100 of his Colleagues on that side upon the *clôture* question were voting against their conscience, whilst another, last Session, had told them that he had voted black was white long enough. The Conservative Party believed that a majority in the country was behind them in this contest. The meetings held by them would in numbers, intelligence, and influence, compare well with those on the Liberal side. ["Oh, oh!"] Look at Manchester and Liverpool then. Why were they to be led with a rope round their neck? Why were they not entitled to more liberal treatment at the hands of their Liberal opponents? All that the Tory Party asked for was that the Redistribution Bill should become law during the same Parliament as the Franchise Bill. The matter having been so thoroughly thrashed out during the Recess, and in view of the statement that the Conservative Party were prepared to accept the Franchise Bill in the form in which it left the House last Session, he thought it was too bad, after all that had taken place, of the Prime Minister to come down to the House on the first night of the Session, and throw down the gauntlet in the way he had done, refusing any concession of the slightest imporance.

SIR JOHN KENNAWAY said, that whatever inconvenience might have been entailed on many Members of the House by the summons they had received to attend in Parliament that autumn, he felt sure that the gravity of the situation and the subjects referred to in the Most Gracious Speech from the Throne had caused them to come readily together to endeavour to assist by their deliberations in the best conduct of the government of the country. The points alluded to in that Speech were of great and grave importance. They had read with the greatest anxiety the accounts of the Expedition sent out to relieve that gallant soldier, General Gordon; they had watched with some anxiety, which must be shared by his right hon. Friend opposite, the probable cost of that Expedition, and they were desirous to know what means the Government would take to defray its cost, it being one of the canons laid down by the Prime Minister that Parliament should be consulted without delay when expenses of that sort had to be incurred. There was also the question of South Africa, which appeared to be full of the gravest danger to the *prestige* of this country, to the safety of our fellow-countrymen there, and also of those Native tribes whom we were bound in honour to protect. Moreover, the condition of our industrial population in the centres of commercial activity was such as to make them feel the deepest sympathy with the present distress; and he should have been glad to have found some of that sympathy expressed in the Speech, and perhaps some hope held out of an inquiry into the causes of the distress, or an indication that the Government were anxious to seek some measure by which it might be relieved. No less severe was the depression under which the agricultural population were labouring throughout the country. He recognized to the full the benefit which the present low prices conferred on the community in general; but that benefit was purchased at the cost of great loss to the cultivators of the soil; and he should have been glad to see that fact recognized, and the hope expressed that some means might be taken to alleviate the burdens under which the cultivator unjustly suffered. He rejoiced that all the agitation and counter-agitation which had been going on during the last two months—all the irresponsible talk on a thousand platforms—was about to cease; and he hoped that when the subject of contention was brought back to the arena where it could be properly discussed—namely, the floor of that House—the common sense of the whole people of this country would prevail, and it would be possible to find some mode by which a controversy, the prolongation of which could not but be hurtful to the best interests of the nation, though it might serve the ends of extreme Parties, might be brought to a termination. That feeling was much strengthened in his mind when he heard the speech of his right hon. Friend below him that night, in which he expressed, in all truth and honesty, his hope that the Government would take such steps as might enable the Conservative Party to co-operate with the Liberal Party in bringing about the settlement of that question. The Government had found themselves in want of a cry, and had taken up the question only after leaving it alone for four years. They had approached it from the point of view that they could not deal with the two questions of franchise and redistribution together, but could only deal with the more difficult one—that of redistribution—by putting under compulsion not only the House of Commons, but also the House of Lords. That method had gone against the strong feeling of the English character. An Englishman did not object to be led; but he did not like to be dragged with a rope round his neck. This was not a question of mere procedure; it was one affecting the future government of this country. If the question of redistribution was fairly settled, great good might come from it; whereas, if it were carried out on Party lines, the government of the country would then be practically handed over to one Party or the other. With reference to the speech of the Prime Minister that evening, he regretted that the Prime Minister had chosen to regard the language of the Leader of the Opposition as an invitation to abjure everything that they had done. The Prime Minister had told them that the Bill was to go up to the House of Lords with fresh evidence of the feeling of the country, and if that evidence had not its weight, so much the worse. But, in his opinion, there was a good deal of evidence on the other side, as had been admitted somewhat tardily by the leading journal. In 1832 they heard of no counter-agitation; there were no great meetings in favour of the action of the House of Lords. While professing a great desire for a settlement, the Prime Minister had made no move in the direction of conciliation. There was now a universal acceptance of the question of the franchise, which had not been the case in March; and he thought that the Prime Minister might have given them some assurance that he was ready to recognize this. He would venture to re-echo the words of the Prime Minister, and express a hope that, even at the eleventh hour, it was not too late to recognize the strength of these arguments. It was difficult really to sound the feeling of the country on the question by the meetings which had taken place in the autumn; there were vast numbers, no doubt, who were desirous of the franchise; but there were vast numbers who were apathetic on the subject. In the words of the Duke of Argyll, 2,000,000 of people were looking through the half-open doors. In considering a settlement of the question, it should be remembered that if there was high-handed action on one side it would be likely to be followed by stubborn resistance on the other.

MR. LABOUCHERE remarked that in the Queen's Speech he saw it stated that the energy, courage, and resource displayed by General Gordon deserved warm recognition. But the Government had absolutely no information about what was going on at Khartoum, as General Gordon had sent no despatches. How could they possibly tell whether General Gordon was defending Khartoum with energy and success, or whether he was roaming about the country destroying the Soudanese? What they did know of General Gordon did not increase his confidence in him in the slightest degree. General Gordon's instructions had been to evacuate Khartoum as soon as possible. As far as they could see, he certainly was not fulfilling these instructions, for the latest despatches showed that he was urging the Soudanese to slay the Mahdi. He did not wish to say anything about General Gordon; but he could not suppose that that was really the idea taken in the country or that House of what his duties were. This wonderful General did not send to tell them of anything that was taking place; all they knew was that he had bitterly complained of Her Majesty's Government having wished him to act as they desired, and not as he thought proper. General Gordon's wish was to maintain himself in the Soudan, and to establish there some form of Government which would be supported by us. According to all they could learn now, General Gordon did not appear to be in the slightest danger at Khartoum, but was able to send ironclads to bombard the towns and villages of the Natives. And yet the Prime Minister had told them that these people were fighting for their liberty, and that the Soudan was to be absolutely and entirely independent of the Egyptian Government. What, then, was General Gordon's position? Were they supporting him or not? Were they sending Lord Wolseley to bring him back whether he would or not, or to aid him in those outrageous acts against men who, the Prime Minister said, were fighting for their independence? With regard to the paragraph in the Queen's Speech, which told them that further pecuniary provision would be required, he took a Division last Session when only £300,000 was asked; and when the new Vote should come before the House he would again divide on the subject. He believed that the feeling of the country with regard to Egypt was that we should clear out of it as soon as possible. He did not see why we, who had so many poor people among ourselves, should spend money either to sustain the Egyptian Government or to maintain Gordon in the Soudan. He had the greatest respect for Her Majesty's Government; but he confessed he had never been able to discover what their policy was with respect to Egypt or the Soudan. With regard to the Franchise Bill, the Lords had got another chance. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had complained of the words of menace used by the Prime Minister in the controversy. Did hon. Gentlemen know so little of the feeling in the country as not to be aware that if the Prime Minister had not done everything he possibly could to prevent the agitation going further it would have much exceeded the present demands? He could tell hon. Gentlemen opposite that there was not one of the many meetings which had been held throughout the country at which a resolution would not have been passed almost unanimously for the abolition of the House of Lords, and it was out of respect to the Prime Minister that that had not been done. The right hon. Gentleman had said that if the Bill was thrown out again by the Lords the agitation would assume a different character. That was a fact, and not a threat. He was speaking as an out-and-out Radical; and he could assure hon. Gentlemen that he sincerely trusted and prayed that the House of Lords would throw out the Bill, because he thought the time had come when they should do away with that obstructive Assembly. Thanks to the Prime Minister, the Lords had got another opportunity of reconsidering their conduct, and if they did not do so they must take the consequences, for then there would be such an agitation as would astonish Gentlemen opposite. Did those Gentlemen understand that the backbone of the Liberal Party was the Radicals, though they were not fitly represented in that House? There were some very able Radicals in the House, but there ought to be a great many more. There were Gentlemen who on the hustings professed the most noble Radical principles, but when they came into the House forgot those principles altogether; the country, however, was going to take that matter in hand, and was determined that it would be represented by men who would support its opinions. Gentlemen opposite talked of organic changes; but they would be astonished at the changes which would take place in the next five years.

Mr. BOURKE said, he was not surprised that the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) should have been bewildered by some of the paragraphs in the Queen's Speech, because, certainly, the elaborate eulogiums poured upon General Gordon were very different from what had fallen from Her Majesty's Government on previous occasions. All they knew from General Gordon himself was that he was extremely disappointed with the conduct of Her Majesty's Government towards him. That was pointed out last Session, when such despatches proceeded from General Gordon as had never before been penned by a servant, civil or military, to his employers. But now they were told that General Gordon thanked Her Majesty's Government for the support they had given him. The Prime Minister was within his right in using that expression, because General Gordon, thinking that he was to be supported by Her Majesty's Government, did thank them for it. But from that day to this nothing could be more severe than the remarks of General Gordon on Her Majesty's Government. He was glad that even a tardy recognition had been made by Her Majesty's Government of General Gordon's services. He was not disposed to criticize in a hostile spirit that paragraph in Her Majesty's Speech, except so far as to say that they knew nothing whatever of "the energy, courage, and resource displayed by General Gordon" in his defence of Khartoum. He had no doubt that General Gordon had displayed the greatest energy, courage, and resource; but they were entirely without information on the subject, and, therefore, he looked forward to the Papers that were to be produced with a considerable amount of interest; but he very much doubted whether he should find in them any expression of thanks from General Gordon for the way in which he had been supported by Her Majesty's Government. There was one remark of the Prime Minister's which required some explanation. The right hon. Gentleman said that no change of policy was to be followed with regard to Khartoum. He did not believe that it would be possible for Her Majesty's Government to carry out the policy they originally announced with regard to it. An observation fell from the right hon. Gentleman afterwards, which clearly indicated that the course originally proposed by the Government as to Khartoum and the rest of the Soudan could not be maintained, because he said that General Gordon found himself under an absolute necessity of remaining at Khartoum for the safety of those who had committed themselves to him. It would be impossible for them to desert the people who had so faithfully supported General Gordon. Such a course would be received with execration by this country; and foreign nations would regard it with contempt. If the Government desired permanent prosperity in Egypt, the peaceful condition of the Soudan was absolutely necessary. He trusted, however, that the Government had given up the idea that the Soudanese were a people struggling for their liberty. Such an idea was totally inconsistent with the position and the Mission of General Gordon. At the end of last Session they had tried to get information as to the amount of money the Government proposed to spend on the Sondan Expedition; but they had failed. Immediately, however, after Parliament separated, the Government began to spend enormous sums upon it; and he asked whether it would not have been candid if they had taken the House into their confidence, and presented it with the estimates of their intended expenditure. The outlay would be very great, and though he did not doubt its necessity, he must attribute it to the pusillanimity and vacillation of Her Majesty's Government in not having adopted ordinary precautions a year, or even eight or nine months ago, which they had been repeatedly urged to do. He noticed that the advance of the troops to Dongola was mentioned in the Queen's Speech. He could not understand on what grounds the name of that place was inserted. He must assume there was some reason for it; but if the troops were to be moved there only, it was certain that they would not effect General Gordon's release. He was sure the whole House would sympathize with the remark made by the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government with respect to the exertions and activity of Lord Northbrook. He (Mr. Bourke) had no doubt the noble Lord had brought to the discharge of the very onerous duties imposed upon him by the Government all that ability and resource for which he was remarkable; but the Government, of course, were responsible for all he did, and he could not help expressing some regret that his first step should have been to advise the Government to break the law of Europe in a very serious manner. The Law of Liquidation was a most solemn compact entered into about two years ago, and the Concert of Europe was maintained more decidedly in regard to the Law of Liquidation than anything else. He did not desire to make the suspension of the Sinking Fund in itself a very great affair; but it was, no doubt, a very great infraction of the Law of Liquidation. It was, in fact, a laying hold of funds by the Egyptian Government when those funds did not belong to them; and it afforded not only a bad example to Eastern nations, but a very mischievous precedent could also be deduced from it by those nations which wished to repudiate their public engagements. All the Foreign Governments had protested against this step, and they had been brought into contest not only with them, but with the *Caisse de la Dette* and the international tribunals. This step was not merely a mischievous one; it was useless, for it only involved a matter of £300,000, and for the sake of this Her Majesty's Government advised the Egyptian Government to take a step so important, whereas it was very well known to financiers that there was a variety of ways in which these difficulties might have been avoided. As it was, the matter was left exactly as it stood before. Passing to another matter, he observed that mention was made of the West African Conference. He attached great importance to that Conference, and he believed that no more important question with regard to the future position of the commerce of this country had ever been raised. The interior of Africa opened up an unlimited field for British commerce. In these days of ultra-protective doctrines, it was desirable that England should show that she was in earnest about Free Trade, and should endeavour to secure a free market to our goods, which were now being met with hostile tariffs all over the world. He confessed he was a little nervous about what was going to take place in this Conference, owing to what had already occurred with respect to the Congo. They knew that a most mischievous Treaty would have been concluded with Portugal, which would have had a most disastrous effect upon the commerce of this country, had not the hon. Member for Manchester and others brought the question prominently before the House. The question of the Congo was a very important one. The Government, therefore, ought to be on their guard at the present time, especially considering the course which Germany had taken, and they should ascertain the exact position in which the country stood. England possessed at least 10 or 12 times more interest in these African rivers than all the other nations put together; and it was extraordinary that England should not have been asked her views with regard to the Conference until the last moment. England had already been prejudiced by the agreement between France and Germany. France took good care that her own rivers were excluded from the scope of the Conference; and both agreed that tolls and taxes might be levied on the other waterways to pay for necessary works—a provision under which almost any amount of taxes and differential duties could be imposed. He thought the country would be strengthening the hands of Her Majesty's Government if they made it known that they would be content with nothing less than absolute Free Trade for the great West African rivers, because that would open the door to commerce. It had been stated that if the waters of the Congo and the Niger were free the export of Manchester goods in a limited time would increase by many millions of pounds. In that case, he did not think there was any subject of greater importance than this which the Government could consider. This country might obtain enormous benefit from the Conference if it took place upon proper principles, and if the Government main tained a firm attitude with respect to the Governments of France and Germany. It was grossly unfair for France and Germany to put the Niger and the Congo upon one footing. The Niger had been a river for British commerce for many years. This country had a gunboat there to preserve order, and a British Consul who had made Treaties for the Natives in many parts of the river. The Consul was trusted and looked up to by all the French and German houses, and disputes were settled by him in a satisfactory manner. It was, therefore, the duty of the Government, before they entered into the Conference, to put their foot down and say that the Niger should not be treated in the same way as the Congo, unless all the rivers were made perfectly free.

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, the remarks of his right hon. Friend who had just sat down divided themselves into two heads—first, those relating to Egypt; and, secondly, those relating to the Western Coast of Africa. In speaking of Egypt, his right hon. Friend chiefly went over the ground with which the House became familiar during the debates of last Session. He did not propose to reply in detail to his right hon. Friend's remarks, and thus inaugurate a debate on foreign policy, as the Government had announced in the Speech from the Throne that it was their intention to ask the House for a further grant, and a proper occasion would then arise. Upon that Vote the right hon. Gentleman and his Friends would have a full opportunity of urging their views. He, however, thought that the right hon. Gentleman was hardly entitled to say that now, for the first time, Her Majesty's Government had spoken in a manner eulogistic of General Gordon, because throughout all these debates they had given to that distinguished man a firm, loyal, and unflinching support. The only attack made upon General Gordon which he had in mind was made last Session by hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite at the moment when the celebrated Slave Trade Proclamation became known in this country. Without waiting for General Gordon to be heard upon the subject in his own defence, they began attacking him, because they thought they might thereby strike the Government. The right hon. Gentleman should have addressed his question with regard to military details to another Department of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to have surpassed himself on this occasion in his efforts to place a different construction on facts than that they so plainly pointed to. Everybody knew that troops had been advanced to Dongola, and that that place was the centre of military operations in the Soudan. The right hon. Gentleman went on to refer to the Law of Liquidation; but it was clearly stated by the Prime Minister that, until Lord Northbrook's Report was in the hands of the Government, it was impossible for them to enter into a discussion of the difficult financial questions which that Report would raise. Further Papers in regard to Egypt would be in the hands of Members to-morrow morning. There would also be a Paper containing additional telegrams relating to a subject of painful interest—the doubtful fate of Colonel Stewart. Lord Granville was of opinion that the House and the country would wish to have the information before them; and, therefore, these short telegrams had been put together in a single Paper. Incidentally, there would be found information as to the recapture of Berber by the forces of General Gordon. In addition, he would lay on the Table a further general Paper relating to Egypt, which would come down to the 30th of September last. There would also be a few Papers of considerable interest of rather later date, some giving the latest information from General Gordon. He made no complaint of what the right hon. Gentleman had said about the approaching Conference; but he was struck by the tremendous flourish of trumpets about the horrors of Protection, because it was only a few days ago that Lord Salisbury delivered at Dumfries something like a defence of Protection. It might, therefore, be hoped that the zeal of the right hon. Gentleman for Free Trade would not be confined to the West Coast of Africa, but would also be available for home consumption. What the right hon. Gentleman said about the freedom of trade and navigation on the waters of Africa he accepted *in toto* in the name of the Government. Throughout the negotiations relating to the Congo the Government had the one object to secure such arrangements as would be most conducive to the freedom of trade and navigation. The most important clause of the defunct Treaty from the English point of view was that which proclaimed the freedom of the navigation of the river, and placed it under a Commission, consisting of a Portuguese and an English Member, an arrangement which was attacked with great violence in many parts of Europe as unduly favourable to this country, to which it was said it would have handed over the trade of the river. It was no part of our object to get the trade of the river under false pretences, and the Treaty was attacked on grounds that were mutually destructive, for while it was said here to be unduly favourable to Portugal, it was attacked in France, Germany, and Portugal as unfairly favourable to this country. The right hon. Gentleman did not distinguish between navigation dues and Customs duties, which were totally different. The Portuguese would have had no power to claim navigation dues; they could have been levied only by consent of the Commission; and upon the rivers which would come within the purview of the Conference at Berlin the questions of navigation and of Customs would be treated as two separate questions. What was proposed in the first instance by Her Majesty's Government to Germany, and what had been proposed by Germany and by France to Her Majesty's Government, was that the doctrine of the Congress of Vienna of 1815 in regard to the navigation of rivers in Europe should be applied to the rivers on the West Coast of Africa. The arrangement of 1815 had nothing whatever to do with Customs duties, and applied only to navigation tolls and dues; and the two subjects were not in any way connected. A further proposal was now being made—and the question was raised for the first time—that there should be freedom of commerce in the basin of the Congo; and that proposal, which no doubt must be examined in detail, was one which must be welcome to this country as clearly favourable to British enterprize. A third proposal had been made to the Government—namely, that it should be decided what the formalities were to be which were to make valid any future occupation of unoccupied countries in Africa. It was, no doubt, desirable that that question should be settled, and that through the Conference the opinions of the jurists of the world should be brought to bear upon the question as they had been brought to bear upon the abolition of the Slave Trade, upon privateering, and upon the question of free ships and free goods. Her Majesty's Government had no hesitation in accepting the invitation to the Conference; and he must protest in the strongest language against the statement that we had been left out in the cold. The proposals made with regard to the Congo, as he stated in announcing the withdrawal of the Treaty, had been the subject of communication with the Powers, particularly Germany, and Germany was only proposing to us what we had proposed to Germany, and what it was therefore known we were certain to accept. On the 30th of July last he stated that the Government, although giving up the ratification of the Treaty, were continuing negotiations with the Powers in the hope of keeping that portion of the Treaty which applied to the Congo the doctrines of the Treaty of Vienna; and the Session before last he stated that the freedom of the navigation of the Congo was the point to which the Government attached the greatest importance. The position of the Government in regard to the Congo Treaty had been the subject of much misrepresentation. For a long period Great Britain stood alone in preventing the operation of the claims of Portugal on the Lower Congo; but that refusal was owing to the manner in which Portugal connived at the Slave Trade. That trade having now ceased, Her Majesty's Government had proposed to recognize the claims of Portugal, conditionally on other nations also recognizing them. On their refusal, however, the Treaty fell to the ground, and Her Majesty's Government recovered their freedom of action. Earl Granville had throughout, as Mr. Stanley said the other day, over and over again shown that the Foreign Office had in view the securing of the freedom of the navigation of the Congo and the Niger. The Government would enter into the Conference with the practical understanding that the rights obtained by the Government under the Treaties which had been negotiated by Consul Hewitt should not in any way be prejudiced. He could not promise the Papers at once; but they should be produced as soon as possible. He hoped the explanations he had given would be satisfactory to the House.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he had heard the statement of the noble Lord with great satisfaction, not unmingled with surprise, because he had inferred from the remarks of the Prime Minister that the state of the negotiations would not admit of any full account of them being laid before the House. The statement that the Government were determined to maintain freedom of commerce would be received with satisfaction by the commercial community irrespective of Party; but it was not clear why the announcement was coupled with a sarcasm directed against a recent speech of the Marquess of Salisbury. The noble Marquess did not complain of evils arising from Free Trade in England; but he complained that we had not used all the means in our power, diplomatic and fiscal, to induce other Powers to adopt a Free Trade policy. Therefore, the action of the Government on the Congo, so far from being in antagonism to the speech of the Marquess of Salisbury, was precisely in accordance with carrying out of the policy recommended in that speech; and if the Government had always been as anxious to induce foreign nations to accept Free Trade as the present Government had been to induce Germany, France, and Portugal to accept it on the Congo, British trade would not be in its present depressed condition. The Prime Minister had stated that it was the determination of the Government to see that the Convention made with the Boers was maintained. In carrying out this determination the Government would receive every assistance from Members on that side of the House. The only difficulty would be in South Africa, and that would arise largely from their previous weakness in dealing with the question. The result of the weakness displayed in 1881 would be that the Boers would never believe we were in earnest until they actually saw the gleam of our bayonets. All these difficulties might have been avoided if Her Majesty's Government had only shown common courage in the management of their South African policy. The Prime Minister's statement with regard to Egypt was somewhat remarkable. He said that the benefit arising from General Gordon's Mission was that the power of the Mahdi had been so diminished or so destroyed, [MR. GLADSTONE: No!]—that a tremendous danger which, after General Hick's defeat, had menaced, not Egypt only, but many other nations, had been averted. This was the first time they had heard anything from the Government about this tremendous danger; and it threw a curious light on the Government policy in Egypt during the last two years. If the Mahdi was such a tremendous danger after General Hicks's defeat, how was it that the Government allowed General Hicks to go into the desert with so inadequate a force that defeat was inevitable? If the Mahdi's power was such a danger to Egypt and to the world, why was General Gordon allowed to go to Khartoum absolutely unsupported by troops? If he had been supplied with a proper force Government might have accomplished all they required at the expense of a few hundred thousand pounds, and rendered unnecessary the present Expedition to Khartoum, which would probably cost £10,000,000. He had always understood from the Government that the Soudanese were people who were struggling for their liberty; but now the Government said that the chief power in the Soudan was a tremendous danger to the liberties of Egypt and to neighbouring nations. The Prime Minister told them he had not at all changed his opinion in regard to the abandonment of Khartoum; yet the opinion of every soldier was that if there were any danger menacing Egypt from the south, that danger should be met at Khartoum; and the Government now admitted that a great danger might menace, and had menaced, Egypt from the south. How, in the face of this fact, could they now venture to compel the Egyptian Government unwillingly to abandon that town? Turning next to the question of Reform, he would say that the Premier had passed a very eloquent and just eulogy on the people of this country for the moderate manner in which, on the whole, the public debates on the franchise had been conducted in every part of the country. But if the people had been peaceable and orderly in the midst of a bitter political controversy, they had been so in spite of the action of Her Majesty's Government. For the first time in the history of this country they had seen the unholy and unnatural combination of a Minister of the Crown and the political agitator. For the first time they had seen a Cabinet Minister—he alluded, of course, to the President of the Board of Trade—directly inciting men to disorder and riot. The Prime Minister took great credit to himself for the fact that he had striven throughout to confine the controversy to the question of the franchise. But the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners) had pointed out that one of the avowed objects of the Government in not permitting the House of Lords to deal with the franchise and redistribution at once was to make the Members of that House legislate, as he said, with a rope round their necks; and so to deprive them of that freedom which was due to an independent branch of the Legislature. The Prime Minister twitted some Members on that side of the House with being indifferent to preserving the balance of the Constitution; but if the Lords were not to remain an independent branch of the Legislature that balance had already gone. To-night the Prime Minister had been studiously conciliatory in the manner, if not in the matter, of his speech. However, though they could not read the hearts of the Government, it was easy to judge their actions. There was a perfectly plain way by which the Government could show whether they were aiming at obtaining a political advantage by deliberately quarrelling with the House of Lords, or whether their real object was the passing of the Franchise Bill. Did they mean to prorogue at Christmas, or did they mean to adjourn? That was a perfectly plain question, and everything turned upon it. He presumed that if the Lords passed the Reform Bill this Session the Government would fulfil their promise to bring in a Redistribution Bill next year in the confident expectation of passing it. Therefore, it was quite clear that they thought themselves able to pass a Reform Bill and a Redistribution Bill before the end of next August. If then they chose to follow the unbroken precedents of the last 50 years, and to adjourn at Christmas instead of proroguing, so that the Parliamentary period between this time and next summer should all fall within one Session, they would be able, in the course of one Session, to pass a Reform Bill and a Redistribution Bill, and to get over the whole of this controversy with the Lords, to which they professed such loud objection. Unfortunately, however, the limited scope of the Queen's Speech put it beyond a doubt that they intended to prorogue, and not to adjourn at Christmas. This was a clear indication that a majority of the Cabinet were determined to push to the uttermost the quarrel with the Lords, to make what political capital they could out of the operation, and to let the Constitution shift for itself. He regarded with the greatest regret the agitation which the Prime Minister had plainly told them he meant to initiate, supposing that the House of Lords should again postpone the Franchise Bill. He did not see that, from a purely Party point of view, the Conservatives had anything to fear; rather the contrary. The Conservative Party could hardly do otherwise than gain by the fact that the Liberal Party had committed themselves to a reconstruction of the Constitution, inasmuch as moderate men would feel that if a revolution was to be initiated because there existed a difference of opinion on a small question of procedure, the Party which initiated it was no longer worthy of its confidence. He made no complaint of the Radical section of the opposite Party. In thus playing with revolution they only acted after their kind. But he was surprised at the moderate Liberals. They were not less interested than the Conservative Party in the maintenance of the Constitution. If they permitted themselves to be dragged into this agitation, brought about at the bidding of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) and his Friends, an agitation from which they had more to fear than any other persons, and which they had more power to stop, it would be a new and startling proof that Party ties were stronger than almost any ties which could bind men. The Prime Minister's speech had deprived him of any hope which he might have entertained that this question would be settled quietly. He had deliberately told the House that nothing but an unconditional assent to the Bill on the part of the House of Lords would satisfy the Government.

MR. GLADSTONE, interposing, said, that the hon. Member did not correctly represent what he had said. He had said that if the information possessed by hon. Gentlemen opposite about redistribution was insufficient, the proper course would have been to state wherein it was insufficient, and to ask for further information.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR apologized to the Prime Minister. In the right hon. Gentleman's opinion, information about redistribution was all that the Conservative Party wanted. If so, it was manifest that the Prime Minister did not understand the real subject of controversy. *The Standard* had told them all they wanted to know about redistribution. But, whether or not *The Standard* scheme was the actual Bill of the Government, there was no security that such a Bill would pass the House of Commons. And even if did, and the House of Lords disapproved any part of the scheme, they would be absolutely precluded from expressing their opinion, since the penalty for such an expression of opinion would be a Dissolution under the old constituencies and the new franchise. What was required was not knowledge of the redistribution scheme, but power to deal with it fairly. What function did the Government wish to assign, either to the minority in that House, or to the majority in the House of Lords, if they were not to be allowed to deal freely with a Bill so vitally affecting the destinies of the country as a Redistribution Bill? Unless that freedom was conceded a quiet settlement of the question seemed to him impossible; if it were conceded, such a settlement seemed to him to be certain.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he wished to ask a few questions relative to the Joint Commission between this country and Russia, which was now on the confines of Afghanistan, for the purpose of settling the North-West Frontier of that country. He wished to know whether the Under Secretary for India could give the House some outline of the objects of that important Mission? Some exception had been taken to the selection of Sir Peter Lumsden to serve on that Commission; but, in his opinion, the Government had exercised a wise discretion in that selection, and, on the whole, he did not think that a better man could have been chosen. The people of India took a deep interest in the question, and it was desirable that the instructions given to Sir Peter Lumsden should be laid on the Table of the House. Then he should like to know what position the Representative of the Ameer held on that Commission? Was he merely to advise, or was he to have a voice in the settlement of the boundary between Afghanistan and Russian territory? Then, suppose that some definite boundary was fixed, what guarantee had the Government that the Commission would be a reality and not a sham, and that the boundary would be maintained? We furnished the Ameer with a large amount of money on condition that he let us know what his foreign policy was to be. Suppose that he had reason to fear that Russia was going to overstep that boundary, what would be our position with reference to Afghanistan or Russia? As far as the latter Power was concerned, the boundary would be fixed for strategic purposes. The Ameer would expect us to recognize that boundary wherever it might be fixed. With respect to the Viceroyalty, he did not think that any wiser selection than Lord Dufferin as the successor of Lord Ripon could have been made. Lord Dufferin would be the man to set things right in India with which Lord Ripon had dealt so unsuccessfully. He should also like to ask the Under Secretary for India whether, in the event of there being any difference between Sir Peter Lumsden and the Chief of the Russian Mission with regard to the North-Western boundary of Afghanistan, the former was to communicate with the Home Government or with that of India? He also wished to know how long this Mission was to last? He also wished to know whether, in the event of Khartoum being relieved, General Gordon, who had been appointed by the Khedive Governor General of the Soudan, and had been recognized as such by Her Majesty's Government, would be under the orders of Lord Wolseley, or whether the latter would be entirely under his orders? In the latter case, he was afraid that the cost of the Expedition would be enormously heavy.

Mr. J. K. CROSS remarked, that in reply to the questions of the hon. Member opposite he had to state that General Lumsden had left this country some time ago, under instructions from Her Majesty's Government to settle, in conjunction with the Russian Commissioner, the

North-West boundary of Afghanistan, and on the 17th of November he would arrive at Sarakhs, where he would remain until the Indian contingent, which had now reached the Helmund, and the Russian Commissioner, met him. The Indian contingent included 200 infantry, and with its followers numbered 900 men. It was quite possible that by the end of November all the parties would have met together, and would be able to proceed on their Mission. Of course, however, Her Majesty's Government could not undertake to fix the time of the arrival of the Russian Commissioner, over whom they had no control. The hon. Gentleman had asked him what would happen in the event of any dispute arising between General Lumsden and the Russian Commissioner. General Lumsden would be in communication with the Home Government, and not with that of India. All such matters, however, would be submitted to Lord Dufferin. The position of the Ameer's Representative would be that he would have no vote, and no voice in the direct fixing of the frontier line; but he would be present as the adviser and the trusted Representative of the Ameer, and would give all necessary information to the Commissioners. As far as the matter had gone at present, the contingent had been received very well indeed, and provisions and stores had been placed for them at the appointed stations, and he understood that everything that had been expected to be done by the Ameer had been done. In fact, the action of the Ameer had been thoroughly cordial, and he hoped that by the time General Lumsden reached Sarakhs there could be no doubt as to the satisfactory result of the Mission. The instructions given to General Lumsden were that he should go to Sarakhs, and there await the arrival of the Russian Commissioner and the Indian contingent, and that he should communicate with the Foreign Office on all matters that were going forward. The arrangements as to where the Commission should start from had not been actually decided upon, nor could they be until the Russian Commissioner had met General Lumsden.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether, when Lord Wolseley arrived in Khartoum, he or General Gordon was to be supreme, especially as the latter held the position of Governor General of the Soudan under the appointment of the Khedive? He also wished to know whether the uncandid paragraph in the Queen's Speech declaring that Her Majesty had given her support to Egypt in financial matters was intended to indicate that support in the shape of a guarantee or of a loan would be given to that country? The act of suspending the Sinking Fund on the recommendation of Lord Northbrook was a direct violation of the Law of Liquidation, which had been sanctioned by the Concert of Europe; and he was anxious to know whether that act entailed any financial responsibility on this country? With regard to the question of Reform, it was quite clear that the Government did not attach the same importance to redistribution that the Conservative Party did, and that the Government scheme of redistribution would magnify and stereotype the glaring anomalies of representation that now existed. He wished, however, to call attention to the terrible rebuke which the Prime Minister had administered that night to his Colleague, the President of the Board of Trade. He was glad to see the President of the Board of Trade in his place. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman could explain the history of those riots which he himself incited at Birmingham. He would like to ask the President of the Board of Trade whether he was not in direct complicity and confidence with the acts of outrage which were perpetrated at Aston Park? The right hon. Gentleman had in no degree reprobated those acts, which were of a most outrageous character. On the contrary, the right hon. Gentleman had commended them in a public address. He begged to draw the attention of the Prime Minister to that fact, because, if the Prime Minister did not condemn those acts, he was as much answerable for them as was the President of the Board of Trade himself. Hon. Members opposite had instituted a system of rioting at public meetings. At Birmingham the Caucus organized a meeting in opposition to the Conservative gathering at Aston Park, gangs of roughs being hired to interfere with the proceedings. That was exactly similar to the action which caused the Government to suspend Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace, only Lord

Rossmore did not introduce hired ruffians. The Caucus, under the auspices of the President of the Board of Trade, issued a circular on the Saturday before the meeting was held, calling upon Liberals to assemble at the gates of Aston Park; and two Town Councillors, creatures of the Caucus and of the President of the Board of Trade, recommended the ruffians who assembled to take possession of certain planks in order to use them as battering rams against a wall. That was merely a question of burglary; but in addition to that the Caucus were also guilty of forgery, for, at their instigation, a certain number of tickets were fabricated in order that their agents might gain admittance to the Conservative meeting. The Prime Minister had that evening repudiated the deeds of the President of the Board of Trade. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman appeared not to repudiate them. Then he was responsible for them. If Conservatives could not meet without being subjected to attack by miners and others, surely that freedom of speech of which the Prime Minister professed to be so fond would no longer be enjoyed by the minority in political controversies. In conclusion, he thought they were entitled to some explanation from the President of the Board of Trade, whose conduct in this matter seemed very like that of the Anarchists or Nihilists on the Continent.

## AMENDMENT (MR. HARRINGTON)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS.

MR. HARRINGTON, in rising to move the following Amendment to the Address:—

> "And humbly to assure Her Majesty that it is the opinion of a vast number of the Irish people that the present method of administering the Law in Ireland, more especially under the Crimes Act, has worked manifold injustice, and, in the case of the prisoners tried for the Maamtrasna murder, has led to the execution of an innocent man and to the conviction of four other persons equally innocent, and that this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey,"

said, that in rising, at that late hour of the evening, to move the Amendment, and in proposing to draw the attention of the House for a moment from the many matters of foreign policy which they had been discussing, in order to bring their notice to another question of no less importance to the good government of the Empire, he had to ask the indulgence of the House, owing to his being taken somewhat by surprise. No doubt, the question of the extension of the franchise was one of very great importance; but it was in vain to extend the franchise to the people if no effort were made by Her Majesty's Government to inspire them with some confidence in the laws of the country. In the absence of any Representative of the Irish Government upon the Treasury Bench—in face of the flight, he might say, of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), and in the absence of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland—[The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND here entered the House and took his seat.]—he was glad to see that the hon. and learned Gentleman was now in his place. On the 15th of December, 1882, Myles Joyce, Patrick Joyce, of Shanvallycahill, and Patrick Casey were executed for the murders known as the Maamtrasna murders, and Martin Joyce, brother of Myles, Patrick Joyce, of Cappanachrea, another brother, Thomas Joyce, son of Patrick, and John Casey, of Cappanachrea, were sentenced to penal servitude. There had been cases previously brought under the attention of the House of Commons in which persons had been the victims of mistaken identity; but they were of small importance compared with the case to which he proposed to invite the consideration of the House. In this case, although, no doubt, there was false evidence, though perjured and malignant low-lived characters were employed by the Crown, and though such facts demanded the attention of the House, there was the further and most important charge which he now made — that the officials of the Crown in Ireland, those who were entrusted with the administration of the law, were themselves parties to the conspiracy against the lives of those wretched men. On the night of August 17, 1882, a party of men broke into a house in the village of Maamtrasna, in the County of Galway, occupied by a man named John Joyce, murdered him, his mother, wife, and a young daughter, and inflicted serious injuries upon his two sons, the only other occupants of the house, injuries so severe that one of them died on the following day, while the second lay for some time in a precarious condition. Acting on the information of two brothers, named Anthony and John Joyce, the police arrested, on the 20th, 10 men, all of whom resided at a considerable distance from the scene of the murder—some at a distance of seven miles. The story related by the two brothers, supported by the son of one of them, was of an extraordinary character; but, after the customary remands and inquiries, the 10 men were duly returned for trial at the Galway Assizes. "The Prevention of Crime Act" being in force at the time, the Crown took advantage of its provisions to have the venue changed to the City of Dublin, though there was no suggestion in the evidence of the witnesses, and nothing in the circumstances of the case, to warrant the belief that the murder was of an agrarian character. Some days previous to the trial, which commenced on the 13th of November, 1882, before a special jury of the City and County of Dublin, in Green Street Court House, it became known that Anthony Philbin, one of the accused, had become approver, and would be produced by the Crown to corroborate the three Joyces. The extraordinary story told by Anthony Joyce at the trial was that on the night of the 17th of August he was awakened by the barking of his dogs. He got up, went to his door, and saw six men whom he did not know at first, but whom he subsequently recognized as Anthony Philbin, Thomas Casey, Martin Joyce, Myles Joyce, Patrick Joyce, and Tom Joyce, of Cappanachrea. After a time, with nothing on but his shirt, trousers, and flannel vest, Anthony Joyce went to the house of his brother and saw the men go to the house of Michael Casey. When they came out the number had been increased to 10, by the addition of Patrick Joyce, of Shanvallycahill, Patrick Casey, John Casey, and Michael Casey. The witness and his brother John followed the men to the scene of the murder. It was clearly established that the night was dark, and that the men had blackened faces. Every bit, therefore, of Anthony Joyce's story was inconsistent, as it would have been impossible for him on such a night to have discerned from his house even the figures of the men as they passed, and much more impossible to recognize their faces. A similar story was told by John Joyce; and this was the evidence upon which these 10 men were arrested. He (Mr. Harrington) charged the Government with suppressing certain depositions which were needful to the proper elucidation of the case, and he pointed out that he might indeed found the whole case he had to bring forward upon the single circumstance of the actual murderers having blackened faces. He challenged the Government to show the House that, from the beginning to the end of the trial, which lasted seven days, one word was said by the Crown counsel, or by the counsel for the defence, of this circumstance of the men having blackened faces. After the trial, depositions were made by two of the men who were executed—Patrick Joyce and Patrick Casey—in which, whilst proclaiming their own guilt, they pronounced the third man—Myles Joyce—to be innocent. These depositions had not been produced before the House, and if the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland would produce them, even now, he would at least have done something to ease the public mind. Depositions were also in existence, proving beyond doubt that those who took part in the murders had blackened faces. Yet that fact was deliberately withheld at the trial; for when the solicitor for the defence applied for copies of the depositions, the representatives of the Crown, in a wicked and murderous manner, kept from him the dying depositions of the two lads. But, fortunately, the Irish Government had not it in their power any longer to suppress this evidence, and he should be able to show that not only was it before the lawyers for the Crown—the Attorney General of the day (now Mr. Justice Johnson), Mr. Murphy (now Mr. Justice Murphy), and Mr. Peter O'Brien, Q.C.—but that their attention was specially directed to it. He had, in his hand, the brief used by one of these Crown counsel at the trial. He also had a copy of the brief used by the counsel for the prisoners, and he should be able to show that only such documents were given to the solicitor for the defence by the Crown Solicitor, as would fit in with the theory of guilt which he wished to establish, so as to secure the hanging of these unfortunate men. The depositions which were suppressed would undoubtedly have convinced any jury that, however guilty or innocent the men might be, the evidence on which the Crown proceeded was from the beginning a fabrication. If the Government wished to clear the character of their officials from the stain of perjury and conspiracy to murder, they would be anxious for inquiry. Whether they conceded or refused an inquiry, public opinion in Ireland was already made up on the subject, and nothing would remove the public belief that the Crown officials had sacrificed the life of Myles Joyce. The name of the Crown counsel to whom the brief belonged was not written upon it, but the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland would easily recognize the handwriting of the marginal notes. The counsel had employed his pencil during the swearing of the jury, and wrote down three columns, one for the sworn jurors, another marked with the letter "C," which was the initial letter of "Catholic," and the third headed "Sturdy." That was the manner in which the Government officials endeavoured to command respect for the law in Ireland, by marking every man who belonged to the religious faith of the majority as an outcast, whose oath was not to be trusted. From beginning to end of this extraordinary case, as it had been presented to the Court in Dublin, none of the witnesses were allowed to utter one word about the murderers having blackened faces, or wearing disguises; and, although the Crown lawyers brought the little boy, Patrick Joyce, upon the witness table, and declined to examine him, on the plea that he did not know what would happen to him if he told a lie, yet that proceeding was merely a trick to throw dust in the eyes of the Judge and jury, for three months earlier, on the day succeeding the murders, the boy had been sworn, and his dying deposition had been taken and made a legal instrument capable of being used as evidence on the trial, by Mr. Brady, one of the fortunate men who were thrust into the Magistracy under the Crimes Act. That boy's deposition detailed the circumstances of the murder, and would not have supported the perjury which brought about the conviction of Myles Joyce, for he said—"Two or three men came in. They had black on their faces." The deposition was signed "A. Newton Brady, R.M." It was A. Newton Brady, R.M., who took the deposition of this little boy, and of this little boy's brother, and who conducted the case from beginning to end. It was he who also took the depositions of the two unfortunate men who declared their own guilt and the innocence of the man who was executed with them. But he and Earl Spencer had evidently made a compact that these depositions should never see the light, and that the public, although they might have their suspicions, should never have a clear knowledge of their guilt in connection with these cases. The production of this little boy in the witness chair was, as he had said, an empty farce, for appended to the deposition of the boy in the Crown brief was a note from Mr. George Bolton, the Crown Solicitor, which was well worthy of the consideration of those who wished to investigate this matter fully. The note in question was as follows:—"Patrick Joyce has recovered, but his evidence is worthless." Deny it as they might, there was this damning evidence in the handwriting, he might say, of the Crown Solicitor, that the Crown prosecutors were not to examine this boy on the trial, but that the Executive Government had determined to sacrifice these men, in order to appease the cry for blood that had been raised by the English newspapers. The little boy—Patrick Joyce—might be found at present at Artane Industrial School, and the Crown could examine him if they liked, as he (Mr. Harrington) had done, and see if the statement which he now made corresponded with the statement which he made to the Resident Magistrate on the day after the murder. The case, as he had said, might be allowed to rest altogether on this one circumstance of whether the men who had committed the murder had or had not blackened faces. There was no theory whatever by which they could reconcile the evidence of the three independent witnesses with the fact of the men being disguised. The fact was, that Anthony and John Joyce lived in eternal enmity with the men against whom they gave evidence; and whether they had themselves concocted the story, or whether they were instructed by the police or any of the magistrates or officials, he contended that the case equally demanded the clearest and fullest inquiry. It was after the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) in that House had promised an inquiry into the revelations made by the informers in connection with this case, and after Earl Spencer had refused an inquiry, that his suspicions were aroused that Earl Spencer, and Brady, Bolton, and others acquainted with the case, had a strong and vital interest in keeping the truth from the public. The fullest inquiry was demanded, if they wished to sift to the bottom the infamous transactions connected with the trial, and to show that the Crown officials had not sanctioned a cruel conspiracy. He (Mr. Harrington) had himself spent some considerable time in hunting up evidence in regard to this case. He had gone down into the locality, and taken with him the official map that was used by the Crown at the trial. He invited the Members on the Treasury Bench to send any impartial man into the district, and he would be very glad to leave to such a person the whole question of the guilt or innocence of the unfortunate man who was executed. What he had to charge against the Crown officials was not alone that they proceeded upon the extraordinary story of these men, but at a time when they knew it to be perfectly false. He should be able to show from the handwriting of the officials themselves, that although one of the approvers offered to give the Crown the true version of the murder, as he preferred doing, and telling the truth, the Government would not accept his evidence until he finally consented to perjure himself. It was only by perjury that he was able, therefore, to save his wretched life. The evidence at the trial was confined to three witnesses who might be called independent. Their evidence, however, was corroborated by that of two informers—Thomas Casey and Anthony Philbin—one of whom, as a matter of fact, was not present at the murder, and knew nothing about it, although he was easily able to perjure himself. He had heard the evidence repeated in his presence no less than 12 times; and, therefore, it was not a difficult matter for him to corroborate it. Still, strange to say, in spite of this, the two informers did not agree in the evidence they offered at the trial. One of them alleged that there were 10 men present at the murder; whereas the other said there were 12, and gave the names of two additional men—Patrick Kelly and Michael Nee. Extraordinary to relate, instead of that discrepancy between the evidence being pointed to by the learned Judge who tried the case, as a ground of suspicion against the testimony of these men, it was the main point upon which Judge Barry relied as confirming the testimony of both. Judge Barry said, in so many words, that the very discrepancy between the evidence of the two men afforded confirmatory proof of the truth of their statements as to the murder. Now, these two men, who, in an endeavour to save their own lives, swore away the life of an innocent man—these two men had since come forward and said, openly and publicly, that the testimony they gave to the Crown was altogether false. The statement now was that there were only seven men engaged in the murder, and that six of those who had been charged by the Crown were wholly innocent, and knew nothing about it. It was further stated that, at the present moment, two of the actual murderers, including the man who really planned the murder, were living in a locality well known to the police, and that another of them was now in England. He thought he should be able to show, still further, that not only had the Crown full knowledge that the actual murderers were living in the locality, but that they were aware that the man who planned the murder, who paid for it, and who assisted in committing it, was still living in the locality, and that at the time the Crown proceeded to try these 10 unfortunate peasants, five of whom were still in gaol, the Crown had full knowledge that they were innocent, and that other persons were guilty of the murder. He thought it necessary to press that extraordinary fact upon the attention of the House. The allegation now made by the informers was, that seven men were present at the murder, and that they never came into a line of march at all; that they saw no men passing by the house, and that if they had passed by no one could have seen them. The allegation now made by one of the informers was, that a man named John

Casey, who had lived at enmity with the unfortunate man who was murdered, was the actual instigator of the murders. Strange to say, John Casey was arrested by the police on the morning after the murders. Knowing the relations which had existed between Casey and the unfortunate man who was killed, the police suspected from the first that he was the man who had concocted the murder, and had paid the perpetrators of it for carrying it out. That man was still living in the locality, having been discharged from the custody of the police, although they knew perfectly well that he was guilty of the murders. He was arrested on the morning after the murders, and the police knew then, and knew now, that he was at the bottom of them. He should be able to show, from the handwriting of the Crown counsel engaged in the prosecution of these unfortunate men, that, at the time he was pushing the law as closely as he could against the men in the dock, he, at least, suspected that the man, whom he (Mr. Harrington) now alleged to have planned the murder of the Joyce family, was at the bottom of the whole transaction. He found in the Crown brief, amongst the evidence prepared by the Crown Solicitor to rebut any *alibi* that could be produced by the prisoners, an information made by John Casey, of Derry. This was the man whom he (Mr. Harrington) alleged to have planned the murder, to have paid for the murder, and to have held the light while it was being committed. This was Casey's statement—

> "I remember the night of the murder. I slept in a room in my own house. My three sons also slept in the house; their names are John, Stephen, and Malachi. I do not know any other Malachi Casey. I accused John Joyce, three years ago, of stealing sheep from me. Sheep have been stolen from me during the last three months, and sheep have been stolen from other people at the same time. I did not go to either the wake or the funeral."

These words were underlined in the brief of the counsel for the Crown, who wrote on the brief underneath them—"Suspect had him murdered." That was a very significant fact, which had been very carefully concealed. It was impossible now to conceal the fact that, while the Executive Government were attempting to hang these 10 unfortunate prisoners, the Crown counsel had a full knowledge as to the man who had really committed the murder, and knew, further, that the evidence on which he was proceeding against the prisoners, whether they were guilty or innocent of the murder, was absolute perjury. The evidence upon which the Crown proceeded in the trial of the eight men, after the two informers, Anthony Philbin and Thomas Casey, had been taken away, was what Lord Spencer now called three independent witnesses — Anthony Joyce, John Joyce, of Derry, his brother, and Patrick Joyce, of Derry, John's son. No doubt, that evidence was supported by the testimony of the two approvers. What was the evidence they had now against the men in gaol? He did not think the House would ask that the evidence to support the innocence of these men should be stronger than the evidence upon which they were sentenced to death. And yet he should be able to show that the evidence on which they were prosecuted, and upon which three men were executed and five others were still suffering penal servitude, stood upon lower footing, and more questionable testimony, which no rational man would credit. They had, first, the revelations made by the two approvers on the trial completely contradicted by themselves. Their characters could have become no worse than they were before, seeing that, at the trial, they stood in the position, not only of approvers, but self-confessed murderers. But what was their most recent testimony supported by? From the passing of the sentence upon the men now in gaol. four out of the five now undergoing penal servitude had never ceased to protest their innocence of the charge. That was not a slight fact in the case, but an extremely strong fact; because it was only four out of the five who made these representations, and those the very four the approver stated to be innocent. He (Mr. Harrington) would read an extract from a letter of one of them to his wife. At the end of the letter the writer said—

> "Dear Mary, it is very hard to be here for a crime that I know nothing about. Thanks be to God I know nothing whatever about it. But I fret more for you and the children then I do for myself, for you know God is good, and we will all be happy yet with the help of God. Let me know when you write have you any pigs, how the crops are, and did you pay the rint yet, and I hope you and I will be happy

together yet, with the help of God. No more at present from your loving husband,

"JOHN CASEY."

The letter was dated Mountjoy Prison, Dublin, 15th of June, 1883. In another letter, dated the 27th of June, 1884, the same prisoner said—

> "I hope you and the priest will petition the Lord Lieutenant as quickly as possible. It is very hard for me to have been in prison and separated from my family, especially as I am innocent. Let me know are the crops promising this year. I hope Peter and father will mind the children in my absence. I hope that will not be very long. Keep good courage, and I will do the same. I hope everything will come to light hereafter. I don't expect to be always here."

Martin Joyce, brother to Myles Joyce, who was executed, and of Patrick Joyce, who was also in gaol, wrote to his wife from Mountjoy Prison on the 5th of September last—

> "I hope that God, in His just mercy, who saved me from death, will yet show to the world my innocence of any participation in the crime for which I am the innocent sufferer.—Your affectionate husband, MARTIN JOYCE."

These were extraordinary circumstances, and fully corroborated the later evidence of the approver. No doubt, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland would draw attention to the fact that the men who made these protestations of innocence had not been found guilty by a jury, but had pleaded guilty. That could easily be explained; and when the House knew the facts, he thought hon. Members would attach very little weight indeed to the circumstance of these unfortunate men having pleaded guilty, instead of waiting to be tried and being found guilty by a jury. As he had already stated, eight men were charged. They were taken 200 miles away from their home to be tried by a special jury, who did not understand their language. Their own solicitor and counsel did not understand their language, nor did the Court understand it. They were as absolute strangers in Green Street Court House, in Dublin, as if they had been translated from another sphere. On the evidence adduced at the trial, the jury were only eight minutes deliberating upon a charge which involved the life of the first unfortunate wretch. In the next case, the jury, having the same evidence to go upon, were only 10 minutes deliberating as to the fate of the unfortunate peasant before them. The third jury was empannelled to try Myles Joyce. No *alibi* was attempted on his behalf, because there was no one to prove it, except his unfortunate wife. The evidence upon which Myles Joyce was tried was precisely the same as that upon which the other prisoners were tried. The verdict was a foregone conclusion, and the Dublin jury simply spent six minutes in deliberating upon the verdict. As he had no doubt the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland would refer to this part of the case, he thought he should be able to show the House that there was nothing whatever in the fact of the rest of the men having pleaded guilty which was worthy of the consideration of the House. Their circumstances were such—a chain of evidence had been wound around them in such a manner—that there was no salvation whatever for them. Nevertheless, they steadily refused to plead guilty until they were waited upon by their priest, who told them that although they were innocent it would probably be better for them to plead guilty, and in the end their innocence would come to light. There was proof that they were led to expect, that if they did plead guilty, their lives would be spared. What were these wretched, unfortunate peasants, wholly ignorant as they were of the language in which they were being tried, and of the proceedings of the Court, to do? He would read the observations made by the Judge in sentencing the second prisoner—Patrick Casey—to death. Mr. Justice Barry, in passing sentence, said—

> "Patrick Casey, after a most patient trial, you have been convicted by a jury of your fellow-countrymen of the crime of murder. The murder charged against you, in the indictment on which you have been convicted, is the murder of Bridget Joyce. But the evidence has established clearly and conclusively, and so as not to leave a doubt of your guilt upon the mind of any sane person who has heard or read that evidence, that you not only murdered Bridget Joyce, but four other persons on that one occasion."

That was the language addressed by the learned Judge to the second person tried; and a few minutes after he had used that language, in the presence of the jurors who were waiting to try the next case, the jury was empannelled to try the third unfortunate prisoner—Myles Joyce. He (Mr. Harrington) asked the

House to bear in mind that the remarks of the Judge were heard by the persons empannelled to try Myles Joyce. Therefore, when the priest pointed out to these unfortunate men that it would be better for them to plead guilty, and thus avoid capital punishment, they followed his advice and pleaded guilty, although they were really innocent of the crime of which they were charged. They could see nothing before them but the prospect of an ignominious death; and surely the circumstances were such as to induce ignorant peasants of this description to say they were guilty, in the hope that they would not only save their lives, but, at the same time, have an opportunity of vindicating their character hereafter. There was another circumstance, which he had not touched upon yet, that corroborated the revelations made by the two informers, and which had not been contradicted. He had informed the House that the approvers had completely contradicted the evidence they gave at the trial. They now asserted, in the most open manner, that they were forced to give that evidence, and that it was the only door open to them in order to save their own wretched lives. He thought he had shown how the last statements of the approvers were corroborated in the most striking way by the protestations of innocence on the part of four out of the five men now suffering penal servitude. There was, however, another extraordinary fact. There were five men suffering penal servitude. One of these five men was still alleged by the approvers to have been guilty and to have actively participated in the murders. From the first day of his conviction—from the first day the sentence of death originally passed upon him was commuted down to the present moment, that prisoner had never said one word by way of protesting his innocence; whereas the four men who were now alleged by the approvers to be innocent had expressly, in every letter they had written, protested their innocence. He would go further. The man who was alleged to have been guilty had not been altogether silent upon the subject. His last letter home, he (Mr. Harrington) had been able to get some information about during his visit to the locality. It was an extraordinary document. The man requested his wife to go to "the master," meaning the landlord, and get him to intercede with the Lord Lieutenant in order to enable him to make a statement, which, he said, although it might be of no good to himself, he, at least, ought to be allowed to make for the sake of the innocent men who were now in gaol with him. Here, then, they had this extraordinary evidence—stronger than anything which the Crown produced at the trial—that four men who were alleged by the approvers to be innocent, had protested their innocence from the commencement; whereas the man who was alleged by the approvers to be guilty had never made a protestation of innocence, but, on the contrary, had asked to be allowed to make a statement in order to get out of gaol four innocent men who were incarcerated there. He (Mr. Harrington) had the best grounds for saying that this man was not only willing now to make that statement, but that 12 months ago he did make it before certain magistrates in Galway Gaol. But the fact had been suppressed, and was only known to the officials of Dublin Castle. As they knew how much that statement would affect their character, and what a damning effect it would have against them, they had studiously kept it out of the public view. He challenged the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland to produce that statement and submit it to the House. He believed it would be found that it fully corroborated the statement made by the approvers, and the statement made by these four prisoners who had been continually protesting their innocence. It came also from a man who acknowledged his own participation in the murder. It further corroborated the declaration made by the two men who suffered the extreme penalty of the law, the day before the execution, when they acknowledged their own guilt, but confirmed the innocence of Myles Joyce. It further corroborated the statement of the two sons of John Joyce on the morning succeeding the murder of their father, one of whom died from the injuries he had received. There was another fact which bore upon the testimony of these approvers. The approver Casey, in the revelations he had made, said that as they were proceeding to the scene of the murder, they called at the house of another man who resided about half-a-mile from the place, and endeavoured to enlist him in their murderous enterprize. Casey had given to him (Mr. Harrington), in the course of a long interview with him, the name of the man at whose house they called His name was John Joyce, the same as that of the murdered man, and he was a nephew of the man who was alleged by Casey to have planned and paid for the murder, and to have been present himself, taking a guilty part in it. Joyce would not corroborate the testimony of the informer to him (Mr. Harrington); but, although he refused to corroborate it in words, he gave a corroboration which carried conviction much more strongly to his mind than if the man had expressly stated his agreement in so many words. In the visit he paid to Joyce he was accompanied by a rev. gentleman who was connected with the district. He asked Joyce if it was true that four of the men pulled him out of bed in order that he might take part in the murder. With some adroitness Joyce endeavoured at first to dodge the question, and made several efforts to avoid giving a direct answer. At last, the rev. gentleman told him expressly to answer the question "yes" or "no"—whether, on the night of the murder, the approver Casey, and three other men, went to him and endeavoured to bring him to the murder. To which appeal, Joyce answered—"Don't press me, father." Now, to his (Mr. Harrington's) mind, there could be no clearer corroboration. The man was evidently unwilling to incriminate his uncle, nor would he tell a lie to the priest by denying what had taken place. Therefore, every circumstance stated by the approver in his recent examination was confirmed by an investigation of the locality, and an inquiry upon the spot. Unfortunately, these men had been found guilty by a jury who had never been in the district, or even seen it, and they were tried by a Judge who also knew nothing of the locality. They were tried as absolute strangers, just as though they had been taken into another sphere in order to be tried there. An application made to the Court to enable the jury to go down to the locality and inquire into the extraordinary story told by the independent witnesses, was refused. No effort was made by the Crown to satisfy the public that there was any real desire on their part to have the law impartially administered, lest such a course might have deprived the Crown prosecutors of the blood of the victims they were so anxious to sacrifice. The revelations made by the approver Casey were made, some time ago, before His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, in whose diocese the parish of Maamtrasna was situated. His Grace sent forward a representation on the subject to the Government, and, after pressure had been brought to bear, the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War promised distinctly that if the revelations made by the approver were brought before the Government, they would deem it their duty to inquire fully into them. His Grace the Archbishop had brought them to the notice of the Government, if Earl Spencer could be called a portion of the Government. A communication was duly addressed by the Archbishop to Earl Spencer, setting forth the revelations which had been made by the approver. What was the result? What kind of an inquiry took place? What did Earl Spencer do? He actually employed to draw up the reply the two most guilty criminals in the whole case—Mr. Brady, the Resident Magistrate, who took the depositions of the dying boys, who, from first to last, had known all the facts of the case, and who was the most guilty of all in suppressing the truth; and George Bolton, who was almost equally guilty. These, of all persons in the world, were the men employed by Earl Spencer to reply to the Archbishop's letter, and they were the persons who were most concerned in procuring a verdict of acquittal for themselves. They prepared, in reply to a letter of His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam, a long Memorandum, and Sir Robert Hamilton appended his name to it, as he was in duty bound, so that it did not go forth to the world as the statement of Messrs. Brady and Bolton. He (Mr. Harrington) thought he should be able, when he compared the real facts of the case with this attempt on the part of the Crown officials to whitewash themselves, to show to every rational man that the approver and murderer Casey, perjurer as he was, was telling the truth, while Brady and Bolton were telling an infamous falsehood. Here was one allegation made by Casey the approver, which was admitted by Sir Robert Hamilton, who simply personated Brady and Bolton in the matter, by appending his name to the Memorandum. Both the Memorandum and the deposition of Casey agreed, to a certain extent—that Casey made an offer to the Crown prosecutor to give evidence; Casey stated that the offer was made two days before the trial was to come on, and he said that he made the statement to Mr. Bolton in the gaol. He subsequently saw Mr. Bolton in the Governor's office, and he said—

> "Mr. Bolton was sitting down with his shoes off, warming his feet to the fire. He said, 'Well, Casey, are you going to make a statement?' or something like that. I made an effort to save those who were in. I said, 'The men that did the murder are outside yet, and these men in here are innocent.' He said he had more than that from the Joyces and from my brother-in-law, Philbin; that Philbin swore I went to the house for him, and that he met me in the field. I am not sure whether it is then Mr. Bolton read Philben's statement for me, but I am quite certain that he read it for me. He would not accept my statement, as I would not make it agree with my brother-in-law, and he called the warder and sent me away."

He (Mr. Harrington) asked the House to bear that fact in mind. The assertion in the Memorandum prepared by Sir Robert Hamilton and published in his name, was this — that the statement which Casey made on that occasion was precisely the same which they accepted from him two days subsequently — namely, on the opening day of the trial, and that Mr. Bolton did agree to accept that information. He would read Casey's statement of this transaction, and read the statement of it which was put forward by Sir Robert Hamilton, asking the House to consider which of the two was more in agreement with common sense and reason. This was the statement made by Casey—

> "The trial was to come off on Monday. I saw the Governor on Sunday evening, about 4 o'clock, and I was talking to him. I told him about my meeting with Mr. Bolton. Question—'Had you made up your mind this time to corroborate Philbin?' Answer—'I was making up my mind for it; but I was putting it off for the last moment.' The Governor said to me, if I wished he would speak to Mr. Bolton. I did not then give a decided answer. The next day was the day of the trial. When we were going into the van I saw Philbin going away in a cab. The other men went into the van."

The Government statement was that the Crown officials agreed to accept Casey as an informer the day before the trial; yet he was brought out in the van with the other men, while the other approver was conveyed away separately. Mr. Bolton's statement was that the agreement had been come to at the first interview, and, on the face of it, the statement of the informer was much more credible than that which had been made and published with the authority of Sir Robert Hamilton. Casey continued—

> "When we were going into the van, I saw Philbin going away in a cab. The other men went into the van. I was the last to go in, and I then said to the Governor that he might speak to Bolton. I had not given him an answer the night before. We were then brought to the Court. The nine of us were in the room, back of the dock, and my name was called."

He (Mr. Harrington) would now read the account given by Sir Robert Hamilton, who first published the note of Casey to the Crown Solicitor, asking for an interview. The Memorandum went on to say—

> "This note was written by Casey, and handed by him to the Governor, with a request that he would have it sent to Mr. Bolton, and it was accordingly transmitted, and until the receipt of it, Mr. Bolton had never spoken to the man, nor had he ever seen him, except when brought up as a prisoner in Court. The Attorney General at the time was in London, and Mr. Bolton at once consulted the counsel for the prosecution, who directed him to see Casey, and be in a position to report to the Attorney General on his return what his evidence would be, but to make no statement and hold out no hope to Casey that he would be accepted as an approver without the Attorney General's authority. Mr. Bolton thereupon went to the prison, and saw the prisoner, not in his cell, but in the Governor's office. The Governor was present at this interview, no other persons being there, and it is untrue that Mr. Bolton used any threat to the prisoner, or made any suggestion to him as to what his evidence should be, or in any manner whatever pressed him. Mr. Bolton told him what he had been directed to tell him by the Crown counsel, and Casey then told Mr. Bolton what he had to prove in reference to the murder, which closely corresponded with his subsequently written statement. It is to be remembered that this happened on Saturday, the trials being fixed to commence on the following Monday, and that the case was considered by the Crown as being perfectly complete and conclusive against all the prisoners. The nature of Casey's evidence having been reported to the Attorney General, it was determined to accept him as an approver. On the following Monday all the prisoners were brought down to Green Street. Immediately on their arrival, Casey sent a message to Mr. Bolton by the Governor, saying he was anxious to see him."

He (Mr. Harrington) asked the House whether that statement did not brand, as a falsehood, the first statement, that the Crown had agreed to accept the former information given by Casey? If, on Saturday, the Crown Solicitor agreed to accept Casey's evidence, would the motion for a second interview come from the Crown Solicitor or from the approver? Was it not more likely that the statement of the approver was true—namely, that in the first instance he would not swear what was false; but after he had been making up his mind as to the statement he was expected to make, and when he had screwed up his courage sufficiently to comply with the requirements of the Crown Prosecutor, he then asked for a second interview? He contended that the admission that the statement came from him, and not from the Crown Solicitor, was the clearest proof in the world that a change had come over his mind, and that he was willing to do what the Crown Solicitor was urging him to do. But there was another thing which showed more clearly still than that admission that the statement of Sir Robert Hamilton was an infamous falsehood. It was this—that Casey said Mr. Bolton went down into the passage below the Court, accompanied by Mr. Brady, and the Governorof the gaol. Bolton called him out and informed him that his evidence would be accepted, provided he told the entire truth. Did not that, in the mind of any intelligent man, prove conclusively that there had been a divergence between Mr. Bolton and the approver, and establish also that Casey had hesitated to do what the Crown Solicitor was urging him to do—namely, commit perjury, and swear away the lives of these men? Then there was another proof, which nothing could get over—not even the ingenuityof the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland—and that was, that while the Crown had accepted the statement of Casey, the late Attorney General for Ireland (the present Mr. Justice Johnson), in his opening statement of the case, mentioned that only one approver was coming forward to corroborate the evidence of the witnesses; while he never said one word as to any evidence to be offered by the second approver, Casey. Was it not, then, clear that the statement published by Messrs. Brady and Bolton was an infamous falsehood on the very face of it, and an endeavour to deceive the Government and public in Ireland? If the Crown had agreed, on Saturday, to accept the evidence of Casey, did it not stand to reason and common sense; was it not in accordance with legal procedure and with the duty of the Attorney General, that, having the knowledge that two approvers would be examined for the prosecution, he should stand up in Court and make reference to the evidence of one approver only, stating that he would be examined, and no other? He (Mr. Harrington) thought that the evidence was as clear as noon day that, in their attempt to acquit themselves, these officials had deliberately lied. But there was a Providence watching their actions, forcing their hand, and compelling them to speak the truth, although they were endeavouring to commit falsehood. These were the independent inquisitors, on whom Earl Spencer relied to vindicate his conduct in Ireland—the two men most guilty in the transaction—who gave to the counsel for the defence, what purported to be copies of two depositions in the case, who suppressed the fact that the two boys had made dying depositions which they never gave into the hands of the counsel for the defence. But that was not the only portion of the evidence suppressed by the Crown. When the letter of the Archbishop of Tuam appeared, the whole scene changed, and it was then for the first time that the fact came to light that two informers had made depositions in gaol. Application was made for copies of the depositions on the first day of the trial by the counsel for the defence. Neither the counsel for the defence, nor the Attorney General for Ireland, had heard anything about the depositions in question. Again, application was made for the deposition of the approver Philbin, and although that deposition had been made six or seven days before the commencement of the trial in July, yet the copies were not supplied; and when application was made in Court for either a copy of the deposition, or a postponement of the trial, both applications were refused, and the wretched victims hurried to their fate. The public in Ireland had been, therefore, kept in a state of complete ignorance as to what depositions had been made, nor did they know that any interviews had taken place between the parties in question. He asked hon. Members to look carefully over the matter that had been suppressed by the Crown, and compare it with the testimony given afterwards in the approver's chair. He believed that no one in that House would deny that, if a copy of the depositions had been handed in to the counsel for the defence, it would have been sufficient to have brought out whether the approver's statements were true or false, because there was a considerable divergence in them. Therefore, he asked hon. Members to conclude that, by the suppression of these important documents, the Crown were keeping from the hands of the counsel for the defence weapons which might have possibly saved the lives of these unfortunate persons, and prevented the fearful crime which had been committed in Ireland, as well as the odium which must attach to their system of administration there, unless the Government at once instituted an inquiry into all the circumstances of the case. He had already drawn attention to the suppression of one of the depositions made by the boys on the morning after the murder, and he would now say that in the Crown brief which had fallen into his hands there was established a clear case of conspiracy to murder on the part of officials in Ireland which no amount of shifting should prevent the public from knowing. In that brief the deposition of the boys was set forth, the one corresponding as nearly as it could with the other. It was a strange fact that the important statement of the boys was noted on the margin of the brief of the counsel who had the case in hand, and yet he never, by word or suggestion to the counsel for the defence, intimated that such statement was contained in his brief. That being so, he (Mr. Harrington) asserted, with the fullest knowledge of the responsibility that attached to his words, that the Crown officials were committing a crime nothing short of murder by suppressing for their own purposes, to save their reputation with the Government, this important testimony. In concluding, he would say that it was not for the purpose of satisfying Irish Members on those Benches that the Government were now asked to take up this matter. As far as it was possible for men to make up their minds, they had done so on this question already; they knew the facts of the case before the very important document he had referred to came into his hands, which it did after the concluding letter of the series in which he had published his case had appeared—it came in corroboration of that case, and enabled him to take the initiative in this question. He was able to say, with the knowledge he had previously possessed, that he had never entertained the slightest doubt of the innocence of that unfortunate man, who declared on the scaffold that he knew nothing of the murder for which he had been sentenced to death. There remained now no doubt as to those who were interested in having the murders committed, and yet the Government allowed them to walk about, associating with the people of the district; they knew that perjury had been committed; but rather than discredit the story put forward, and deprive their officials of the glory of having sacrified 10 or 12 unfortunate peasants, they refused to make any endeavour to convict the actual murderers. It was not to appease Irish Members on those Benches that it was necessary to institute the inquiry asked for. He said that if the Government did not immediately grant that inquiry, the public in Ireland would never be satisfied, and that from the lowest official engaged in this transaction up to Earl Spencer, who had the depositions before him, and who had ample time to telegraph to the gaol and clear up any doubt that existed, before consigning Myles Joyce to a murderer's grave, the verdict would be that there was a conspiracy to murder these unfortunate people. He begged to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

In the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," to insert the words "and humbly to assure Her Majesty that it is the opinion of a vast number of the Irish people that the present method of administering the Law in Ireland, more especially under the Crimes Act, has worked manifold injustice, and, in the case of the prisoners tried for the Maamtrasma murder, has led to the execution of an innocent man and to the conviction of four other persons equally innocent, and this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey."—(*Mr. Harrington.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Arthur O' Connor,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 24th October,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Scarborough, *v.* Right hon. John George Dodson, Chiltern Hundreds.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Resolutions in Committee—Ordered — First Reading* — Cemeteries * [12]; Church of Scotland Disestablishment * [15].

*Ordered — First Reading* — Representation of the People [1]; Land Law (Ireland) Act (1881) * [2]; Sporting Lands Rating (Scotland) * [3]; Burial Fees * [4]; Labourers (Ireland) * [5]; University Education (Ireland) * [6]; Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment * [7]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday * [8]; Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) * [9]; Leaseholders (Facilities of Purchase of Fee Simple) * [10]; National School Teachers (Ireland) * [11]; Returning Officers' Expenses * [13]; Beer Adulteration * [14]: Redistribution of Seats * [16]; Salmon Weekly Close Time (Ireland) * [17]; Shop Hours Regulation * [18]; Elections in Counties (Hours of Poll) * [19].

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### THE WEST AFRICAN CONFERENCE.

MR. ONSLOW asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he would state what is the object of the Conference to be held in Berlin on the state of affairs on the Congo; and, whether the English Government are entering the Conference under any conditions; and, if so, if he would state what these conditions are?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, that he stated yesterday that Her Majesty's Government were entering the Conference without prejudice to the rights acquired under recent Treaties negotiated by Mr. Consul Hewett.

MR. ONSLOW: Am I to understand that there are to be no conditions at all for entering the Conference?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Ambassador will naturally receive instructions in regard to the various questions. The Government have given their general acceptance to the Conference; but they have considered it necessary to make specific reservations in regard to the position of this country on the Niger.

### AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can give any information to the House as to the present condition of Zululand, especially with regard to the Reserved Territory, and to the truth, or otherwise, of the report that Dinazulu and a Mr. W. Grant issued, on the 16th August, a Proclamation granting to filibustering Boers a large portion of Zulu Territory for use as an "Independent Republic," and in reward for their services in assisting the Usutus to defeat the appointed Chief Usibepu, and to kill the men, women, and children of his tribe?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I am happy to be able to say that the condition of affairs in and near the Reserve appears to be much improved. It is reported to us that the Usutus in the Inkhandlha country have formally submitted themselves in a manner which the British Resident thinks satisfactory, and the General commanding has telegraphed that he sees no objection to a reduction in the strength of the troops in Zululand. Of course, a watchful and ready attitude must still for some time be maintained there. The Proclamation referred to will be found in the Papers laid on the Table of the House, which will be distributed in a few days. It tallies with the terms of the Question, except that there is no mention of any services for which the grant of territory is to be the reward.

MR. W. E. FORSTER wished to know if the Papers would be in the hands of Members to-morow?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he hoped that some would be in the hands of hon. Members to-morrow; but these would be the Papers which he promised last Session, and would not bring affairs up to the present date. The Papers to which he referred on Thursday would be another week.

MR. W. E. FORSTER asked if he understood correctly that the Papers to be in the hands of Members to-morrow would be only those promised at the end of last Session?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that, of course, at the end of last Session he could not promise Papers beyond that.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: Inasmuch as the state of South Africa is referred to in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, it would be of immense convenience to hon. Members if the Papers up to date could be in their hands before the debate on the Address is concluded. It will be of great inconvenience if they cannot.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: As far as the Colonial Office is concerned, they have no control over the Papers after they are laid on the Table; but I am pressing the printers and officers of the House to have them distributed as soon as possible.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY inquired whether the arrangement mentioned in the Under Secretary's reply had been approved by Her Majesty's Government?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Her Majesty's Government have nothing to do with the Proclamation.

Mr. GORST: Perhaps I may be allowed to ask the Secretary to the Treasury, who, I believe, is responsible for the printing of Papers—[Mr. Courtney: No, no.] Then I ask the Prime Minister, who is responsible for the printing of Papers laid on the Table, whether Papers, not very voluminous, laid on the Table on Thursday, cannot be distributed before the end of the following week?

[No reply was given.]

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked the Secretary of State for War, If he can state the precise date at which it was definitely decided by Her Majesty's Government to despatch an expedition for the relief of General Gordon?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The Foreign Office Papers which have been laid on the Table contain the principal instructions which have been given from time to time to the General Officer commanding in Egypt, and will supply the full answer to the Question. The Papers will be in the hands of Members in a very few days; but, in anticipation, I may state that the Vote of Credit was passed on August 5, that instructions for making certain preparations for an Expedition were sent on August 8, and that the first orders for the despatch of any troops beyond the frontier of Egypt at Wada Halfa were sent by telegraph on the 23rd.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked whether it was to be understood that it was not until the 23rd of August that the decision was arrived at to despatch troops?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I think the hon. Member would do better to wait until he sees the instructions contained in the Papers, because there might be a difference of opinion as to what constitutes a decision to send an Expedition. No orders were issued for the movement of troops until the 23rd of August; but, in my opinion, it takes date from the time when the decision was arrived at.

## NAVY—MEMORIALS—THE QUEEN'S REGULATIONS.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, in the absence of more responsible Ministers, Whether the Board will receive a memorial from the leading stokers of the Royal Navy applying for an increase of pay?

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: Under the Queen's Regulations, Memorials from persons belonging to the Fleet cannot be received by the Board of Admiralty. The proper course is for representations to be made to the captain of the ship.

## THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON MERCHANT SHIPPING—THE COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he can now announce to the House the names of the Royal Commissioners on Merchant Shipping, and the terms of the reference; and, whether Members will be afforded any opportunity of discussing the subjects to be embraced in the inquiry?

Mr. MAC IVER asked, Whether any practical steps have been taken with regard to the appointment of a Royal Commission in reference to Merchant Shipping; and, if it is intended that questions affecting the constitution and functions of the Board of Trade shall come within the scope of the inquiry?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: In answer to the Question of the hon. Member, I have to say that the arrangements for the Royal Commission to inquire into this subject are now complete. The names of the Commissioners have been submitted to Her Majesty and approved of, and we hope that the names of the Commissioners and the terms of the Reference will be gazetted in the course of the next day or two. In regard to the second part of the Question of the hon. Member for North Ayrshire, of course I have no power in any way to limit the discretion or liberty of Members of Parliament; but I would suggest that, inasmuch as the whole subject is now to be inquired into, it would be better to postpone any discussion until the Commissioners have made their Report. As to the second Question of the hon. Member for Birkenhead, I may remind him that I stated last Session that the Reference would include the functions and administration of the Marine Department of the Board of Trade.

## ARMY—THE EGYPTIAN EXPEDITION—SADDLES OF THE CAMEL CORPS.

Viscount LEWISHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is correct, as reported, that the saddles provided for the Camel Corps being made of green wood were unfit for service; and, if so, who is responsible?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I have no information as to these saddles, which were made in Egypt under the direction of the General Officer commanding.

## LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF MR. CHANCE.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Why the inquiry, promised in this House last August, into the arrest of Mr. F. A. Chance, solicitor, Dublin, has never been granted?

Mr. TREVELYAN: I am not a Member of the Government at this moment, and it is only with the indulgence of the House I answer the Question of the hon. Member for Monaghan. I had brought to my notice only to-day, it so happens, the letter written by the Chief Commissioner of the Dublin Police at the end of last month. On reading that letter carefully, I find that Mr. Harrel was under a mistake with regard to the promise which I made in Committee of the House of Commons last Session. The origin of that mistake, no doubt, is that the volume of *Hansard* was not published; and the reports in the newspapers of what I said are, so far as I have been able to see, extremely brief, and would not convey the full meaning of what I said. But I have written to Mr. Harrel, explaining how the matter stands, and begging that the inquiry may be at once proceeded with.

Mr. HEALY: Might I ask the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster whether the officials in Dublin Castle are dependent upon volumes of *Hansard* for the instructions which should be given them by Members of the Irish Government?

[No reply.]

## WESTERN ISLANDS OF THE PACIFIC—NEW GUINEA—THE BRITISH PROTECTORATE.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can inform the House of the precise extent and situation of the coast line, and of the territory, comprised in the British Protectorate of New Guinea; whether the British authorities will have jurisdiction over the subjects of Foreign Powers, as well as over the Natives, within the Protectorate; and, whether all settlement within the Protectorate is, for the present, prohibited; and, if so, whether there is any precedent for such prohibition within the British Territory, and for how long it is to continue?

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor) asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he will inform the House what arrangements the Government have made in connection with the proposed establishment of a British Protectorate in New Guinea; what amount of territory in the interior will be brought within British jurisdiction; and, whether the Government have come to an understanding with Germany as to the occupation by the latter Power of the northern part of the Island?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The instructions to the Commodore on the Australian Station are to proclaim the Queen's Protectorate over the whole of the Southern Coast of New Guinea, from the 141st meridian east longitude to

East Cape, in Goschen's Straits, and over the adjacent Islands. Papers were laid on the Table of the House yesterday which contained an Admiralty chart showing the area in question. It is not possible, at present, to define the inland limits of the British Protectorate, as the country is unexplored and unknown; but its extent will be determined on the spot according to what local circumstances may demand. In reply to the second Question of the right hon. Gentleman, I have to say that British authority will have jurisdiction over the subjects of Foreign Powers as well as over Natives. As to the third Question, settlement within the Protectorate is at present forbidden; but it is intended that as soon as Her Majesty's Commissioner assumes charge, he shall, after consulting the Colonial Government, make such provision for the occupation of land as may sufficiently protect the interests of the Natives, and prevent collisions with them. I may remind the right hon. Gentleman that at the Colonial Convention, held at Sydney last year, there was a Resolution unanimously passed by the Delegates, that after the establishment of British jurisdiction in New Guinea, no acquisition of land should be permitted except through the Crown, and then only for missionary or trading purposes. As to the question of precedents, I am not sure that experience would not assist us more than precedent; but there are, no doubt, cases in which the occupation of land in countries under British Sovereignty and jurisdiction has been restricted; but I have not had time, owing to shortness of Notice, to hunt them up. It is, however, quite obvious that there would be collisions and outrages if land were taken over from the Natives of New Guinea without the control of a British officer. As to the Question whether the Government have come to an understanding with Germany with respect to the occupation of the Northern part of the Island by that Power, I have to answer it in the negative.

## INDIA—THE INDIAN VERNACULAR PRESS ACT.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that the Indian Vernacular Press Act was passed at the earnest instigation of Sir George Campbell, now Member for Kirkcaldy, and many other officials in India of the highest position; and, whether he will produce the telegrams referred to in the following extract from one of his speeches recently delivered in Scotland, as having been sent by Lord Beaconsfield's Government:—

> "Suddenly in the dark, in the privacy of the Legislative Chamber, I believe, in answer to messages sent by telegraph without the knowledge of Parliament, without the knowledge of the Country, a Law was passed which totally extinguished the freedom of the Native Indian Press?"

Mr. GLADSTONE: I think that with regard to the first part of this Question the hon. Member is under some misapprehension. My hon. Friend the Member for Kirkcaldy had left India several years before the passing of the Vernacular Press Act. I am quite aware that considerable discussion took place in India as to that Act—or, at all events, some measures connected with it—and I have heard that my hon. Friend desired some measure of that description, just as I have heard that one of the stoutest Tories of the country—the Duke of Buckingham—resolutely opposed it. I never said anything with regard to the discussion in India upon that Act; what I spoke of was the manner in which the Act was passed, without the knowledge of Parliament or the people of this country. The paragraph quoted has exclusive reference to that, and not to any discussion in India; and I hold to the principle that it is Parliament, not the local authorities, which is the guardian of the liberties of the people. The telegrams to which I referred are contained in Blue Book 2,040 of 1878. The telegram asking for leave to pass the Bill was sent on the 13th of March, 1878. The telegram from the Secretary of State sanctioning the Bill was sent on the 14th of March, and I believe the Bill was passed on the same day.

Mr. ONSLOW: The impression left on the mind of everyone by the right hon. Gentleman's speech was that the initiative came from Lord Beaconsfield's Government, and that is the impression I wish to correct.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I said nothing whatever of the initiative.

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor): Are not the debates of the Indian Council reported in the Indian papers as the debates in Parliament here?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not able to say; but that has not the smallest bearing on the question.

### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE — REDISTRIBUTION SCHEME — DISCLOSURE OF PUBLIC DOCUMENTS.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will consent to the appointment of a Select Committee, with power to summon and examine witnesses, to inquire into the mode in which one of the schemes for Redistribution, which were printed for the private consideration of certain members of Her Majesty's Government, was obtained and published in *The Standard ?*

MR. FIRTH asked whether the printers were still being employed by Her Majesty's Government, or whether they had been dismissed or suspended?

MR. GLADSTONE: The matter of this Question has been referred, in the first instance, to the Solicitor to the Treasury. From my making that statement, it will be perceived by both the hon. Members that until we know exactly what can or cannot be done in that Department it will be better not to enter upon it. But when the proper time comes—it cannot be distant—the fullest information will be given to the House.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I would like to ask whether the Solicitor to the Treasury will have power to examine Members of the Government on the subject?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am not aware that the Solicitor to the Treasury has expressed that desire. If he should express it, no doubt it will be conceded.

### THE STATE OF TRADE—A ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he will advise Her Majesty to appoint a Royal Commission to inquire into the state of trade in the United Kingdom?

MR. GLADSTONE: No; I cannot.

### FRANCE AND CHINA—HOSTILITIES—INTERNATIONAL LAW.

SIR JOHN HAY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether instructions have been sent to the authorities of Hong Kong and Singapore to prevent the coaling of French and Chinese vessels at those ports during hostilities between those Powers; and, whether he will consider whether a more rigid enforcement of neutral rights may not be the means of putting a stop to warlike operations which are so prejudicial to trade and commerce?

MR. GLADSTONE: The time is too early for me to give a positive answer to this Question of the right hon. and gallant Baronet. I have communicated with my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs upon it, and I am able to say that Her Majesty's Government are in consultation with the Law Officers on some points raised in this Question, and also with the French Government; but those communications have not reached such a stage as to enenable me to make a statement.

SIR JOHN HAY: Have Her Majesty's Government received any authentic information that the English law has been put in force to compel the Chinese labourers to place coals on board French vessels engaged in hostilities; and, if so, will that be put a stop to?

MR. GLADSTONE: I am afraid I must ask the right hon. and gallant Gentleman to be kind enough to put his Question on the Paper.

### PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE—WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with reference to the following paragraph in the speech made by him on the platform of the Preston Railway Station, on the 26th of September last, viz.:—

> "Well, I have shown that the Franchise Bill was a very simple measure, but everything was done by the Tories, whenever they could, to make it complicated. Why, what did they do? They tried to bring in a woman's franchise. What was the object of that? Do you suppose they were very fond of the woman's franchise? If they were so fond of a Woman's Franchise Bill, why did they not bring one in when they were in office for six years? No, gentlemen, their object was to weight the Franchise Bill, and make, as I have said, the ship carry such a cargo as to swamp it;"

If he would state to what Amendment to the Franchise Bill of last Session he referred; and, whether he is aware that many members of the Tory Party, including some of the Leaders, have supported female franchise for some years past?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I answered a portion of this Question yesterday, and I am now asked to state what Amendments in the Franchise Bill of last Session I referred to. Perhaps I ought to say, with regard to this passage, although I believe it is correctly reported, that on the occasion which has drawn the attention of the hon. Member, the station at Preston—an absolute exception to all the other stations visited in my journey Northward—was in a state of perfect chaos. Hence my reference to this matter was very curt, and was not attended with the explanations which, under other circumstances, I should have been disposed to give. That, I hope, will in some degree satisfy the hon. Gentleman; and I am quite certain that, if he had been a witness of the state of things, he would perfectly well have understood the statement I now make. I, of course, referred to the debate on women's suffrage, and to no other Amendment.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would not give an answer to the Question, which was, What Amendments he referred to?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir; I have answered it. I ought also to say that I am under the impression that some Members of the Tory Party, like a great many Members of the Liberal Party, are determined and convinced supporters of woman's suffrage, quite apart from political exigencies.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In consequence of what has fallen from the Prime Minister, I beg to give Notice that on Monday I shall ask the President of the Board of Trade, as being responsible for the railway traffic, Whether he will communicate with the Railway authorities as to the advisability of preventing in the future political demonstrations at Railway stations?

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS.

Mr. CALLAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the facts recently disclosed in the letter of His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and which it appears is to form the subject matter of an Amendment on the Address, the Government will lay upon the Table of the House Copies of the dying declarations of two of the men executed for the Maamtrasna murders, admitting their own guilt, but solemnly declaring the innocence of Myles Joyce, executed at the same time, made before Mr. Brady, R.M. in the presence of the Governor of Galway Prison, on the day but one and the day before the executions, which are referred to in the Memorandum of the Under Secretary as having "formed the subject of the most anxious consideration on the part of His Excellency?" He would further say that part of the Question of which he had given Notice had been suppressed; but he proposed, nevertheless, to put it.

Mr. SPEAKER: The supplementary Question which the hon. Member now proposes to put was, by my direction, expunged, and I cannot allow it to be put.

Mr. CALLAN: Then I will put the Question to the Prime Minister as it now stands on the Paper, with certain words carefully suppressed.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I will only refer to the Question as I have seen it. As I understand, it is a perfectly well-established practice in the Home Office with regard to England and Scotland, and in the Irish Government with regard to Ireland—and it is a practice which they conceive best in the interests of public justice—to withhold statements and confessions made by persons under sentence of death. That being the established practice, it would not be deemed advisable to depart from it.

Mr. CALLAN: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, in the presence of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, was that principle followed in the case of the dying declaration of Peace?

Mr. HARRINGTON: Arising out of the right hon. Gentleman's reply, may I ask, whether it is not the fact that depositions of this description were given by the Irish Government in the case of Francis Hynes; and, whether the Chief Secretary for Ireland did not state to the House that that was done for the purpose of vindicating the jury?

Mr. GLADSTONE: From the Office which I hold I am not conversant with the actual Departmental practice in these matters. All I can say is that I will carefully inform myself on any inquiry which any hon. Gentleman may be disposed to put to me.

## PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

MR. BROADHURST: I should like to be permitted to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he can give any assistance or advice to private Members who on the previous day gave Notice of the introduction of Bills? We are in considerable doubt as to whether we should fix a Wednesday on this side of Christmas or not. If the Prime Minister can give us any assistance or advice in the circumstances, it will be very gratefully accepted.

MR. GLADSTONE: What I venture to recommend to the hon. Gentleman would be a postponement of the Question—I hope a short postponement—until the Government can in some degree see their way in regard to the stages of the Representation of the People Bill. I may say that I believe it is pretty well understood by the House that we propose, for the convenience of the House—in pursuance of what we take to be the convenience of the House and the intentions expressed in the Speech from the Throne—we propose to ask the House to consider that Bill from day to day. I hope to obtain leave to introduce that Bill to-night. I do not know absolutely whether the debate on the Address is likely to terminate to-night, or terminate, as some think, on Monday; but I think it right to take this opportunity of stating that, although I may put down the second reading of the Bill for Monday, in order to be prepared for the case of having Monday as a vacant day, yet I should not think of moving the second reading of the Bill on Monday unless it came on at a very early hour, because there is the Report of the Address, which may be more than a merely formal proceeding.

MR. RAIKES: I wish to ask the First Lord of the Treasury, whether he intends, in introducing the Representation of the People Bill to-night, to make to the House any general explanatory statement; and, having regard to the possibility of discussion arising, whether he will name any hour after which he would not propose to introduce the Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE: No, Sir; I will not say that I will introduce the Bill absolutely without a word; but certainly I do not think that more than two minutes would be occupied in anything I have to say. I wish to inform the House that, from communications I have received from the authorities of the House, I believe the state of Public Business will allow, and that it would be advisable, to commence Public Business at a quarter past 4 o'clock.

MR. GORST: I wish to ask the Prime Minister, whether he will undertake, after the Papers referred to in the Speech are in the possession of Members of the House, an opportunity will be given to the House for discussing the affairs of South Africa?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think, Sir, it is most proper that there should be some such opportunity; but I do not know exactly when the Papers will be in the hands of the Members of the House. I do not understand the hon. and learned Member to say immediately, but within a reasonable time; and I hope to be able to make an arrangement to that effect.

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he would lay on the Table of the House all the telegrams and despatches which have been received from General Gordon since the 1st of May, and especially those received in August this year, in which General Gordon states that he holds the Government responsible for all the evils which have befallen Egypt?

LORD EDMUND FITZMAURICE, in reply, said, he had on the previous day informed the House that full information had been laid on the Table of the House in regard to General Gordon; and if the hon. Member would only have patience until he saw the Blue Book, which would be presented to-morrow or Monday, he thought he would be satisfied with the information it contained regarding General Gordon.

## POST OFFICE—SIXPENNY TELEGRAMS.

MR. RUSTON asked the Postmaster General, Whether he could inform the House when he would introduce the sixpenny telegrams?

MR. FAWCETT: In reply to my hon. Friend's Question, I have to say that there is no intention to alter the decision which my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced when introducing his Budget, that the reduced rate for inland telegrams would be brought into operation on the 1st of August next.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS—THE RIOT AT ASTON HALL, BIRMINGHAM.

**SIR FREDERICK MILNER**: I wish to put a Question to the President of the Board of Trade of which I have given him private Notice. I should like to state that I ask the Question in no contentious spirit, but simply on account of the serious mischief that may ensue from the attitude apparently taken by the President of the Board of Trade. What I wish to ask is, Whether the right hon. Gentleman is correctly reported to have used these words when alluding to the disgraceful conduct of the rioters at Birmingham at the time of the visit of the Leader of the Opposition—

> "This is the man—

alluding to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill)—

> "who is so indignant because the working men of Birmingham took him at his word and pulled off the coping of the wall in order to attend a meeting to which they had been invited, and which the Tory managers were endeavouring, by a transparent fraud, to palm off as a representation of the people of Birmingham;"

whether he does not think it a gross insult to the working men of Birmingham to accuse them of such disgraceful conduct; whether he does not think that his words practically condone the proceedings of the rioters; and, whether he considers such conduct worthy of a Cabinet Minister?

**MR. CHAMBERLAIN**: Mr. Speaker, I am obliged to the hon. Baronet for his courtesy in giving me Notice of this Question, although I only received that Notice a few minutes ago on coming into the House. At the same time, I will make no difficulty whatever in answering the Question. I would remind the hon. Baronet, however, that in the Notice which he has given to me, the last two Questions, which appear to be altogether matter of opinion and discussion, are struck out. I have to say that the extract which he quotes appears to me to be substantially accurate, although it is incomplete; and I regret that the hon. Baronet did not quote the earlier words of the paragraph from which he has made the extract, and in which I referred to the language of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who, at a meeting in Edinburgh, in 1883, declared that he would never give his assent to the franchise until the labourers showed their earnestness by pulling down railings and by engaging the police and the military.

**LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**: I rise to Order. I wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether it is in Order for a Minister of the Crown to put words into the mouth of a Member of Parliament, which that Member of Parliament never uttered?

**MR. SPEAKER**: If the noble Lord repudiates the words, I have no doubt the right hon. Gentleman will not insist upon them.

**MR. CHAMBERLAIN**: I will pledge myself to the House to the substantial accuracy of the words I have quoted.

**LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**: I deny their accuracy. I never used them.

**SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF**: Sir, I rise to Order. [*Cries of* "Order!"] You said, Sir, that if the noble Lord repudiated those words, the right hon. Gentleman would doubtless withdraw them. The right hon. Gentleman has, contrary to your ruling, insisted on the accuracy of the words repudiated by the noble Lord. I ask you whether such conduct is in Order?

An hon. **MEMBER**: On the part of a Minister of the Crown, too.

**MR. SPEAKER**: That is not a question of Order. What I said was that the right hon. Gentleman would, I felt sure, not continue to attribute words to the noble Lord which the noble Lord repudiated.

**SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF**: But he did, Sir.

**MR. CHAMBERLAIN**: I understood the noble Lord to repudiate the verbal accuracy of the words I have quoted, and as I am speaking from memory, I do not wish to bind myself to the verbal accuracy of the words; but I pledge myself to prove to the House, if it be necessary, by the actual citation of the words reported in all the papers to have been used by the noble Lord at Edinburgh, the substantial accuracy of the statement I have just made. Now, Sir, I go on to the further Question addressed to me by the hon. Baronet. He asks me whether I do not think it is a gross insult to the working men of Birmingham to impute to them that they have been guilty of such disgraceful conduct. I must say that while the proceedings at Birmingham appear to me to be, to some extent, a matter of discussion, I shall be prepared, if the opportunity is afforded to me, to state to the House what I have heard with reference to them from my constituents, some of whom were eye-witnesses of those proceedings. In the meantime, I have to say that I have not accused the working men of Birmingham of disgraceful conduct. I do not think they have been guilty of it. If my information is accurate, the only persons who have been guilty of disgraceful conduct are the roughs who were hired as "chuckers-out" by the Tory Party.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to ask the President of the Board of Trade, whether, before the debate on the Address concludes, he will take the opportunity, which he deliberately refused last night, when he was charged with direct complicity in these riots—whether he will take the opportunity of more fully going into the matter, and of giving those who differ from him an opportunity of replying to his statement?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Nothing will give me greater pleasure than to answer any accusations which may be brought in this House either against myself or against my constituents. Last night I did not reply to the statement of the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), who appeared to me, on that occasion, to be acting as jackal to the noble Lord.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: In the interests of Parliamentary decency, I rise to Order.

An hon. MEMBER: Move the adjournment.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to ask you, Sir, whether it is in Order—[*Cries of* "Oh!"]—a point in regard to which hon. Members opposite appear to be in ignorance—whether it is in Order for a Member of this House to apply to another Member the term "jackal?"

MR. SPEAKER: I hope the noble Lord will not take the word in a too literal sense. I regarded it as figuratively used, and not, therefore, transgressing any Rule of the House, and I do not think the noble Lord himself can be serious in the matter.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I cannot help thinking, Sir, that whether the right hon. Gentleman was technically in Order or not, seeing how the expression which he used has been received, that he will venture to withdraw a word which is calculated to give pain, and the use of which, I venture to say, is not in the interests of decent language in this House.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: In answer to the appeal just made to me, I hope the House will allow me to explain that, of course, I had not the slightest intention of describing the hon. Member for Portsmouth as a jackal otherwise than figuratively. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!"] My intention was precisely the same as when the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) a short time ago used figurative language with regard to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), whom, if I remember rightly, he described on that occasion as a "bonnet." But if the feelings of the hon. Member for Portsmouth have been hurt, I most willingly withdraw the expression.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I beg to tell the right hon. Gentleman that nothing he can say will affect me in any manner whatever.

MR. CALLAN: May I ask, Mr. Speaker, in the interests of peace and order, whether the word "bonnet" or "jackal" is the most discourteous?

Mr. SPEAKER did not reply.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON. The Prime Minister yesterday warned us, in grave and solemn tones, that he was authorized by all his Colleagues to repudiate outrage and violence of every kind. I wish now to ask him—or, if more convenient, I will put the Question again on Monday—if, after the condonation of the President of the Board of Trade of the outrage at Birmingham, he still adheres to that statement?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not wish to appear discourteous, but I would say that I can answer that Question either now, or, after more consideration, on Monday. Unquestionably, I am not going to abandon to-night a statement I made last night.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS (IRELAND)—THE RIOT AT PORTADOWN.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER: I beg to ask Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he has received any particulars of the riots which, according to the newspaper reports, have taken place at Portadown; whether during these riots an attack was made upon Mr. Thomas Dickson, a Member of this House; and, whether he is in a position to state what is the condition of the hon. Member for Tyrone, who, the newspapers state, has been severely injured?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker), in reply, said, he had received a telegram as to the result of inquiries on the subject, and could state from the information thus received that a serious riot had taken place on the occasion of a Liberal meeting held at the Town Hall, Portadown, that several persons had been assailed, and he regretted to add that the hon. Member for Tyrone had been injured. Several persons who were engaged in these riotous proceedings had been identified, and would be prosecuted.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

—o—

## ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SECOND NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [23rd October,] "That, &c."—[See page. 69.]

And which Amendment was,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "and humbly to assure Her Majesty that it is the opinion of a vast number of the Irish people that the present method of administering the Law in Ireland, more especially under the Crimes Act, has worked manifold injustice, and, in the case of the prisoners tried for the Maamtrasma murder, has led to the execution of an innocent man and to the conviction of four other persons equally innocent, and this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey."—(*Mr. Harrington.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

## AMENDMENT (MR. HARRINGTON)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he wished to remind hon. Members of the House of the precise nature of the case which had been urged against the Government, by those who had carefully and fully investigated the matter in question, concerning what was known as the Maamtrasna murders. The locality in which these murders took place was a wild district in the west of Lough Mask. The district was poor, very wild, the holdings being small, interspersed, badly fenced, and in certain cases difficult to identify. Circumstances which had come to light proved beyond all doubt that, unfortunately, in the community who resided there, there was, it appeared, a local secret society established, and to it many of the people there belonged. John Joyce, the murdered man, who lived at Maamtrasna, was the treasurer of this society, and he had many quarrels with another member of the society named Casey. The latter had been repeatedly threatened by Joyce, but he did not inform the police, because Joyce threatened to make known to the authorities the existence and names of the members of the society. Several meetings of the society were held. Quarrels had occurred as to sheep and other matters, and in August, 1882, an attack, instigated by revenge, took place. At the meetings attended by the Joyces and Thomas Casey, who subsequently became Government informer, it was proved that those who took part in it were provided with disguises in the shape of white coats or coverings. The faces of the other six men were blackened with boot-blacking. John P. Joyce was disguised by having a soft hat; and Thomas Casey was similarly disguised. Then some of these men adopted for the nonce assumed names. Three of them were named by John Casey as the persons who actually participated in the murder. These men started from a house which was within three-quarters of a mile of Maamtrasna, went direct to the house of John Joyce, and the murder was committed. It was supposed that the two sons had also been massacred, but the younger son survived, and was still living. He and his brother, who succumbed within 24 hours of the murder, gave depositions to the police, which were now in the hands of the Government. The truth was that Joyce had feuds with some of his neighbours, among whom were Anthony Joyce, John Joyce of Derry, and his son and others. Anthony Joyce, as could easily be proved, had, on more than one occasion, tried to wreak his vengeance upon John Joyce; but Anthony knew absolutely nothing about the murder. He was not near it, and only heard of it on the following morning. He, however, went to the scene of the tragedy, made a minute inspection, and then in conjunction with John Joyce of Derry and the son of the latter he concocted a false charge. This charge was supported throughout by the most palpable perjury. His story was that he was awakened on the night in question by the barking of a dog; he had looked out and saw six men passing his house; that he then went to his brother's house and aroused him, and accompanied him in search of the six mysterious figures whom they saw enter the house of Michael Casey, where they were joined by four others. Now, these men—Anthony, his brother, and his nephew—would have them believe that they tracked the 10 men for three miles, witnessed the entry of the house, heard the cries of the victims, and were able to return without being observed. Now, the men who committed the crime were perfectly well known, and some of them had confessed that they started only three-quarters of a mile from the scene of the tragedy. The story of Anthony Joyce was palpably false in every respect, as was clearly shown by the dying depositions of the son of the victim. The boy could not swear to the culprits owing to their disguise, yet the latter were identified by Anthony Joyce and his party on a dark night. Anthony's niece, Mary Joyce, was several weeks afterwards brought forward to bolster up this false statement. One of the informers, Philbin, produced by the Government to furnish the necessary corroboration, had nothing whatever to do with the murder; but the Government's agents arrested him and so practised upon him that he ultimately consented to enter into a treaty with George Bolton, the Crown Solicitor, in regard to giving evidence. Philbin knew perfectly well what he was required to say, and was afterwards put into a yard with Thomas Casey, one of the accused, in order that his statement might be safely corroborated. Philbin, however, himself turned informer, and made two depositions, one on the 9th of November, which was so unsatisfactory that on the 10th of November he made another, each witnessed by Mr. Bolton; and at last Casey expressed his willingness to give some information. But before he did so, Mr. Brady, one of the Resident Magistrates, read over to Casey the deposition of Philbin, in order that he might know what he was required to affirm. Upon the testimony which they must have known to be perjured, the officers of the Crown pressed the case against the prisoners. That was a serious charge to make against the Administration; but he affirmed that the Courts of Queen Victoria in Ireland were no better than some of the Courts of Elizabeth, which Hallam had stigmatized as caverns of murder. Myles Joyce had been as deliberately done to death as had Lord Frederick Cavendish, and it was absurd to profess horror at one crime and to hide another as heinous. Last Session he had brought before the House a Motion to inquire into the proceedings of the Government with regard to certain charges made against high officials in Ireland. That Motion was refused; but subsequent events, the case of Cornwall against O,Brien alone, proved that that Motion was thoroughly warranted. It was known who had been concerned in these murders—J. Casey, J. Casey, junr., P. Leyden, Thomas Casey, Patrick Casey, Michael Casey, and Patrick Joyce. Of these, two men were executed and one man sentenced to penal servitude; but the determination of the Government to have victims sacrificed Michael Joyce. and sent four other men, equally innocent, into penal servitude. It was impossible to bring back the soul of Myles Joyce; but if any respect for the law was to exist in Ireland, it was absolutely indispensable that some indication should be given in this country that there existed some real desire to do equal and impartial justice in that country, and that they should no longer allow legalized murder to stalk with impunity throughout the Island.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, the demand of the hon. Member was that the Government should review eight convictions, five of which had been obtained on the confession of the accused men, and this demand was made not to satisfy feeling in Ireland, but in order that public justice and the administration of the law might be discredited. It was asked to review convictions made in the presence of a Judge by a jury who were admittedly impartial, partly upon the unsworn statement of an informer, whose case was that he was a perjurer at the trial as well as the murderer of innocent men, and partly on the protestations of innocence made by convicted men. The charge of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) was that Lord Spencer, Mr. Justice Johnson, Mr. Justice Murphy, Mr. Serjeant O'Brien, and others, had "feloniously, wickedly, murderously"—he used the words of the hon. Member—entered into a conspiracy to suppress evidence in order to obtain the conviction of innocent men, and to screen guilty ones. It was worth remembering that this demand for a reinvestigation of the case was made two years and three months after the trial. The hon. Member for Westmeath visited the scene of this outrage, as he said in one of his letters, "to strengthen the position of those who were demanding justice." There was one statement made by the hon. Member last night which impressed him very much, and that was that when he and the reverend gentleman who accompanied him were visiting one John Joyce and asked him a certain question, the man said, in answer to the priest—"Don't press me, father." That expression was an emphatic illustration of the process resorted to by those who were seeking to get up a case against the Government. Another matter dwelt upon by the hon. Member was the briefs of the Crown. The hon. Member for Westmeath, using a euphemistic expression, said—"They had fallen into his hands." For his own part, he attached no value to what was said in a brief which was abstracted from the Crown—stolen, very possibly, and which any man capable of stealing it would not scruple to alter and use. Would anybody standing up in the name of justice and in the interests of justice descend to the use of arguments from such a source? There were two periods when this case was under the consideration of Lord Spencer—one, when he felt coerced to say the law should take its course; and the second in August last, when Lord Spencer reviewed all the statements made by the approvers, and all the facts of the case, and came to the conclusion that the trial had been a fair one. It would be difficult for anyone who listened yesterday to the statement of the hon. Member for Westmeath to have appreciated the evidence for the Crown. What was that evidence? On the night of the 17th of August, 1882, a horrible massacre of five persons took place at the house of John Joyce, Maamtrasna—the old grandmother of 80, the husband, the wife, the grown-up daughter, the son, were murdered, and an attempt was made upon the life of a child of nine. Old and young were included in that butchery in order that no trace of the murderers might be left. Was it to be supposed that those who prosecuted on the part of the Crown had any special ill-will to Myles Joyce, who was now said to be innocent on the unsworn evidence of a man who admitted that he was in the murder, and whose story, if he came into the box, any jury would be told to discredit. On the morning following the night of the murder three men came forward of unblemished character, without any motive—no reward had been offered, not one sixpence, at the time these men made their statement against those 10 persons. The three men came forward at once and gave information, and the 10 men were arrested and put upon their trial. It was true that John Casey also was arrested, and detained for a short time; but the Crown found that there was no case against him. It was said that the witnesses falsely accused the 10 men. But four of them admitted their guilt. It was said that that was a chance. Was it only a chance that the four men who admitted their guilt were among the 10, especially as one of the four, Thomas Casey, came from a place which was a considerable distance away? The prisoners were arraigned on the 1st of November, counsel and solicitor were assigned them, and the trials were adjourned until the 13th of November to enable the prisoners' counsel to visit the locality, and make up their case; and all that was done at the expense of the Crown. Mr. Malley, one of the most experienced counsel in Ireland in defence of prisoners, was assigned them, and he was paid 20 guineas to enable him to go down and examine the locality. It was said yesterday by the hon. Member for Westmeath that certain depositions were not in the possession of the prisoners' counsel.

MR. HARRINGTON asked whether he was to understand that the depositions of Michael Joyce and Patrick Joyce were included?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that every deposition was in the possession of the prisoners' counsel. [Mr. HARRINGTON: That is not so.] The hon. Member should remember the difference between depositions and declarations. What he was stating now was literally correct, that not only these, but every deposition made at the inquest, including that which the hon. Member said was suppressed, was in the possession of the prisoners' counsel. The trial came on, and the three witnesses were subjected to a searching cross-examination, and there was no impeachment of their character. There were three trials by separate juries; no juror who served on one trial served on another; and in each a verdict of guilty was returned. And now he would give a short account of the evidence given at the trial. On that night in August it was beyond doubt that John Joyce's house was attacked by a party of murderers. In that wild country there was an old road which passed by the house of the two men, John and Anthony Joyce. One of the gang, Thomas Casey, came from some miles away, the others from the immediate neighbourhood. That old road would be the way the men would naturally take. [Mr. HARRINGTON: No, no.] He did not interrupt the hon. Member for Westmeath when he was making his statement.

MR. HARRINGTON: I stated facts.

MR. SPEAKER: I hope the hon. Member will allow the hon. and learned Gentleman to proceed.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), resuming, said, he had himself taken the trouble to walk over every portion of the ground without asking any questions, but having with him one of the persons who gave evidence on the trial, and he took care to see that every spot identified was one about which there was ample grounds for identification; and if there was a doubt they could not have failed to discover it. It was said yesterday by the hon. Member for Westmeath that the night was dark. The constable swore it was a bright, starry night. It was the fifth day of the new moon. There was evidence to show that the night was not too dark to see the murderers. Anthony Joyce, whose house was a short distance away, was awakened by the barking of a dog. He saw figures on the old road, and recognized six men whom he had known all his life. Some of the men lived almost within a stone's throw. The six men in question were Anthony Philbin, Thomas Casey, Martin Joyce, Myles Joyce, Pat Joyce, and Thomas Joyce. Anthony Joyce thought that they were up to no good, and accordingly he went by a short cut to the house of his brother John, which he reached before the murderers could pass it. John Joyce's daughter Mary, a grown-up young woman, saw her uncle Anthony entering her father's house and heard the conversation which passed. It was said that Mary Joyce did not give evidence until some months after the trial. In point of fact, she made a statement on the same day as her father and uncle. John Joyce went up over his house to see where the men were going. He saw that they went in the direction of the house of Michael Casey, a little further on. It had been admitted that Michael Casey was a participator in the murder. Ten men were seen leaving his house. Those men passed within a few feet of Anthony Joyce, his son, and his brother, who followed them along the mountain path until they took the fields in the direction of the house of the murdered man. There at last the witnesses arrived, and, from behind a bush, witnessed the 10 men enter the yard. They saw a rush at the door, and heard screams, after which they fled in terror to their homes. When Patrick Joyce was arrested on the following day on the information of the three Joyces, one of the first questions he asked was whether Anthony Philbin had been arrested. That was a most singular corroboration. It was asked why were these men not taken red-handed. It should be remembered that there were three against 10, and that the barracks was some miles away from the place where the murders were committed. [Several Irish MEMBERS: No; one mile.] It was stated yesterday that the barracks was five miles away. The House should remember that all Joyce had said had been before three juries. It had been made the subject of examination and cross-examination, and had been dealt with in the Judge's charge. As to the motive which prompted the murder, it had been suggested that the old woman had given information with respect to the murder of the two Huddys which took place some time before, and whose bodies had been thrown into Lough Mask. But the hon. Member for Westmeath, in the letters he had written, had given an ample motive. The hon. Member had said that Patrick Joyce was the head of a Ribbon Society of the district, that John Joyce had been the treasurer of that society, and that the Joyces had given information. Everyone knew that if a member of a Ribbon Society gave information he might be murdered for so doing. It was obvious, however, that some strong motive must have induced the men to murder the old woman. When the evidence of the three Joyces was impeached, the House should consider what was said by the Judge in summing up. The Judge declared that the witnesses gave their testimony in a most satisfactory and trustworthy manner. He wished to point out that on the 23rd of August, 1882, in *The Freeman's Journal*, the very newspaper in which the letters of the hon Member for Westmeath appeared, there was given a description of the witnesses at the inquest and of the alleged murderers, and it was stated that the people of the locality described the 10 men who had been arrested as the biggest devils in the district, who had long been the terror of the neighbourhood, and they shook hands with the witnesses and blessed them, and expsessed their rejoicing that this murderous gang had at last been run to earth. Public opinion was expressed at the conclusion of the three trials; he referred to the 2nd of November, 1882. At the conclusion of these trials on the 2nd of November, 1882, the same organ of public opinion said that the jury had done their duty, that they had been fairly selected, that it had been shown that Irishmen would not shrink from their duty when a case was proven, that the verdicts would be supported by the feeling of the country, that there was no justification for the charge of jury-packing to obtain a conviction, that the restoration of the Catholics of Ireland to the jury-box had been vindicated, that they had retrieved the character of Irish juries, whose verdicts would cease to be received with dissatisfaction and murmurs of distrust, that there was a unanimous feeling that justice had been done in the right and Constitutional way, and that it was a satisfaction to the journal to have been an humble agent in achieving this great end. Such was contemporaneous public opinion as expressed in that newspaper when the verdicts were given. In *United Ireland*, which was a journal of still more extreme opinions, exactly the same commendations were expressed; it was said that the duty of the jury had been honestly and fairly done, and that in future the verdicts of juries would perhaps be rather more scrupulously respected. [Mr. O'Brien: At what stage were these remarks made?] They followed the sentence of Myles Joyce, they were made on the 25th of November, 1882, and they were followed by the declaration—

> "We believe the public are satisfied that the disgusting butchery has been avenged upon convincing evidence by juries fairly chosen."

With respect to what had been said about the plea of guilty, he would ask whether it had ever been known in the experience of a criminal lawyer that a man charged with murder had said he was guilty when he was not? Indeed, it seemed to pass the limits of human imagination that it should be so. It was part of the case of hon. Members that not only Myles Joyce was innocent, but that the four men who pleaded guilty were also innocent. The first trial lasted three days, the second three days, the third two days, and two witnesses whose expenses had been paid by the Crown were present for the purpose of proving an *alibi*. Mr. Malley, counsel for the defence, appealed to the counsel to the Crown to know whether, if the four pleaded guilty, the capital sentence would be remitted; he was informed that no such hope could be held out. Mr. Malley would not take upon himself to recommend the withdrawal of the plea of not guilty by the five prisoners until they had seen their priest, and when they had seen him he advised them to plead guilty.

Colonel NOLAN: Is it Mr. Malley's statement that no hope was held out to them by the officers of the Crown?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that he was stating it on the information of the counsel who was prosecuting. The counsel was told who was their priest; and he (the Rev. Mr. M'Hugh) came up, and having seen them he advised them to plead guilty. It was said that they had refused to do so when the Crown Solicitor asked them; but because they did so on the advice of the priest, we were asked to believe in their innocence. Was it to be said that the rev. gentleman, believing in their innocence, advised them to plead guilty, and yet never uttered a word in explanation to those who held in their hands the issues of life and death? He could not believe it. On the withdrawal of the plea of not guilty, Mr. Malley made an appeal to the Attorney General to be satisfied with the condemnation of the three most prominent of the culprits; and the Attorney General said that he could do nothing. In their subsequent memorial they said they did not enter the house and had no active participation in the crime; and upon that view of the matter the sentence was commuted. It was said there was evidence that could have been given that the men who committed the murder had their faces blackened and were unrecognizable; but when Michael Joyce made the statement on the 18th of August, he was dying; he had two revolver bullets in him which could not be extracted; he was unconscious and raving. True, he said—"Two or three men came in; they had their faces blackened." But to anyone representing the Crown that could not appear to be of the smallest moment. There was ample time for them to have blackened their faces after they left Michael Casey's house. But even if their faces were not blackened, there was nothing more likely than that, in the limited space of the cottage, to the boys awakened by the dying screams of their father and their mother, in the flickering gleams of bog oak torches, the faces of the murderers might well appear to have been blackened. Michael Joyce further said that he was asleep at the time, and he heard a dog bark; that the men said something to his father, and that he had been at mass the day before at Friney. [Mr. HEALY: It was a Catholic holiday.] No; it was not a Catholic holiday. It was the 17th of August, and it had been ascertained that there was no mass there the day before. Then the boy went on to say that he had been sworn on a book not to say anything. It was obvious that it was impossible to attach much value to the evidence of this boy in these circumstances, and when he was passing away from life. So much for Michael Joyce. Then there was the evidence of Patrick Joyce, who recovered. He was a boy about nine, and he made a declaration on the 18th of August, in which he said that these men "had soot on their faces; they had a kippeen each; they lighted them in the house; I got three strokes; they had no coats on and wore bonneens." Anybody who knew the dress the Irish peasants wore in the West, he ventured to say, instead of saying that they were perfectly white, would believe that they were more nearly black. Thus his evidence was wholly inconsistent with that of Anthony Joyce. The point insisted on was that the prisoners' counsel did not know that a statement had been made that the faces of the men were black. The whole of the parties concerned in the trials were charged with having got up a murderous concoction to encompass the death of the prisoners. All he could say was that the depositions at the inquest which proved these statements of the boys as to the black faces were in the hands of the advisers of the prisoners, and they could have asked any question that they wished on cross-examination. It was not the duty of the counsel for the Crown to bring the matter forward. It was suggested that these depositions were kept back; but the fact was that they were published in the public Press and in *The Freeman's Journal* long before the trials, and the information was thus scattered far and wide. The Judge knew of them, as he had the brief of the Crown counsel before him. Then there was the question of the composition of the jury. Now, there was no challenge of the jury, which was about equally composed of Protestants and Catholics. With regard to the brief which was stolen, it was said that there was the letter "C" marked in it to indicate the word Catholic. Well, the newspapers had called attention to the fact that the number of Catholics and Protestants serving on the jury were equal. The letter "C," however, did not signify the word Catholic, but "challenged." What the word "sturdy" meant he did not know, but believed that whoever stole the brief was quite capable of writing it. With regard to the boy, Patrick Joyce, the Crown had put him forward but did not examine him, and I am informed the counsel for the prisoners extracted that the boy did not understand the nature of an oath. The hon. Member for Westmeath had stated that the convicted men had written letters declaring their innocence. He would like to know whether it was very likely that any person would declare anything else in a letter which passed under the eyes of the officials of the gaol? The Crown had, he contended, only vindicated the law in the course which they had taken. With regard to the statements of Casey and Philbin, it might be that they gave false evidence, and it might be that their statement was false that Myles Joyce entered the house. Well, if he was there with the gang, he was as guilty in the eyes of the law as any of them. [Mr. Kenny: He was not there.] Myles Joyce was not in the house, but was there; that was the explanation which had been put upon the case by three juries. When an inquiry was made for compensation to the families of the murdered persons, the two approvers came forward and repeated the same story, although the proceedings were not conducted by the Crown. He would tell the House something more about Thomas Casey. His statement on the 28th of July last was that Myles Joyce was present at the scene of the murder, but did not go into the house. And on the 10th of August he said he had sworn falsely against Myles Joyce and five other innocent men, and that he suppressed the names of the real murderers because he had been paid money to do so by the son of one of the murderers. It was upon the unsworn statement of such a man that the House was asked to subvert everything which had been done by three juries and an upright Judge, and that John Casey, senior, and his son were asked to be prosecuted. Thomas Casey, no doubt, wanted to rehabilitate himself in the eyes of the lawless people in his district. It was said Thomas Casey was induced to make his original statements by the Crown Solicitor, that Philbin and he were put into the prison yard together, and that he made that statement under protest. The first communication which passed between Mr. Bolton and Casey was a message sent by Casey to Mr. Bolton on November 11th, saying—"I have a little important statement to make to yer honor." The suggestion now put forward by Casey was that Bolton wrote down the statement which he desired him to make. That turned out to be utterly false. The statement was made in the presence of Mr. Bolton, Mr. Brady, the Resident Magistrate, and the prison Governor, and it was written by Mr. Brady with his own hand, and was still in existence to show that Mr. Bolton had not written any of it. This Amendment was supported by an appeal to the unsworn testimony of an admitted murderer and perjurer. It was a deliberate attempt to discredit the administration of all law in Ireland, and to make uncertain the verdicts of juries in Ireland.

Mr. CALLAN rose to Order. He desired to know whether it was in Order for an official of the Crown to charge a Member of that House with a deliberate attempt to pervert the course of justice?

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. and learned Gentleman alludes to any Member of this House when he says there has been a deliberate attempt to pervert justice, he is not in Order in doing so.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, if his words implied such a meaning, he would withdraw. What he desired to convey was that the effect of this Motion would be to discredit the administration of law, and to make jury trials, which were the safeguard of law and order, uncertain. It would have the effect of making the evidence of informers impossible in a Court of Law, which would be a very convenient thing for those engaged in dark conspiracies. But it was well that the conspirators should know that there were amongst them those whom they could not trust, no matter how solemn the oath they took might be. He hoped the House would negative the Amendment.

Mr. GORST said, the question which had been raised by the Amendment was one of great gravity and importance, and he thought it deserved to be treated in a very much calmer and more judicial spirit than had been shown by the hon.

and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. He did not apologize for taking part in the discussion, because they all were interested in justice being administered in such a manner that the people would have confidence in its administration. In the present case, there were two perfectly distinct questions. One was, whether there had been any miscarriage of justice? And the other was, if there had been any, whether that miscarriage of justice was due to any misconduct on the part of the officials who represented the Crown in Ireland? If it were important that the administration of justice in Great Britain should be free from suspicion, it was ten-fold more important that it should be free from suspicion in Ireland, because Parliament had thought fit to clothe the Executive Government in Ireland with extraordinary powers, and the only check of those powers was the careful and scrupulous administration of justice. Some years ago, he drew the attention of the House to the way in which crime in Ireland appeared to escape punishment, and to the way in which juries refused to return verdicts of guilty, even on the most conclusive evidence; but he should have been extremely sorry if he had supposed it could have been imagined for a moment that he advocated the establishment of tribunals which would exercise anything else than the most perfect and complete justice. When a case of this kind was brought under the consideration of the House of Commons, it was not, in his opinion, seemly that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, as representing the Government, should get up and make a strong partizan speech, ignoring the real difficulties of the case, and, in fact, to tell the House that there was nothing whatever in it—that it was a mere attempt on the part of certain Members to cast discredit upon the administration of the law; and, indeed, that any person who regarded this as a grave matter, deserving earnest attention on the part of the Government, must be either a fool, or in league with disloyal persons. He (Mr. Gorst) could not help thinking that if the prosecution of criminals in Ireland was conducted in the same spirit as the case of the Government had been defended that night by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, he was not at all astonished that the people of Ireland should have little confidence in the administration of justice. He (Mr. Gorst) had had some experience in Crown prosecutions. He was, while the late Government held Office, repeatedly in Crown prosecutions with the late Sir John Holker, who was distinguished for his fairness and impartiality in conducting prosecutions, as also for his ability and knowledge of law. He had not the slightest doubt but that the hon. and learned Gentleman the present Attorney General (Sir Henry James) would take most scrupulous care that every single fact of importance in a case, whether it went for or against the guilt of the prisoner, should be fully and fairly submitted to the jury. He (Mr. Gorst) did not know whether that was done in these Maamtrasna trials; but, certainly, it was not done if the speech of the prosecuting counsel was anything like the speech they had heard that night. He certainly never before heard a more reckless assertion than the one that had just been made by the hon. and learned Gentleman. The hon. and learned Gentleman had been careful to impress upon the House that the identification of the accused men was easy, inasmuch as the night was bright and starlight. He (Mr. Gorst), however, had always understood that a night could not be starlight unless it was somewhat dark. The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) had asserted that the evidence of Anthony and his brother John and his nephew was uncorroborated, except by his niece Mary, and that Mary had not given her testimony until some time after her uncle had been examined. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland had met that assertion by a declaration that Mary's deposition had been taken on the same day as that of her uncle. In these circumstances, he had asked for the loan of the stolen Crown brief. He did not know how that document had been come by, but there it was, as clearly a genuine one as the redistribution scheme published by *The Standard* the other day; and on looking at that brief, he found that whereas the deposition of Anthony was taken on August 20, that of Mary was not taken until August 28.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): That is what I stated.

Mr. HEALY: No, no; you said the same day.

Mr. GORST: The hon. and learned Gentleman certainly made that statement.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I said the statements were made on the same day. Their depositions were made on different days.

Mr. GORST said, he had a distinct recollection of what the hon. and learned Gentleman had said on this point; and beyond that, there was no evidence with regard to their statements, but there was as regarded their depositions. The hon and learned Gentleman had also asked the House to believe in the testimony of these witnesses, because their demeanour in giving their evidence had been so satisfactory; but their evidence had been given in the Irish language, and it was impossible that anyone who did not understand that language could judge of their demeanour. He should be sorry to ask the House to pronounce judgment as to the guilt or the innocence of these men, but certainly the hon. and learned Gentleman was guilty of exaggeration and would not carry the House with him when he declared that there was no doubt or difficulty in the case. For his part, he (Mr. Gorst) did not think that anybody could be quite comfortable in his mind with regard to the question whether the right men had been convicted and executed. The whole story that had been told by Anthony and John Joyce of the way in which they had identified these men was a most improbable one, inasmuch as they had given no explanation of their conduct in being out at so late an hour, and of following this gang of murderers to the house where the murder was committed, and in their running away. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland had said that there was no motive on their part for giving false evidence; but, on the other hand, there was no motive for the accused persons committing the murder. It might, however, be suggested that a substantial motive existed in the minds of Anthony and John, to induce them to give false testimony, in the very large reward that was given in Ireland to those who gave evidence which secured the conviction of any person charged with murder. He was rather surprised that the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland should rely so much upon newspaper criticism, because he did not know that the remarks which appeared in the newspapers were very much calculated to assist the House in arriving at a conclusion with regard to the matter. He must remark, however, that the eulogies which had appeared in the newspapers, and which had been read, were confined entirely to the conduct of the jury. No one was inclined to find fault with the conduct of the jury, for the evidence laid before them was such as ought to induce them to convict in any case. The hon. and learned Gentleman had dwelt with great force upon the absence of motive evinced for the fact that these five men had pleaded guilty, and no doubt at first sight that did appear to be a very remarkable fact if they were innocent; but with regard to it an important question was this—Had there been any hope held out to these men on the part of the Crown, or by anyone representing it, that if they pleaded guilty, their lives would be spared?—because, if so, that would afford an intelligible explanation of their conduct. It must be recollected that three men had already been tried and convicted upon exactly the same evidence as that which these five men knew would be given against them, and therefore they must have had little hope of escaping conviction, in which case they would have been sentenced to death and hanged, and, therefore, they would naturally have snatched at any hope that might be held out to them by the Crown officials that if they pleaded guilty they would save their necks from the rope. Therefore, what they did was perfectly intelligible. But there was a piece of very striking evidence which the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland had entirely and absolutely slurred over. It appeared that they had been induced to plead guilty by the persuasion of their parish priest—at least, that was the effect of the evidence of a religious and respectable man; but what he said, and what the hon. and learned Gentleman had made no allusion whatever to, was very vital. The reverend gentleman said that, at the time, he was by no means sure of the innocence of these men; but that he was inclined to believe that they were so from their declarations. He further said that he had urged them to plead guilty, because if they really were guilty their plea of guilty would do them no harm, and it would save their necks—how he obtained that information, except through the Crown officials, he (Mr. Gorst) could not conceive—while if they were innocent, he felt that eventually the truth would leak out, and that a huge wrong could not continue for ever, and that he saw a chance of the men being at length returned to their homes and their families without a stain on their characters. The reverend gentleman further declared that, in advising the men to plead guilty, he had not been influenced by a belief in their guilt; but that, on the contrary, he had rather believed them to be innocent. Now, the House would note how carefully the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland ignored all that. He came now to what he regarded as the kernel of the matter—the most preposterous and absurd argument that had been put forward by the hon. and learned Gentleman. He (Mr. Gorst) had been so much struck by the extremely partizan speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman, that, while the hon. and learned Gentleman was addressing the House, he had remarked to an hon. Friend near him that he should not be surprised if the hon. and learned Gentleman did not say black was white before he sat down, and the hon. and learned Gentleman had literally done so. The evidence on which these men were convicted was that the murderers had white faces and black clothes. But the two poor boys, on the day after the murder, the first opportunity after they had been struck down, and without the slightest chance of collusion between them, had stated that the men who had attacked them wore white coats, and that they had their faces blackened, and therefore they were unable to recognize them. The hon. and learned Gentleman said that the fact was that the men had white faces and black coats, and that in their delirium the lads had mistaken the white faces for white coats and the black coats for black faces. Now he (Mr. Gorst), on this point, must say that he considered the conduct of the Crown officials and the Crown Prosecutor, in keeping back the fact that the men's faces were blackened, was absolutely indefensible, and such as he was quite sure would never have been committed by the hon. and learned Attorney General for England, whom he saw opposite, nor by any of his Predecessors. The action of this case turned upon the question of identification on this "bright starry night." If there was one fact in the case more clear than another, it was that these men had blackened faces—in fact, it was in the Crown brief, and was there to be seen now. The morning after the murder, the people who came to the house found one boy of 17 years dying, and a little boy of 10 years also apparently dying, but who had since recovered. As he had said both these lads mentioned, and there could have been no collusion between them, that the men who had entered the house, and who had committed the crime, had their faces blackened, and that they could not recognize them; but the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, indeed, would have them believe that the deposition of Michael Joyce was that of a raving maniac; but he found in that Crown brief, and he supposed it was a fact, that the deposition of this "raving maniac" was taken by one Mr. Brady, Resident Magistrate, and he supposed that Resident Magistrates knew their duties better than to take the declarations of raving maniacs; but it was not only that—the fact of the blackened faces was set forth in a further deposition, and was a prominent feature of the case, and when the guilt of the prisoners depended on the evidence of Anthony Joyce and his accomplices, and when the credibility of the witnesses rested on their power of identification on that starlight night, the fact that the faces were blackened was of most vital importance, and one which should not have been withheld from the cognizance of the jury. He challenged the hon. and learned Attorney General for England to say whether he did not consider that that fact ought to have been communicated to the jury by the Crown counsel; and whether, if such a case occurred in England, the hon. and learned Gentleman would not have taken the most scrupulous care that this important fact should be solemnly brought to the knowledge of the jury? Well, again, he noticed on the second day of the trial a most remarkable thing. In the report of the proceedings which he held in his hand, it appeared that John Collins, who was first in the house after the murder, deposed to finding

Michael Joyce still alive. That was on the morning of the 18th, and upon the witness making that statement, one of the jurors—a Mr. Pim—who appeared to be a most sagacious and intelligent man, inquired whether Michael Joyce had made any statement to him when he entered. The Judge, however (Mr. Justice Barry), interposing, said—"That question need not be answered. We have had already a statement of the doctors that Michael was raving, and unable to make any statement." Now, if Mr. Pim, instead of thus being interfered with, and cut short by the Judge, had been informed that Michael Joyce had made a statement to John Collins and to a police constable, and a dying declaration before a Resident Magistrate, in all of which he had given the blackened state of the men's faces as the reason why he could not identify them, he (Mr. Gorst) did not know but that that might have altered the verdict of the jury. He hoped the hon. and learned Attorney General for England (Sir Henry James) had read the evidence as he (Mr. Gorst) had done. He had done so very carefully, and he found that the case, apart from the informers who had recanted, rested on the evidence of Anthony Joyce, and he asked himself this question—If Anthony Joyce and his party could, on a starlight night, identify all these men, with their faces blackened, at a distance of 40 or 50 yards—[Mr. HARRINGTON: 150 yards]—well, it would serve his purpose—he asked himself how it was that, if they could that night identify anyone at that distance, Michael Joyce, awakened in the middle of the night with the light of torches around him, could have failed to identify the murderers, even if they were strangers? [Mr. HARRINGTON: They were cousins.] He (Mr. Gorst) had never been awakened in the night to see a murderous face; but if he were, he thought he would recollect that face to the end of his days. To him it seemed incredible almost that the Crown Prosecutor could have held back so much; and he could not think that even the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland could rest satisfied with a verdict so open to doubt as that. But he had just forgotten one further instance of the recklessness of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland. It was asked—Why did not these men, when terrified, go to the barracks? "Oh," said the Solicitor General for Ireland, "the barracks was five miles off;" and he (Mr. Gorst) thought no more of it, believing, of course, that the hon. and learned Gentleman would not say that if he did not know it was a fact. But the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had just informed him (Mr. Gorst) that he had measured the distance on the Ordnance map in the Library, and found it was under one mile. All he could say was, that if prosecutions in Ireland were conducted as this case would have one to suppose they sometimes were, and as the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland would tend to prove, then he was not in the least surprised that there was sometimes discontent amongst the Irish Members and people, and miscarriages of justice. The facts were that three men were found guilty and hanged, the third of whom died solemnly protesting his innocence to the last. The other two men made depositions, which the Government would not produce, admitting their own guilt, but denying the guilt of the unhappy man who suffered with them. Five other men were sentenced to penal servitude, of whom four asserted their innocence, and the fifth, according to an hon. Member, had said that he was guilty. An informer, upon whose evidence these men were convicted, came forward to say that he had told a tissue of falsehoods. The other informer, he (Mr. Gorst) believed, had made a similar statement. The whole case, in fact, upon which the Crown hanged Myles Joyce had crumbled away, with the sole exception of the statement of Anthony Joyce and his party, evidence which was open to the very gravest doubt. Could the Government be sure, in such a case, that there had been no miscarriage of justice? And would they not at least undertake that there should be a searching inquiry made on the spot, such as was made in Kilmartin's case, which had been attended with the best results, and that the witnesses should all be examined? They were not dealing with unknown persons. He thought the dying depositions of these executed men might very properly be produced. Now, there was a second allegation made on the responsibility of the Archbishop of Tuam—namely, that there was misconduct on the part of the Crown officials, regarding which it was said there had been an inquiry. It was true that the Government had made an inquiry of some kind or other; but who had been the investigators? Why, the inculpated officials themselves. He did not hesitate to declare such an inquiry as that a complete farce. If ever there were a case in which the Executive Government of Ireland should have welcomed some independent inquiry, it would be a case of this sort. He (Mr. Gorst) could understand them refusing any inquiry at all; but, if they conceded any kind of a trial, he should have thought that, for their own sakes, they would have got hold of the most independent person they could lay hands on—an English Judge, for instance, such as Lord Bramwell—and would have invited him to inquire whether the administration of justice had been in accordance with the maxims and principles happily prevalent in the Kingdom of England. If Lord Bramwell had looked into the matter, and had acquitted the authorities, the Government would have had a triumphant justification before the whole of the United Kingdom; but for the Lord Lieutenant to write to the Archbishop and say that he sent him a Memorandum in which he entirely concurred, and when this Memorandum had obviously been drawn up by the inculpated officials, such an inquiry was a perfect farce. The inquiry which had been held was unsatisfactory and unreliable, and therefore he (Mr. Gorst) did earnestly impress upon the Government the paramount importance of placing the administration of justice in Ireland above all suspicion, and of selecting someone of the position, and with the authority, which Lord Bramwell possessed to inquire into the case. If that was done, he thought everybody would be willing to abide by the result of such an appointment.

Mr. HEALY said, he was sure that he spoke the sentiments of his Colleagues when he said that Ireland owed a deep debt of gratitude to the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) for the speech which he had just delivered. He (Mr. Healy) could not imagine any hon. Member voting against the Amendment before the House, for the two propositions it contained were incontestable. It could not be denied that it was the opinion of large numbers of the Irish people that the Maamtrasna prisoners were innocent, and it could not be denied that the confidence of the Irish people in the administration of justice would be strengthened if the inquiry were made. In asking for it, the Irish Members founded themselves upon the promise made solemnly to them by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), that if the Archbishop of Tuam would come forward and make a statement, an inquiry would be granted. He (Mr. Healy) asked the noble Marquess, as a gentleman and as a man of honour, whether that promise had been kept? Could he lay his hand upon his heart and say that an inquiry by Messrs. George Bolton and Newton Brady into the acts of Messrs. Brady and Bolton was a fulfilment of that promise? Bolton and Brady were the very gentlemen whose conduct of the case was impeached by the Irish Members, and Earl Spencer interpreted the pledge for an inquiry by announcing that, after some secret colloquy, Bolton himself and Brady found themselves not guilty. If this were a matter of English concern, and the promise had been in regard to some conduct of Lord Wolseley in the Soudan, and a full inquiry were promised, would the noble Marquess be satisfied to know that Lord Wolseley had inquired into his own deeds, and found himself not guilty? The case had all along been "instructed" by Mr. Brady, and it was with great regret that he (Mr. Healy) impeached any statement of that gentleman. He had the honour of knowing his father, the Inspector of Fisheries, and no better official existed, and he much regretted having to impeach the conduct of his father's son. Upon him, however, heavily lay responsibility. What experience had he when, as Resident Magistrate, he began to investigate the circumstances of the murder? The crime was committed on the 17th August, 1882, and Mr. Brady was gazetted on the 1st of that very month. A magistrate of 17 days' experience, not knowing a word of the Irish language, was sent down from his desk in the Castle to a district where every man was an Irish-speaking person, and where Mr. Brady had no possible knowledge of the modes of thought or habits of life of the people. It was curious that Irish Sub-Inspectors and other Constabulary officials were required to know French and German; but though their duties must bring them in constant contact with Gaelic-speaking persons, it was not held necessary that they should know one word of their own tongue—the Irish language. One of the chief points in the case rested upon the dying declarations of Patrick Joyce and Casey, who were hanged with Myles Joyce. These were given in Irish in Galway Gaol before the execution. They were volunteered on different days by two men locked into separate cells, who, being kept apart, could have had no knowledge of each other's intentions. They were taken in Irish and written down by Brady, through an interpreter. The Lord Lieutenant stated that though they tried to exculpate Myles Joyce, they were still consistent with his presence at the murder, although striking no blow. If what these men wished to express were not made clear, what a load of responsibility lay upon the head of Mr. Brady. But if there were anything in the depositions which left any doubt upon the case, why could not the Lord Lieutenant telegraph to Mr. Brady and ask him, so that the doubt might be cleared up. Lord Spencer, in his reply to the Archbishop of Tuam, said that he gave the depositions the most anxious consideration; but he also said that they were compatible with the fact of Myles Joyce having a guilty knowledge of the intended murders. Remembering that Lord Spencer did not adopt the course he had referred to, that he did not ask Mr. Brady to clear up any cloudiness in the dying depositions by putting the direct question to the real murderers, "Was Myles Joyce with you or not on the occasion of the massacre?" he looked upon the Viceroy's reply to the Archbishop as one of the meanest, most paltry, and most contemptible things that a Lord Lieutenant had ever been guilty of. He could not conceive a Nobleman occupying the position of Governor of the Irish people, who certainly had no want of keenness, putting forward such a statement, and hoping that it might obtain credence. It was said that these depositions did not say that Myles Joyce had no part in the murder .But why was not an endeavour made to extract from the condemned men exactly what they meant to say? Why did not Mr. Brady put the question, "Was Myles Joyce there at all, or was he not?" For any defect in the depositions, Mr. Brady, who took them, was, in the first instance, responsible; and Lord Spencer, in the next place, seeing that he kept the Galway telegraph office open all night before the execution, could not be held guiltless for not asking his Resident Magistrate to extract from the murderers the exact meaning they wished to convey. If the Government were so very clear about the case, and that no injustice had been committed respecting it, what was their objection to granting an inquiry? Why not heap coals of fire upon the heads of the Irish Members, and bury them in the iniquity of having trumped up these charges? Why not take the revenge that they (the Government) must be so anxious to have upon them, by proving by means of this inquiry that he and his hon. Friends were in league with murderers and assassins? They gave the Government this alternative. Either they had a good case, or they had a bad one. If they had a good case, why not grant an inquiry? Since they would not grant an inquiry, what was the inference? And what had the Irish Members been accused of? They had been accused by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland of bringing forward this case to discredit the ends of justice. They were accused of discrediting the ends of justice, by demanding an inquiry which, if it failed, could only recoil upon their own heads. And they demanded an inquiry, with the full knowledge that on the only occasion on which an inquiry of this description had been granted—that conducted two months ago into the conviction of Bryan Kilmartin — that inquiry did discredit the administration of justice, and did not discredit the men who brought forward the allegations that Kilmartin was innocent. But great good the inquiry would have done Bryan Kilmartin, if the shot that was fired by the other man had taken effect. He would have been hanged; and, nevertheless, if a dying declaration, such as was made by Ganly in that case, had been brought to their knowledge, the Irish Members would have been bound in that House to have urged for an inquiry. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland began his statement that night by taunting them with the fact that they brought forward this demand for an inquiry two years and two months after the trial. It was absurd, and he thought a little unjustifiable, to say that, when, as a matter of fact, if the hon. and learned Gentleman had been longer an official in the House, he must have known that the moment after Parliament met in 1883, they challenged in that House the conviction and execution of this man, Myles Joyce. The question was—What explanation was there now for refusing to lay upon the Table the depositions of these two executed men, Patrick Joyce and Casey? The Prime Minister, giving, of course, the reply that was provided and prepared for him by the Irish Government, said, to-day, that it was not usual to give statements made by persons under sentence of death. He was surprised that the Prime Minister, with his varied and vast knowledge, should have pledged himself to such a flimsy statement as that. Was the right hon. Gentleman not aware that in the Butterknowle murder, in the county of Durham, not three months ago, the Secretary of State for the Home Department released, unconditionally, one of the men convicted (Siddle), and that the man who was hanged for the crime (Lowson) declared that this man who was convicted with him was not guilty, and that this dying man's declaration was published to the whole world? They had also the case of the assassin, Peace, whose dying declaration exculpating the convicted man, Habron, for the murder of the policeman, Cox, at Manchester, was published to the whole world. Then they had the case of Francey Hynes, where all the Papers, in 1882, were laid upon the Table of the House. The Prime Minister said it was not usual, and was contrary to Departmental practice, to publish condemned men's depositions. He (Mr. Healy) said, that if it was not usual to give statements made by persons under sentence of death, it ought to be usual. What did the Irish Members care about the Government Departments? What they wanted was to have wrongfully-convicted men liberated, and sent back to their wives and children; and it was no answer to tell them that it was not the practice to publish declarations of that kind. These depositions existed; they declared the innocence of Myles Joyce and of the other four still imprisoned men, and he (Mr. Healy) said that, if they had to wring them out of the Government, they would have these depositions. He, in common with the other Irish Members in that House, was independent of both the Whig and Tory Party. The Whig and the Tory Party had their exigencies, and they (the Irish Members) had before now wrung concessions out of the exigencies of British Governments. Therefore, when the Government came into a crisis later on, such speeches as that made by the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite that night would not be calculated to help them over the stile. He told the hon. and learned Gentleman that they would yet have these depositions, although they were refused two years ago by Lord Spencer; and even if every man of them was to be consigned for months to the plank bed, they would make the whole country ring with the charge of murder against Dublin Castle. The noble Marquess opposite had promised an inquiry into this matter, and he (Mr. Healy) now declared that the Irish Members should take notice of that breach of faith in some marked manner. He further denied that the three independent witnesses were of the unimpeachable character represented, They were the scamps of the neighbourhood, and one of them, he believed, was himself in the murder conspiracy, and thus was able to hit on some of the right men. Others were then dragged in to gratify private revenge, and he would point out that, although the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland was technically correct in saying that no reward had been offered, the Joyces pocketed £1,500 blood-money. They were also told that these men were identified passing along the road. It was well known that the only thing in the shape of a road in the district was a stream that was dry at the time this murder was committed, and which a party on such an errand would have avoided as the only highway likely to be frequented up the mountain. He had expected a much more clear statement on that point; but, beyond the fact that he had visited the place, the Solicitor General for Ireland was careful not to draw upon his personal experience on that matter. It was, however, a well-known fact, which he (Mr. Healy) could substantiate, having been at the scene of the murder, which he had visited out of curiosity, as he happened to be in the neighbourhood, and he maintained that it would be quite impossible for a person standing at the angle of the house, where these men stated they identified the prisoners, to see the road at all, or any person on it. Then they had the extraordinary fact that the identifying parties placed themselves some yards further on towards John Joyce's house when the murderers rendezvoused at Casey's. How did they know that they were going to John Joyce's house, and why should they have placed themselves above instead of below Casey's house, nearer instead of farther from the scene of the murder, as if they knew the subsequent destination of the party plotting inside? In addition to that, they had the personally conducted tour of the Solicitor General for Ireland, which that hon. and learned Gentleman appeared to have undertaken to the district. But he did not give them any explanation of one extraordinary fact, that the three independent witnesses said they identified these men from behind the house, and the approver Philbin said he placed himself in the exact spot where the three independent witnesses must have been lying in wait. All that the hon. and learned Gentleman did was to favour the House with a flimsy statement, omitting all reference to the points that were made in favour of the prisoners by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), and giving a rehash of the case for the prosecution at the trial of these unhappy men. The Government, relying on the Caucus, were sure of the votes of their supporters, and were, therefore, quite satisfied, no matter what was said; and English Members not unnaturally said they could not understand this fearful mixture of Joyces and Caseys. The Irish Members would be satisfied with a Select Committee to inquire into the case, and even if the majority on the Committee were their most determined opponents, they were content to stand or fall by the verdict of that Committee. But they would not be satisfied with Lord Spencer's summary mode of disposing of the case, by asking Bolton and Brady, "Are you guilty or not guilty?" and then complacently recording their acquital of themselves. This was not an agrarian murder, so far as they knew, and why was the venue changed? No man was justified in advising the Crown to change the venue to the City of Dublin. It was simply criminal for the Crown to drag those unfortunate men, who did not understand a single word of the proceedings, 200 miles away from their own district, away from any help from their witnesses, and put them on their trial before a special jury in Dublin. It was one thing to pay for the defence, and another thing to consult the convenience of the accused. The accused applied for a postponement, in order that they might have the opportunity of rebutting the evidence of the informers, but that postponement was refused; and although the brief for the Crown was printed—and it was the practice in Ireland to give to the accused copies of printed documents—yet in this case the Crown withheld the brief. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) had resigned, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was not yet in existence; and the right hon. Gentleman did not take the trouble on the previous night to attend and hear the arguments of the hon. Member for Westmeath. Although the Lord Lieutenant was chiefly impugned, yet the late Chief Secretary for Ireland could not, by simply jumping into the post of Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, completely wash himself free of concern or responsibility in this matter. Myles Joyce and his ghost would haunt the right hon. Gentleman for many a long day. There ought to be some person in that House capable of dealing with the arguments of hon. Members in a proper manner; and he totally objected to hon. and learned Gentlemen like the Solicitor General for Ireland, who replied to statements by omitting to notice every strong point. They had it from him that the two wounded boys, in their dying declarations, were totally mistaken as to the colour of the clothes and the faces of the men who attempted to batter out their brains. A Solicitor General's £1,500 a-year enabled him to see at once that the boys were mistaken, and that the clothes of the men, although originally white, became in process of time considerably darker, and that their faces were, in reality, not black, but white, which was much the same colour!

When a statement was made by a dying boy, that he was murdered by a man with a black face and a white coat, it would take the nerve of an Irish Solicitor General to assert that the man had a white face and a black coat. But supposing the hypothesis of the hon. and learned Gentleman to be correct, why not let the jury know all about it? Myles Joyce, the alleged murderer, was a first cousin of these boys, and the others were near neighbours, familiar to them all their lives. Was it likely they would not have known them had the assassins been recognizable, as the "unimpeachable witnesses" swore? The Solicitor General for Ireland had made some strong remarks on the fact that his (Mr. Healy's) hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath had obtained possession of one of the Crown briefs, and he appeared to think that it was very dishonourable. But it was much more dishonourable for the Government to have withheld the facts from the jury. It was the business of the Irish Members to get hold of all such documents in the interests of good government. It was not half so dishonourable as when the Government were so unscrupulous as to steal their letters, as they had done for many years, and to open them as they passed through the Post Office. They could not take a peep at a Crown brief; but the Solicitor General for Ireland and the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, who was that night in an an amphibious and ambiguous position, might spend a whole night in reading his letters, seized in the Post Office. Of course, he did not suppose the right hon. Gentleman did it himself. He had some deputy, or deputy's deputy, to do it for him, and unless the letters contained something of peculiar interest they would not be brought under his own personal notice. What objection was there to seeing the brief, if there was nothing to be ashamed in it? The hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that the brief was stolen, and he left it to be inferred that his hon. Friend had gone up to Mr. George Bolton some evening, and picked his pocket. The hon. and learned Gentleman might well regret the loss of the Crown brief, because, in his (Mr. Healy's) opinion, a more disgraceful document had never been brought to light. First, they were told all the depositions were given to the accused. Then the Solicitor General for Ireland said it was all the depositions at the inquest; and then, being pressed further, he said the deposition of one of the boys was not given, because he was raving; but he omitted to state anything whatever about the deposition of the boy who was not raving. How careful they were not to embarrass the defence by not confusing them with a raving deposition! But this pleasant explanation did not hold good in the second boy's case, who was admittedly clothed in his right mind, and was now alive and well. Would the late Chief Secretary for Ireland give an explanation of that, or would he adopt his old plan of omitting to notice any strong point? The right hon. Gentleman would, no doubt, give them his Swan song that night. If so, would he do them the parting favour, so as to show them there was no ill-feeling, to take a note of that little point and explain why the deposition of Patrick Joyce was not given? The deposition contained the statement that the faces of the murderers were black, and that was a very important point. How would a boy nine years of age not know his own first cousin, who had lived within half-a-mile of him? Mr. George Bolton, with the astuteness which distinguished that wily man, who had stood the Government in such stead through many years in jury-packing and blood-spilling in Ireland, appended to the Crown brief in italics—"Patrick Joyce has recovered, but his evidence is worthless." Whether his evidence was worthless or not was a question for the jury. They did not complain of the jury. What they complained of was, that the jury had not got the evidence before them, and why were they not allowed to decide it? The Judge and the jury were blinded, befooled, and bepuzzled by the Crown officials in this matter. They impeached neither Judge nor jury—they impeached Mr. George Bolton, and Mr. Newton Brady, and Lord Spencer, and every other person connected with getting up the case; and they wished to know from the Government why the evidence of this boy, which was stated to be worthless, was not given to the jury? The Solicitor General for Ireland had come back from a few days' excursion to Maamtrasna, with the intelligence that Patrick Joyce did not understand his catechism. He might not have understood his catechism; but, at least, he might have known the difference between black and white. Patrick Joyce, it was said, did not know who God was, nor what would happen if he swore a lie. But he was for three months under the thumb of the Crown officials in Ireland; and if they wanted him to know his catechism, it would not have taken very long to have instructed him. They knew it took less than three months to metamorphose Patrick Delaney, the Phœnix Park assassin, from a murderer, perjurer, and highwayman, into a respectable man, fit to swear away the lives of innocent men. Then, in addition to the dying declarations of the two men, they had the confessions of the informers Casey and Philbin. He (Mr. Healy) joined with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) in saying that the statements of those men might be set down as worthless, unless they were corroborated. They were simply an element in the case. But what was the statement of the informer Casey? He (Mr. Healy) had himself questioned this man for about an hour, certainly in the most hostile manner. He took him over the entire case, and he had been perfectly unable to shake his testimony. How was his statement confirmed? He was a Roman Catholic, and, bad as he undoubtedly was, they must suppose him to be possessed of some relics of a conscience. Casey had gone to confession since the murder—although none of the other men had—and in the presence of an entire congregation the wretched man, believing as he did to the full in the consequences of what he was stating, made a declaration on this solemn occasion that his former statements were lies, and that he had been instrumental in hanging an innocent man. In examining this testimony, what did they find? That Casey had no knowledge of what the depositions were which were made to the Crown, and that he had no knowledge of the fact that the two boys had declared that the murderers had blackened faces. Yet, in this very first interview, he said that the men had their faces blackened and wore white flannel vests. The Government attempted to make out a case by alleging, on their own mere *dictum*, that everything the Irish Members said was false, and everything they said themselves was true; and they refused to grant any inquiry by which it might be determined which side was right. The dying depositions of the two men were another corroboration of the informer, and he asked why were not these depositions produced? The Irish Members said these corroborated Casey's confession, and they challenged the Government to deny it. His confession was also corroborated by the testimony of the men in gaol. They were confined in penal servitude, and did not know what was going on outside; and, moreover, they did not speak English. Yet these four men, in different gaols, continued to make protestations of innocence; and one, who was guilty, declared the innocence of the others, and admitted his own guilt. If the Government did not grant an inquiry, the public would draw the inference that, having hanged a man in the wrong, they were determined to brazen it out, even as far as the sacrifice of those other four men. Again, Philbin, the second informer, corroborated Casey's statement; and if those various pieces of testimony had gone to corroborate the statements of Casey, not when he was giving evidence of the innocence of those men, but when he was giving evidence before the jury, the Crown would have declared that they were entitled to every consideration. But, oh, the Government said—"We have the great fact, after all, that five of the men pleaded guilty." But the hon. and learned Member for Chatham had completely disposed of that argument. Why should those men not have pleaded guilty? The three men who were previously tried were found guilty by the jury—one of them after eight minutes' deliberation, another after 12, and another after six minutes' deliberation; and the jurors who were to be availed of heard the statement of the Judge that they had been convicted on the plainest testimony. There was, therefore, the best reason why those men, when they were promised their lives, should have pleaded guilty, because in doing that lay their only chance. The quotations which the Solicitor General for Ireland made from *The Freeman's Journal* and *United Ireland* were the best justification for the men pleading guilty; because they proved that the opinion in the minds of all reasonable men was that the story of the witnesses was absolutely true. While there was life there was hope, and the facts that had come to light since the trial justified the men in deciding to plead guilty. It was untrue to say that they pleaded guilty at once on the request of their counsel, for, as a matter of fact, Mr. Malley could not get them to plead guilty, and it was only done when the priest laid before them the fact that there was a universal concurrence of opinion of their guilt. Again, it was asserted that Casey and Philbin only came forward now because they were safe, and would attain popularity in the district. That, however, was an entire mistake; because, instead of their being safeguarded by their declarations, they were in greater danger of being murdered in consequence of their confession than they were before. Casey, the informer, had made a statement which implicated the "gombeen" man, the leader of the Ribbon faction, a man of the district, and had denounced him as the real murderer in that case. There was, then, far more risk to the life of Casey and of Philbin than there was previously at any time in their careers. It was almost disgusting that the Solicitor General for Ireland should make statements in that House which the moment Irish Members heard them they knew to be grossly untrue. Of course, the hon. and learned Gentleman did not know it himself. Learned gentlemen were brought over, at great inconvenience, from Green Street to fill him with the information. Earl Spencer, in his Memorandum, attempted to make out that Casey was not pressed by the Crown Solicitor, and that it was not until the Attorney General for Ireland had been consulted that his evidence was accepted. Well, he (Mr. Healy) would brand that statement of whoever had instructed the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite as a deliberate and palpable falsehood. It was a falsehood beyond all doubt. What proved it, was the fact that the late Attorney General for Ireland, who had been a respected Member of that House, but who was now Mr. Justice Johnson, made no allusion to it in his opening statement. In opening the prosecution he made no allusion to it; and was it to be supposed that if the learned Gentleman had information of it two days in advance, he would not have made a tremendous point of it? It was actually at the very moment he was making his opening statement that Thomas Casey was induced by George Bolton to come forward and implicate these innocent men. How did Earl Spencer deal with the case in this audacious Memorandum, than which a greater tissue of fraudulent and audacious statements had never been put forward by any official? Why did Mr. Justice Johnson, if the Lord Lieutenant's statement were true, from first to last make no allusion to the fact that Casey was to be one of the witnesses? They could, in this case, trace the slimy serpent trail of perjury and falsehood from first to last. There was the Crown brief of one of the Crown prosecutors, who might be at no great distance from where they were. They could easily, by the evidence of experts, decide whose was the writing on the Crown brief—"Suspect got him murdered," against "big" Casey's name. This man, who was suspected by the Crown to have got him murdered, was stated to be the head assassin of the district; and, in fact, the same statement was made by Casey the informer. How could the English Government expect to maintain peace and order when they had 4,000,000 of people in Ireland firmly convinced that the statement of Casey—murderer and perjurer that he had been—was perfectly true, and that Myles Joyce was innocent? Was that so light a matter? Their system of justice had broken down when they refused an inquiry into a case of that kind. In the case of the man Kilmartin, whose innocence had been established, the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland got up at that Table, and sneered at the most sacred feelings which were instilled into the bosom of every Catholic in childhood, and endeavoured to urge that the dying declaration of the man to his clergyman was but a new proof of the guilt of the other. Well, that inquiry was wrung out of him, thanks to the aid afforded by several hon. Members, and it was found that the jury had been packed and that the man had been wrongfully convicted. Circumstances had also come to light which showed his innocence. And so, some of the Maamtrasna prisoners were alive to-day, and would have the benefit of an inquiry, he trusted, sooner or later, for the evidence against the Government was too great.

It had sunk down into the minds of the people of Ireland. The Government dared not grant the inquiry, and let the truth be known. If the Government must keep up the Coercion Code in Ireland, they must use that tremendous engine with care. He must say that he never knew a case which carried conviction more than the Maamtrasna case. If they could not get the inquiry, and obtain the liberty of these innocent men, the Irish Members would go back to Ireland, and from the Giant's Causeway to Cape Clear they would ring into the ears of Earl Spencer and his associates a charge of foul and infamous murder.

Colonel NOLAN said, that there were two branches of this case, the first having reference to Myles Joyce, and the other to those men who were now lying under penal servitude. The latter branch of the question was the one to which he now wished to call the attention of the House. It would, perhaps, be said that no more impartial inquiry could be made than that of the trial at which they had been convicted; but it should be remembered that practically there was no Judge and no real jury. The general belief was that these men had pleaded guilty under the advice of the parish priest and of their counsel, Mr. Malley, who had certainly done his best for them. They were then sentenced to be hanged, and for some time the capital sentence was not respited. It was believed throughout the whole of the West of Ireland that Mr. Malley had advised the prisoners to plead guilty under an understanding with the Crown authorities that these men would not be hanged. Time still went on and their sentences were not commuted, and in consequence of that delay there was a set battle going on between Mr. Malley and the Crown authorities upon the subject, and eventually it was acknowledged that an intimation had been given that in no case should these men be hanged, and the sentences were commuted to penal servitude. That was generally considered to be the real object of the men in pleading guilty. Thus there had been practically no investigation at all into the case of these men on the trial. He believed that to be the origin of the strong feeling which existed in the West of Ireland in respect to this matter. A *primâ facie* case had been made out, and it was extremely well worthy of further investigation. Again, he thought, that if ever there was a case in which pity should be shown towards accused persons, it was where they did not understand the language of the Court in which they were tried, or even of their advisers, which was the case with these men. Another point which he would impress on the Prime Minister, who had paid so much attention to Ireland, was that the Archbishop of Tuam, who had taken up the case, was a man who was entirely on the side of moderation, and was not likely to take up any case which he did not believe could be proved before the public. The confessions which the Archbishop received had been made in the most public manner, and although he had never made a similar request before, he felt himself bound to state his own *primâ facie* opinion that in the interest of justice an impartial further investigation was imperatively demanded. He did not think that the Government ought to refuse an investigation which was asked for by a large number of Irish Members. They had made no charges against the jury in this case, because they believed that upon the evidence before them the juries brought in a right verdict. What they complained of was that all the facts were not revealed. He did not believe that a reinvestigation would unsettle people's ideas of justice, but thought it would act in an entirely opposite manner. When the Irish Members asked for an inquiry in Kilmartin's case, they were told repeatedly that it would not be granted, and but for the interposition of the Prime Minister no investigation would have been held. The result, however, of the inquiry which was instituted proved that the Irish Members were right, and Kilmartin was released. He appealed to the Prime Minister to adopt a similar course in this instance, believing that, whatever the result might be as to the guilt or innocence of the men now in prison, it would at least have the effect of satisfying the people that the Government were desirous of acting justly.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said, that the discussion which had arisen on the Amendment of his hon. Friend was second to none in importance to the welfare not only of Ireland, but of this country. Questions of Colonial aggrandizement, foreign relations, and domestic reform might come and go; but this Irish Question they always had with them, and any discussions which tended to throw a fierce light upon the action of the Executive officers in Ireland, and which revealed the true opinions and wishes of the majority of the people of that country, ought to be welcomed by all those who wished to see a speedy end of Irish disaffection and English injustice. The Solicitor General for Ireland had stated that the action of the Irish Members was taken to discredit the administration of justice. He believed that to further discredit the administration of justice in Ireland was well nigh impossible. English law meant Irish robbery, murder, and confiscation; and the so-called administration of justice by England meant in every department of social and political life in Ireland the persecution of the people at the hands of partizan Judges and packed juries. The rule of England in Ireland could have no satisfactory foundation so long as the administration of justice failed to command the confidence of the majority of the people. The present Liberal Government at the commencement of their reign in Ireland, with the shibboleth that "force is no remedy" on their lips, adopted a system of savage coercion, on the pretext that it was necessary to suppress crime which everybody knew their policy in the past had created. Power was placed in the hands of such men as Bolton and French, and he should like to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland whether that was the way to win the confidence and respect of the people? The effect of such a system upon the people was bad enough; but the effect upon the administrators of the law themselves was even worse. It was said by Englishmen that the bad old times were past and gone; but there was no use in laying that flattering unction to their souls. The continued exercise of tyrannical legislation and arbitrary power tended inevitably to injustice and corruption, and it was not at all to be wondered at that the results of such a system were a crop of hasty convictions and executions of the innocent. Ireland had passed through two terrible periods of misery and crime, and for those two periods Irish Members held the present Liberal Government responsible. The first was a period of "State-created crime," to use a phrase of Sir John Pope Hennessy. Outrages were committed, and the perpetrators were not discovered. The period which succeeded was infinitely more horrible; the bloodhounds of vengeance were let loose among the people; Lord Spencer took Office to vindicate the majesty of the law, and he sought to punish a victim for every crime in Ireland; the ordinary process was to arrest a number of men on suspicion, to visit them in their cells, to tell them that others had confessed, and urge them to do so, and in this way innocent men were sent to the gallows and to penal servitude. The old watchword of English law—"Let the guilty escape rather than that the innocent should be punished," had been reversed by Earl Spencer, who had adopted as his motto—"Let hundreds of innocent men suffer in the convict cell and on the gallows rather than that one guilty man should escape." By mere chance Kilmartin escaped the gallows and was sent to penal servitude. When a man died in America declaring that he was the perpetrator of the crime, Lord Spencer remained unmoved, and the Chief Secretary glibly declared that he had convinced himself of the justice of the conviction. To satisfy the consciences of English Members inquiry was granted and the injustice of the conviction established, and then Kilmartin was ungraciously released "without impeaching the correctness of the original conviction," but because "subsequent information had created some doubt" about it. That case should be a warning to English Members not to place too much reliance upon the glib declarations of Irish officials. Such cases furnished a strong argument for some sort of criminal appeal. In the case now under discussion all that was asked was that the House should force the Irish Executive to grant full, open, and sworn inquiry, the contention being that one man who was executed and four who were in penal servitude were wrongly convicted, and that the two chief culprits, the paymasters and ringleaders of the gang, were at large, and were well known to the Government. As to the motive for the murder, the theory of the Government was that it was done to destroy possibly future evidence in connection with a crime committed at a considerable distance. There was not one tittle of evidence from beginning to end in support of that theory. Subsequent revelations showed clearly enough that the murder sprang out of the operations of a Ribbon Society. The whole case against the prisoners rested on the most incredible story ever told in a Court of Justice of three men having tracked the murderers for about three miles across the country to the scene of the murder, and having recognized them on what they said was a bright starlit night. But the force of that evidence was completely destroyed by the declaration of the only living person who witnessed the murder—namely, young Joyce, who stated, as he had previously done in a solemn deposition, that the murderers had blackened faces; and that was confirmed by his elder brother. He wanted to know the reason for the suppression of that deposition, and also why Lord Spencer refused to give credence to the declaration of innocence made by Myles Joyce, fresh from the hands of his clergyman, and having made his peace with God? The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) stated that such a suppression could never have taken place in any similar case in England. He would await with interest the speech of the late Chief Secretary, to hear whether the right hon. Gentleman could make a positive assertion that the men now in prison who protested their innocence had no hope of mercy held out to them to induce them to plead guilty. He and his hon. Friends did not go the length of saying that they had proved the men innocent, but they asked for an opportunity of proving it. The inquiry held in the Recess did not fulfil any one of the conditions of a satisfactory investigation. It was not full, it was not open, it was not upon oath. It was, in fact, a sham inquiry. In a back parlour of Dublin Castle, Mr. George Bolton was politely asked whether he was guilty of the charge made against him; and having, of course, replied that he was not, Lord Spencer declared himself perfectly satisfied. But if Lord Spencer was satisfied, the Irish people were not; they demanded a full and open investigation upon oath. They demanded the examination of those men who had made statements since the trial, and also the production of the dying declarations of the men who had been executed. Until these things were done, they would believe that Myles Joyce was judicially murdered, that Lord Spencer knew it, and that his only motive for refusing inquiry was to screen himself and his subordinates. After the refusal to grant an inquiry, he believed the Irish people would say once for all that they had had enough of the administration of Earl Spencer. Probably, no English Administration that ever held sway in Ireland was so universally despised and detested as the present. If any Englishman should doubt the correctness of this assertion, he would remind him of the recent experience of Lord Spencer, when, surrounded by soldiers and guarded by detectives and policemen, he made a tour to the South of Ireland much in the same way in which the Czar travelled through his Dominions in Russia. In every town Lord Spencer visited the shops were closed, the shutters put up, and black flags floated from every house. That reception was in strong contrast to that accorded to Lady Burdett Coutts, who everywhere met with a most enthusiastic welcome. No confidence could be placed in the existing Administration, whose chief representatives to the Irish people to-day were the partizan Judge and the hangman, and whose hands were believed to be red with the blood of innocent Irishmen. Let no man tell him that it was their duty to tolerate such an Administration because they hoped to receive the boon of a Franchise Bill. The time had arrived when the franchise must be extended in England and Scotland, and Irishmen knew that no statesman dare withhold it from Ireland, and at the same time profess to govern the country Constitutionally. They cared not whether they got this boon from a Whig or from a Tory Government. In the circumstances, he did not hesitate to say it was the highest duty of the Irish Members to seize the first opportunity given to them of assisting in hurling from power this Government of coercionist Radicals and hypocritical Whigs.

Mr. WARTON said, he considered it as extraordinary that no Member of the Liberal Party sitting behind the Leaders of this precious Government had evinced the slightest anxiety to express an opinion as to the advisability of granting the inquiry which was asked. No doubt, they thought it far more important to shorten the debate in order that the

Prime Minister might make his two minutes' speech on the Franchise Bill; and, consequently, they would not give their minds to the very important question whether or not a case had been made out for inquiry and consideration. If it was a troublesome question to the Government, they had only themselves to blame for it; for if they had not thrown over Mr. George Bolton, who had served them long and well, the charges founded upon the statement of the informers would never have been brought forward. Looking dispassionately at this case, he must say that if hon. Members below the Gangway really wanted an inquiry, he doubted the discretion of their making an attack upon Lord Spencer, because the Government must stand by the Lord Lieutenant. Again, it was wrong to charge all the officials with being in a kind of conspiracy. No one who knew Mr. Justice Johnson could believe that he was otherwise than a highly honourable man, who would not lend himself to any conspiracy whatever to do injustice to anybody. He (Mr. Warton) did not agree with the hon. and learned Member for Chatham that the Solicitor General for Ireland had conducted the defence of the Government in a way to which exception could be taken. There was no doubt in this case both Judge and jury had acted properly, and a right verdict had been come to. It was quite clear that the suggestion as to the men's faces being blackened had been brought forward in the newspapers.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL remarked, that he did not think that the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) need be very much concerned because the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) disagreed from him, because, as far as he could gather from the somewhat rapid and not altogether coherent utterances of the latter, he appeared to betray the same want of information upon this question which characterized his general remarks. He must at the outset express his regret that the case of these Maamtrasna murders had not elicited from hon. Members opposite—many of whom, as far as he could judge, had listened to the discussion that had taken place with attention—any expression of opinion, because no Party question could arise out of this matter, inasmuch as both sides of the House must be equally animated by the desire that justice should be fairly administered in Ireland as well as in England. He thought, therefore, that it would have been well—as no other Business of importance was likely to come on—if some hon. Members opposite had for the moment shaken themselves free from the shackles of Party that usually bound them, and had given the House and the public some idea of the opinion which they had formed of the manner in which the proceedings in question had been conducted. He had no doubt that the Government, in connection with this case, were in about as awkward a dilemma as, he supposed, they had ever been on any Irish matter since the present Parliament came together. The Secretary of State for War at the close of last Session, for the purpose of easing the progress of Supply, gave the Irish Party to understand that there would be an inquiry into this case by the Government, and, of course, Irish Members who heard that intimation desisted from their opposition to the Vote then before the House, believing that the promised inquiry would be of a kind that would be satisfactory to them. And, no doubt, the noble Lord, cautious though he always was, did convey to hon. Members the idea that the inquiry to be made by the Government would be an impartial and an independent one; and it was in consequence of that supposition on the part of Irish Members that the Government were allowed to take the Vote upon the particular item of the Irish Estimates which was then under discussion, and which was at that time urgently required. The necessary Vote having been obtained, the pledge had to be fulfilled, and, as was the case with regard to many other Government pledges given with the object of escaping from a momentary Parliamentary difficulty, it became a question with the Government with how little impartiality, with how little sincerity, and with how little of *bona fides* their pledge could be carried out. Of course, when he was speaking of Government pledges, he had in mind those that had been given in reference to the Transvaal, and to Egypt, and of others. There could be no doubt in the mind of anyone as to what a *bonâ fide* inquiry was. The Government themselves had given the House a good specimen of one in the case of Kilmartin.

The Prime Minister had been very much impressed by the nature of that case, so much so that he had given a personal pledge, and undoubtedly the inquiry was a satisfactory one. It had been conducted by means of an independent barrister sent down to the locality, and who took evidence upon the spot, and the result was that the innocence of Kilmartin was clearly proved. Before he left the case of Kilmartin he wished to express his regret at hearing from the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond) that when Kilmartin was released, the Lord Lieutenant had taken steps to send him back to his home with every stigma of crime attaching to him. If that story were true, all he could say was that such a mean and wretched proceeding on the part of the Irish Government could scarcely be exceeded. Be that as it might, however, the inquiry itself was a *boná fide* and satisfactory one, and it was such an inquiry as that which the noble Lord the Secretary for War was understood to have promised would be made into the present case. But the inquiry into the present case could not be said to have been in any sense satisfactory, for it was in the nature of a Judge reviewing his own sentence. Lord Spencer having caused a capital sentence to be carried out, was called upon to say whether he had acted rightly in so doing. The noble Lord thereupon considered the matter in the recesses of the Castle, and on reflection he arrived at the conclusion that he had acted rightly. Now the matter had come up again, and Her Majesty's Government found themselves placed in a very difficult position indeed. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had felt the importance of the case, and he had put it in such a way that the Government themselves felt the importance of it, and no one had more felt its importance than the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister himself, no doubt, would have liked to have made this concession to the Irish Members, which his own high sense of justice would urge him to make, especially when that concession would be of immediate political advantage. The Prime Minister must have two points of difficulty before him. He had to keep in view the Division on the Franchise Bill, which was likely to take place in that House before long, when it would be of vital importance to him to sustain his numerical majority. And the Prime Minister had also to take into account that if, in order to maintain that numerical majority, he was to make this concession to the Irish Members, he would be met by the prompt resignation of Earl Spencer. It must be obvious to hon. Members opposite that if the Government made any concession that night to the Irish Members upon this point, that Earl Spencer must be discredited, and could not remain in Office. The inquiry that had been held into this case had been conducted by Earl Spencer himself, and he had written to the Archbishop of Tuam to say that after careful inquiry he had come to the conclusion that the judicial process had been properly carried out, and that his decision with regard to the execution of the sentence was a just one. It would, therefore, be perfectly clear to every hon. Member in that House that, if within a few weeks of Earl Spencer writing that letter, the Government were to come to the conclusion that his inquiry was worthless and that his decision did not deserve their confidence, Earl Spencer would have to come away from Ireland, and thus colour would be given for the suspicion that had been excited in the minds of the English people that there was some foundation for the suggestion that a bargain had been entered into between the Government and the Irish Party, of which such free mention had been made in the newspapers, and that the Irish Party would not support the Government unless Earl Spencer and Mr. Trevelyan were brought away from Ireland. It was clear, therefore, that whatever might be the immediate gain to the Government through making such a concession, it would be lost by them in another way. The House would therefore agree with him that the Goverment were placed in a position of great difficulty, a difficulty which arose entirely from the fact that the whole of their policy in Ireland had always been conducted, not with the view to the benefit of Ireland, nor with a view of securing the prosperity of the people of that country, but solely from time to time of taking such steps as their particular political difficulties might demand. When the Prime Minister introduced the Land Act of 1882, he said that he would be guided by the Divine light of justice, and that guided by that light he could not possibly err. Unfortunately that evening the right hon. Gentleman had not been guided by the Divine light of justice, but solely by a regard for Parliamentary exigencies. The debate had been resumed about 5 o'clock, and, excepting the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland, which did not count, the House had not yet been favoured with the views of the Government. No one could throw so much light upon these matters as the right hon. Gentleman who had said he was not a Member of the Government, and if that right hon. Gentleman did not feel in a position to-night to make any remarks, he hoped on Monday he would appear in the full-blown character of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and address the House. A careful and impartial examination of the Maamtrasna case led one irresistibly to the conclusion that an inquiry was necessary. It was not disputed that a very important piece of evidence was kept back from the jury by the Crown counsel, and that the counsel for the defence had no opportunity of bringing that particular evidence before the Court. These facts would cause the House to consider the mode in which criminal trials were conducted in Ireland. For some years there had been great difficulty in obtaining evidence in Ireland, and certain laws had been passed in consequence in order to facilitate the conduct of trials. The result had been that the officials charged with the vindication of the law had shrunk from hardly any process in order to obtain convictions, irrespective of the guilt or innocence of the accused. That was not the way in which criminal trials were conducted in this country. No one would condemn more strongly the course taken by the Crown counsel in the Maamtrasna case than the Attorney General for England, and he felt sure that such a course would never be followed by the hon. and learned Member. The time had arrived when Parliament should express its views on the question whether far greater caution ought not to be exercised in the conduct of criminal trials in Ireland. The Prime Minister, alluding to the state of Ireland, said the other day in Edinburgh that, as a result of the policy of the Government, the Irish people placed greater confidence in the administration of justice. But how could the Irish people feel any increased confidence in the administration of the law after hearing of the great miscarriage of justice in the case of Kilmartin, and of the miscarriage caused by the conduct of the Crown counsel in the Maamtrasna case, in which case evidence immediately relevant to the issue was kept back from the jury? It was said that if the inquiry which was demanded were granted a severe blow would be dealt to the administration of criminal justice in Ireland; but were they on that account to refuse to do justice in this case? At Edinburgh the Prime Minister had also made a remark distinctly appropriate to the present issue, when, with reference to the conduct of another Assembly, he said that there was nothing more to be deprecated than the fear of being thought afraid. Were the Government afraid of being thought afraid to do justice in Ireland lest Judges and Crown counsel might have their credit shaken? Considerations like these, if allowed to influence them, were fatal to the cause of good government in that country. He appealed to the Government to grant the inquiry. If by giving way on this question they should secure a few Irish votes, he should not object, and they need fear no taunt from him. If the Government felt that the conduct of this trial was not such as to reflect credit on those who were responsible for it, or to conduce to a certain and sure result in the verdict of the jury—if they felt that, then let them get up and state to the House that though the result of an inquiry might be temporarily inconvenient to themselves, they would do this for the benefit of Ireland.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Sir, the noble Lord's speech did not contain many very definite propositions. He has asked the Government to meet the difficult situation in a way which he did not exactly define. He did, however, lay down one definite proposition. He said the Government were in a very difficult position. Now, in that respect, I do not agree with the noble Lord. The noble Lord tells us—if I slip out the word "we" in the course of the few remarks I have to make, I hope it will be understood what I mean—the noble Lord tells us that we have not only to think of the Divisions on the Representation of the People Bill, but that we have to think of the existence of the Government. We may have to think of those things, but we do not think of them, and this matter concerns one of those departments of human life in which no Government has a right to think of any political considerations whatever; and I think that the noble Lord, if he had thought for a little while longer before he got up, would not have indulged in Party taunts in this matter of life and death, and liberty and detention of men in prison. Certainly, the Government feel that if they were to allow political considerations to influence them in a matter of this description—in a matter that concerns the question whether law and order shall exist in Ireland, and whether justice shall be duly administered in such a manner that Ireland can be a habitable country—they would be guilty of the greatest iniquity a Government could be guilty of. Such a course reminds me of the line of the Roman poet—

> "Propter vitam vivendi perdere causas."

We have come to a decision on this matter from considerations quite different from those which have been stated by the noble Lord; and I will endeavour to explain what the considerations are upon which the Government have acted, following, in the course of my explanation, two or three of the most marked speeches which have been made in the course of the evening. The noble Lord has said that my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War gave a pledge, at the end of last Session, which pledge has not been fulfilled with the sincerity and *bona fides* with which a Government pledge ought to be carried out. I have at this moment before me *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates*, as hon. Members are well aware, are very much the most accurate record of those proceedings which take place late in the Session, and on Money Bills, and my noble Friend desires me to say that he was so very anxious that the words of that pledge should be before the House in such a shape that they might be indubitable, that he forebore to make in *Hansard* those verbal corrections, and those corrections even of punctuation, which hon. Members feel themselves at liberty to make. He wished that *Hansard* should be an instrument of appeal in exactly the shape in which his words were taken down, at the moment they were uttered, by the reporters in the Gallery. Now, what are the words of my noble Friend? He says—

> "It has been stated by the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) that these allegations rest, to a great extent, on statements which have been made in a formal and solemn manner before a certain dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church. If these statements are *primâ facie* of a *bonâ fide* character, and are vouched for by the dignitary of the Roman Catholic Church before whom they were brought, and are brought formally under the notice of Her Majesty's Government, they will receive consideration; and if there appears to be a case for further inquiry, that inquiry will be granted."—(3 *Hansard*, [292] 576.)

Now, Sir, the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), in a speech which I am told was considered by hon. Members to be singularly clear, as it doubtless was, and likewise singularly well informed in all branches of the subject—with which I do not equally agree—the hon. and learned Member for Chatham said that the Archbishop of Tuam had brought a charge of misconduct against an official, and, therefore, that the Government to which my noble Friend belonged was bound to fulfil its pledge. But the Archbishop of Tuam does not bring the charge. He is but the person who conveys it. The Archbishop does not know anything about it himself. He depends on the testimony of another person; and who is that other person? None other than that informer and accomplice of whose testimony the hon. and learned Member for Chatham himself, a few sentences before in his speech, stated that his evidence was absolutely worthless. And that is the sole evidence which the Archbishop of Tuam has for the charge he makes against the Government officials for the manner in which they took the evidence of Casey. I consider that my noble Friend, who had not been informed of the circumstances of this case, was perfectly justified in making the promise he made last Session in the House of Commons; and I consider that when the Irish Government looked into the matter and found that the *primâ facie* case consisted merely of the evidence of a thrice-perjured man—[*Cries of* "Oh!" *from the Irish Members*]—yes; a thrice-perjured man, coming forward not even with perjuries, but merely with statements, and that when those statements were disproved by the three officials to whom they were referred, I consider that the Government were justified in saying that they had made a perfectly adequate inquiry under the circumstances. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *from the Irish Members.*] That is my opinion, at any rate. Now, it must be remembered that not only were these unsupported statements of Casey's tainted by the very source from which they came, but they were also the most reckless and ill-considered statements that ever were placed before the public. They consisted of a series of interviews, which I believe to have been reported with very great care by the persons with whom the interviews were held. One is by the reporter of *The Freeman's Journal*, and others by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington). But these reports contain all sorts of discrepancies of a very serious character, and especially in connection with the reported interview with Mr. Brady, Mr. Bolton, and the Governor of the gaol. In *The Freeman's Journal* of the 11th of August, 1884, it is stated, in the report of an interview which took place between Thomas Casey and the special correspondent of that paper, that on the Thursday before the trial Bolton saw Casey in Kilmainham Prison by himself, and showed him Philbin's report. It is also stated that at Green Street, Bolton met Casey a second time, when he made his statement about the murder. I do not lay any stress upon the fact that it was the wrong day, but there was a very definite statement that Casey was informed first by Bolton reading the evidence of Philbin; whereas, according to the statement of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), whose extraordinary industry in getting up the case is a proof of his sincerity, Casey stated that he had been informed on the morning of the trial of what he had to say in a conversation he had with Mr. Bolton. Here, then, we have Casey stating to the correspondent of *The Freeman's Journal* that he was informed of what he was to swear on the Thursday or Saturday in the previous week, by means of having evidence read over to him, while afterwards, in speaking to the hon. Member for Westmeath, he stated that on the following Monday he would not have been aware what evidence he was wanted to give, had he not been prompted *vivâ voce* by Bolton on the spot. In the hon. Member's sixth letter in reference to the case, dated the 7th of October last, it is stated that the confession took place in Green Street Court House on the first morning of the trial. As reported by the hon. Member, this is what happened—

> "The next day was the day of the trial. When we were going into the van I saw Philbin going away in a cab. The other men went into the van. I was the last to go in, and I then said to the Governor that he might speak to Bolton. I had not given him an answer the night before. We were then brought to the Court. The nine of us were in the room at the back of the dock, and my name was called. I was brought a few yards to the right to a little room where Mr. Brady, Mr. Bolton, and the Governor of the gaol were. Mr. Bolton was the first who spoke. He said—'Now, Casey, you are going to make a statement.' He pulled out his watch and said I had only a short time. I said I'd like to give evidence fair. He replied that I had only 20 minutes to consider my neck. Mr. Bolton asked—'Who are the three men that went into the House?' I did not answer fast enough. Mr. Brady then said, low, across the room, to Bolton, 'I know them—Pat Joyce, Pat Casey, and Myles Joyce.' Then I knew what names I should say."

Here we have Casey stating to one person that he was informed of what he should have to say on the Thursday or the Saturday of the previous week by means of having the evidence of Philbin read over to him by Bolton, and we have him stating, some time afterwards, to the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) that when the Monday, which was the morning of the trial, came, he was not aware what evidence he had to give, and had to be prompted *vivâ voce* on the spot. That is a very good instance of the inaccuracies which pervade the statements of Casey, and it is on these inaccurate statements, inaccurate in themselves as compared with each other, and frightfully at variance with the statement sworn to by Casey on previous occasions, that the Government are asked to go in the teeth of a solemn trial, and consent to an inquiry which, in my opinion, and in the opinion of the Government, would be a severe blow to the administration of the law, and would shake the foundations of justice in Ireland. Here is another instance. In *The Freeman's Journal* of the 6th of September, 1884, there is an account of an interview between a newspaper correspondent and Thomas Casey, when Casey stated that there were no such people as Nee and Kelly, but that they were false names taken by two Caseys, father and son, alleged by Thomas Casey to have been at the murder. In the letter of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) of the 2nd of October, 1884, Thomas Casey says—"Old Casey was Kelly, and John Casey, junr., was Nee." But in a statement made on the 28th of July, 1883, to District Inspector Stokes, Casey, the informer, said "Nee was Walsh"—a name which appears quite incidentally and then disappears again. Thomas Casey, on the same occasion, urged Inspector Stokes to prosecute Walsh and the two Caseys. Here, then, are three different statements which Casey makes as to Nee and Kelly, and this is the man, whose unconsidered statements, flying loosely about, but which he thinks will be for his own advantage, we are to take for the absolute truth.

Mr. HARRINGTON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the statement to Stokes was not made before the confession to the Crown officials?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It was made on the 28th of July.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Before the confession?

Mr. TREVELYAN: It was a somewhat curious statement, because it came about half-way between the earlier statement on oath and the subsequent statement, and it differs very materially from both of them. Then there is another exceedingly important statement. At the trial, Casey, as is well known, swore that Philbin was present. The Solicitor General for Ireland gave collateral evidence also as to the presence of Philbin. It is a very interesting fact that the two men among the three Joyces, who knew Philbin by sight, also swore to his presence. He was not, however, sworn to by one of the three cardinal witnesses who did not know him by sight. The Solicitor General also reminded us how one man, who was undoubtedly guilty, and who was afterwards executed for this miserable murder, when he was arrested, asked the policeman whether Philbin had not been arrested likewise. Casey swore that Philbin was there; Philbin himself swore that he was there; and, in fact, the evidence which pointed to his presence on that occasion was clear and overwhelming, and the further evidence of Casey, at a subsequent period, when his object was not to confirm his previous evidence—namely, at the trial for compensation for the murder—corroborated his former statement.

Mr. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman quote his statement?

Mr. TREVELYAN: Yes, I have no objection to quote his statement when he did not come forward to give evidence as an approver.

Mr. HEALY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say what punishment he was subjected to?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), in his remarks this evening, denied that this evidence had been given. He said that the statement of the Solicitor General for Ireland was absolutely without foundation. I will read the first few lines of the evidence—

> "I am one of them," said Casey, "charged with the murder of the Joyces. Anthony Philbin, my brother-in-law, was also one of the party on the night of the Joyce murder."

That was all he said about Philbin in the course of the evidence; but I will read on if it is considered necessary. Well, Sir, here we have proof, by the most undoubted testimony of Philbin himself, of Casey, and others, of the presence of Philbin at the murder; and, again, since Casey appeared as a Crown witness to the murder, we find him giving evidence, in an incidental case, that Philbin was there; but now, in a statement made at random to persons who did not take testimony on oath, Casey says, in an off-hand manner, that Philbin was not there at all. But I will not be content with relying on the fact that this was a man who, by his own confession, was a murderer and, if everything that he said was true, was a double murderer of the most fearful nature. This man confesses that he took part in the hideous crime in the Joyces' cottage. He says now that he swore away the lives of innocent men. On the top of all this, I have shown that he has been in recent days, for motives into which I will not enter, but which are very obvious, and which the House may very well define, sowing broadcast, not, indeed, perjuries, but statements which, if there was any prospect of this inquiry on oath we are asked for, would very soon become perjuries of the deepest dye; and it is on this man's evidence, and this man's evidence alone, that the House is asked to say that a *primâ facie* case exists for an inquiry. [*Cries of* "No, no!" "Not at all!" *from the Irish Members.*] The inquiry promised by my noble Friend rests absolutely on this man's evidence alone, for the House is asked to grant that part of the inquiry which refers to the conduct of the Crown officials in the matter of getting this evidence solely upon this man's evidence. ["No!"] I say yes; there is nothing else.

MR. HARRINGTON: There was suppression of evidence.

MR. TREVELYAN: I say that, as far as the question of the conduct of the Crown officials in taking Casey's evidence is concerned, although possibly I might allow that there are other matters connected with the rest of the case—and, of course, I propose to go into those parts of the statement of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington)—but as regards the inquiry into the conduct of Mr. Brady and Mr. Bolton, there is absolutely nothing but this man's evidence. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) went through this part of the case with, I thought, considerable moderation of language, although he now and then broke out into vituperation, which I shall have to refer to by-and-bye. If, in the remarks I have to make, I attend a little more closely to the speeches which have been made to-day than to that which was delivered by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) last night, it will not be from want of interest or attention to the exertions of the hon. Member, who certainly stated his case with the greatest care, but I prefer to confine my remarks mainly to those speeches which are still fresh in the recollection of the House. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) has attacked the witnesses. The Solicitor General, who has been referred to, I think, by some of the speakers with almost unfairness, made a speech which I must say I thought was most exhaustive, and I am not going to apply any other phrase to it—it was perfectly exhaustive on this important subject, and was contained within a very moderate compass, seeing that it produced such a result. When we are told that it was a partizan speech, and a heated speech, I wish hon. Members to compare it, as far as partizanship is concerned, with the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), or, as far as heat is concerned, with the speech of the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond). I do not think that the Solicitor General at any period of his speech passed the bounds of that honest indignation which is everywhere in place, and which is most certainly in place when the House of Commons is being turned into a Court of Appeal, and when hon. Members on one side or the other are speaking, to the disadvantage of the country, as legal advocates. This case rests primarily and principally on the evidence of three persons, who stated that they followed the band of murderers, and who absolutely identified them with one exception. One of the three witnesses did not identify one of the murderers—that is to say, Philbin—but Philbin himself confessed that he was there, and his evidence was supported by the evidence of a respectable female—I believe a very respectable female. Well, Sir, hon. Members and hon. and learned Members on the other side of the House have impugned the evidence of these witnesses. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), who began the debate this evening, spoke of palpable perjury. The hon. Member used very strong expressions about the witnesses, and he has been followed in this respect by other hon. Members. I would ask hon. Gentlemen who sit around me to consider what chance they have of arriving at the truth about these witnesses—they who cannot see them, who cannot hear them give their evidence, and who cannot hear them being cross-examined. ["Oh!"] Obviously, they cannot see the witnesses.

MR. HEALY: Bring them before a Select Committee.

MR. TREVELYAN: Surely, the proper course on a point of this sort is to refer it to those great committees of the nation which are appointed to inquire into these criminal cases—the Courts of Law—where men are trained and paid for the purpose of sifting evidence; where they give their whole time, and where they have the benefit of a long experience. Now, what was the effect produced by these witnesses upon the Court of Law? The Judge charged the jury to the effect that the witnesses were, in his opinion—I am not sure of the exact words, but they were much stronger than those I will employ—that the witnesses were as respectable and as trustworthy witnesses as had ever appeared before him in Ireland. The words used were words to that effect, if they are not the exact words. The same Judge—Mr. Justice Barry—charged three juries in regard to these witnesses, and those juries all agreed in believing the witnesses, not only after hearing them give their evidence, but after they had heard them cross-examined by very able counsel—counsel who, as I shall show, had every means of knowing every point upon which the evidence of the witnesses could be broken down, if it was possible to break it down. Of what nature were the juries which were convinced by the evidence of these witnesses? I am not going to do so useless a thing in the House of Commons as to read over a second time what has been read already to the House by my hon. and learned Friend, although I am sorry to say that many hon. Gentlemen now in the House were not present when my hon. and learned Friend was addressing it earlier in the evening; but I can assure them that the strongest testimony to the character of the juries as being representative juries, not composed of one religion or being juries of one class, was given by *United Ireland* and by *The Freeman's Journal*, the latter being a paper which, on that point, deserves to be listened to with very great interest and all the more attention on account of the difficulties into which it brought itself with the Court in regard to this very subject of juries. Well, Sir, I take it for granted that every hon. Member of the House will admit that, at the time of the trial, all Ireland and every Irishman was satisfied—reasonably satisfied—with the composition of the juries. Why do I say this? It is for this reason—that this morning an extremely able publication has been placed in the hands of hon. Members, and I know too well by experience how much more an hon. Member is affected by an able publication which he can read than by a speech—generally not very able—which he can only listen to—a publication drawn up with great ability, in some respects with very great candour and fairness, because the Lord Lieutenant's case is inserted at the end of it, but a publication which contains a preface and introduction of six pages, printed in large type, and just that sort of introduction which 10 men would read for every one who read the book from the first page to the last. In that preface, in large type, there is this passage—

> "Application on the part of prisoners' counsel for postponement, and for what is known as a 'view jury,' were refused. The juries were packed after the manner of all political and agrarian trials in Ireland. Eight minutes' deliberation sufficed to satisfy the mind and consciences of the first jury, and Patrick Joyce was adjudged guilty and sentenced to death. Patrick Casey was then immediately put upon his trial on the same evidence, and the jury gave 12 minutes' consideration to his fate."

Now, can any hon. Gentleman who approaches this case without knowing anything about it read that passage about the packing of the juries, and the short time they took to consider their verdict, and not come to the conclusion that the writer of the passage was of opinion that the prisoners had been condemned with indecent and undue haste by a packed jury?

MR. HARRINGTON: Thirty-six jurors out of the special jury panel were ordered to stand aside by the Crown in the case of Patrick Joyce, and in the case of Myles Joyce there were 10 Protestants and only two Catholics upon the jury.

MR. TREVELYAN: I do not dispute what the hon. Member's opinion is, or that he has ever written anything in the least degree inconsistent with the opinion he now advances; but, seeing that hon. Members will have read the opinion of the hon. Member as contained in this publication, it was not, I think, superfluous on the part of my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland to remind the House that *United Ireland* admitted at the time that the juries who tried the case were comparatively fairly composed.

MR. O'BRIEN: For the first time on record.

MR. TREVELYAN: *United Ireland* said, in reference to the first of the prisoners charged with the horrible butcheries at Maamtrasna—

> "On the trial of the first of the prisoners charged with the horrible butchery at Maamtrasna—may we venture for once to hint *post hoc, ergo propter hoc?*—there were at least five

and, we believe, six Catholic jurors. Their duty was not less fearlessly done, and their verdict will be, perhaps, rather more scrupulously respected."

After the third trial and conviction had come to an end, and when the rest of the prisoners had pleaded guilty, the same paper says—

> " The Maamtrasna trials are over, and such of the miserable creatures as did not turn approvers have been sentenced to be hanged. We believe the public are satisfied that a disgusting butchery has been avenged upon convincing evidence by juries comparatively fairly chosen."

That admission, considering the quarter from which it comes, is higher praise than the conduct of any criminal trial in my day in Ireland ever received before. The first three trials ended in the conviction of three prisoners, who were sentenced to be hanged; and now I come to the case of the other five prisoners. The other five pleaded guilty. They pleaded guilty with hesitation, and after seeing their priest; but they did plead guilty; and I emphatically say that the recollection of the Crown counsel is perfectly clear and vivid that they pleaded guilty with the knowledge that if they did so their lives would still be in danger. I come now—and this is a point to which I wish most anxiously to direct the attention of the House—I come now to the judgment to be passed on the action of the Viceroy. The Viceroy had to consider what he should do in this case. Three independent juries, after a careful trial, had condemned to death three men on evidence which convinced the juries thoroughly, and on the same evidence; and there were five men who, on going to trial, pleaded guilty, and gave up the case. I ask whether there was anything that could possibly have made the Viceroy think that it was his duty to spare any of those three men in the case of a murder so horrible and so general, unless he was a disbeliever in the efficacy of punishment altogether, in which case I conclude it would have been impossible for him to have undertaken the duty of dispensing life and death at all? I cannot possibly conceive what ground there is for saying that Earl Spencer did not do his duty on that occasion. The one argument—and even in that the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) is agreed—was the confession of the two men who were executed. With regard to that confession, which the Prime Minister has said cannot be laid before the House, there is nothing which a man says upon the scaffold which ought to outweigh a trial, the solemnity and certainty of which are absolutely overwhelming. I am not now talking about any of the matters brought forward and insisted upon by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). They were all subsequent; but at the moment these three men were sent for execution the case was this—three convictions and five confessions out of the 10 men arrested—seven of them having, as it were, agreed in the same story, three of the prisoners having been condemned on the evidence, and there being nothing against it except the confession of men about to ascend the scaffold. I do not consider that Earl Spencer had any choice in the matter; and if this Resolution is passed condemning the execution of Myles Joyce, I must say that the most unjustifiable and unjustified condemnation will have been passed on a public servant that ever was passed by the House of Commons. I will come afterwards to the incarceration of the four other men. I am brought to the end of the first period of the case, and now I come to the next period—the one to which the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) has directed most of his observations. Since this moment what has happened? Two things in particular have happened—or, rather, one thing has happened, and another thing has been insisted upon. That which has happened is that one of the informers, who was also one of the witnesses on the trial, has come forward and stated that he perjured himself, and sent these men to the scaffold in order to save his own neck. Well, Sir, it should be borne in mind that this witness's evidence was not necessary to the case; it was hardly important to the case. It was brought forward at the eleventh hour—so much at the eleventh hour, indeed, that the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. J. Redmond), arguing about the statement with regard to the sanction of the Attorney General for Ireland, said that the Attorney General did not use it. And why did not the Attorney General use it? It was because the witness was brought forward at so late an hour, that at the time the Attorney General was opening the case the evidence was being taken down—not by Mr. Bolton, as Casey said, but by Mr. Brady. It was in Mr. Brady's handwriting from the first word to the last. As a matter of fact, it was evidence that was not in the mind of the counsel for the Government at the time they determined to open the case against the prisoners. All I can say is, that if the House consents to grant an inquiry into this case on the ground that an unimportant witness and informer, and an accomplice, two years after the event, came forward and said that he had sworn to a lie, there is no verdict in England or in Ireland that would hold good. All that a man would have to do, when he wanted to get off, would be to induce somebody to come forward and give some trumpery evidence—evidence important enough to induce the Crown counsel to accept it, and then afterwards say that the evidence he had given was false. If that were done, the verdict must be upset. What has been the conduct of Casey? It is a curious thing to watch the different stages of his conduct. As long as he did not see that his interest lay in any other direction he stuck to his original story. When he came forward about the compensation case, he thought that his interest lay in going to the Government and in turning informer again. Do not let hon. Members carry away the idea that the principal object of Casey was to save the life of anybody. His object was not that; but his object was to make himself important by bringing an accusation against three other men. On the 28th of July, in this year, he came and told District Inspector Stokes that he was prepared to swear away the lives of three more men in addition to those he had sworn away already. That was the first form in which Casey's additional evidence came. Then, in an incidental manner at the end of the conversation, Stokes asked Casey if Philbin was there, and Casey replied—"No; Philbin was not there."

MR. HEALY: When did Stokes put the question?

MR. HARRINGTON: Why was Casey asked the question?

MR. TREVELYAN: I am unable to say. Probably, Philbin had not been mentioned in Casey's previous statement. Stokes asked him if Myles Joyce was there, and his answer was that Myles Joyce was there, but that he did not go in. Now, there is no contention that Myles Joyce went in. Myles Joyce suffered on the scaffold, not because there was any evidence that he went into the house of the murdered man——

MR. HARRINGTON: There was direct evidence that he did not go in.

MR. TREVELYAN: Myles Joyce was sent to the scaffold, not because there was evidence that he went into the House, but because the evidence satisfied the jury that he had been with the murderous party who went to the house—a party which was watched not from the distances we have been told to-night, and by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), but in some cases from a distance of a very few feet by men who identified amongst them every individual composing the party. The hon. Member tells us that the localities are now thoroughly known and studied; that he has himself studied the localities with great interest; and he tells us, further, that the jury were not taken to the spot. Now, I do not know that it is the custom generally for a jury to examine the localities unless there is some important dispute on the question. I do not know that it ever has been the custom. What the custom is is this. If there is any doubt, the counsel for the defence goes down and examines the localities; and in this case not only did the counsel for the defence go down and examine the localities, but a special fee was paid to them for doing so by the Government. The Attorney General (now Mr. Justice Johnson) stated that the matter was of much importance; and, therefore, a special fee was given to men so eminent in order to make it worth their while to go down to the spot. Casey having found that this statement of his was received very coldly by the Government, and that the Government did not think there was any reason for proceeding against the three men he was anxious to implicate in the murders, turned round and told an entirely different story. Now, let the House reflect upon what the Government was asked to do. This was not a question of condoning or acquitting, but a question whether, on the desultory talk of one perjured murderer, we were to proceed against three men against whom a jury could get no fresh evidence unless they were to call upon men now serving their time in penal servitude, and who had themselves confessed that they were guilty of a capital offence. But I would ask any lawyer how often it is that an innocent man, much less five innocent men, declare themselves guilty of a capital offence? It is said that these men were told to do so by their priest; and a letter has been read from the rev. gentleman himself, in which he states that, although he thought the prisoners on the whole were innocent, he advised them to plead guilty. Did the rev. gentleman know that in that course he was taking away the last shadow of evidence which could have been offered in favour of the three men who had been sent to the condemned cell, and that he actually made it certain that they would suffer the extreme penalty of the law? I must say that that was the terrible and the awful result of such advice; and, putting aside the wickedness of the thing, I would rather prefer to think that the rev. gentleman is defective in his memory than to think that he did give such advice, because if he did the advice he gave certainly put the rope around the necks of the men who had already been convicted.

MR. HARRINGTON: It was already around their necks.

MR. TREVELYAN: The right rev. Archbishop speaks, in his letter to Earl Spencer, of the immense importance of declarations made under clerical advice and influence. I cannot give his exact words at this moment; but I think the Archbishop will read with very great pain and wonder the comments which may be made on the advice thus given to these prisoners, as admitted in the letter of the rev. gentleman. How can the mere fact of clerical advice be an argument in favour of the truth of a declaration, when a rev. priest himself tells us that five men, whom he believed on the whole to be innocent, were persuaded by him to plead guilty?

MR. HARRINGTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to correct him? It is due to the rev. gentleman to say that he did not state that he believed them on the whole to be innocent, but simply that he was rather inclined to that belief. He says there was nothing for him to go upon but their own declaration? Will the right hon. Gentleman read his statement?

MR. TREVELYAN: I will do so—

"The case was then laid before me, and in the interest of the prisoners I considered it the wiser course to plead guilty. I was by no means clear at the time that they were innocent. I was certainly inclined to the belief that they were; but I had no grounds for such a belief but their own declarations to me. I argued with myself thus—If the men were guilty their plea of guilt can do them no harm, and will save their lives; and if they were innocent I felt that the truth would leak out, as, from my knowledge of the locality and the people, I believed such a huge wrong could not continue. In this way I saw a probability of these men coming back to their wives and families and homes without a stain on their character. This was the argument I made use of to the men themselves in the cell of Green Street Court House; and I dare say it was the argument which induced them to withdraw their plea of 'not guilty,' and enter a plea of 'guilty.' From this you will see that in recommending the prisoners to adopt this course I was by no means actuated by a belief in their guilt. On the contrary, I rather believed they were innocent."

If I said anything stronger than that I will recall it; but I do not think that I did. There is one other point, and at this moment I can remember only one other besides this declaration of Casey, which has been insisted upon very much to-night, and upon which, before I sit down, because I really have come to the end of this story, I must say a few words. I refer to the depositions and the dying declarations of the two young Joyces. The House will, I hope, carefully distinguish—because it is an important point—between the depositions, which are referred to as having been made at the Coroner's inquest, and the dying declarations. At the Coroner's inquest, two persons—John Collins and Constable Johnson—came forward and gave evidence, from which I will read two or three words in each case. John Collins said that—"Michael Joyce"—that is to say, the elder of the boys, and the one who died—"said he did not know the men, as they had their faces dirty;" and Patrick Joyce, the boy who was severely injured, but who survived, told Constable Johnson that "he did not know them, as their faces were black." These depositions were made before the Coroner, and they were very notorious. They appeared in the public papers, and were quoted everywhere, and it is a fact that these depositions were actually in the hands of the prisoners' counsel. I wish the House carefully to mark that fact—namely, that these depositions were in the hands of the prisoners' counsel.

But besides the depositions there were two dying declarations made. Those dying declarations were taken by Mr. Barry, and in one case, I am glad to say, it turned out not to be a dying declaration. These dying declarations have been frequently read and referred to in the course of this evening. In both of them the boy stated the men had blackened faces; but the dying declarations were of a nature which the Crown counsel thought could not be put into evidence. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!" *from the Irish Members.*] If hon. Members will be quiet I think they will find that my story, at any rate, has considerable meaning in it. These declarations were not put in evidence. Now, what is it that the Crown solicitors usually put into a brief? They put in those articles of evidence which they consider ought to tell for the conviction of a prisoner; and if they think a certain declaration cannot be substantiated, and ought not to be taken into account by the jury, they have no right to put it into the brief. It may be said that in that case serious injury was done to the prisoners. There was no injury at all, because the prisoners' counsel were in full possession of the fact that these boys had stated that four of the men's faces were blackened.

Mr. HARRINGTON: That was secondary evidence which could not be used.

Mr. TREVELYAN: I will come to that point presently. I would never venture to argue the question with the hon. Member unless I had a *primâ facie* case to go upon. No doubt, that evidence was secondary; but the Crown counsel, being anxious that it should not be secondary evidence, actually called as a witness the boy Patrick Joyce. They did not want him for their own purposes. They had no object in examining him; but they called him as a witness solely for the purpose of enabling the counsel for the defence to have an opportunity of examining him on various points, including the point of the blackened faces. But the counsel for the defence, being in full possession of the question of the blackened faces——

Mr. HARRINGTON: That is a mistake; they were not.

Mr. TREVELYAN: Collins and Constable Johnson were both examined as witnesses, and Patrick Joyce was produced.

Mr. HARRINGTON: The depositions were not produced.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The boy Joyce was put on the table and cross-examined.

Mr. HARRINGTON: No; he was not cross-examined.

Mr. GORST: He was not sworn, and, therefore, he could not be cross-examined.

Mr. TREVELYAN: He was produced, and the prisoners' counsel certainly put questions to him.

Mr. HARRINGTON: If the right non. Gentleman will refer to the trial, he will find that the prisoners' counsel did not ask the boy a question. He was asked by the Crown counsel whether he knew the nature of an oath.

Mr. TREVELYAN: The only object of producing the boy was that, if possible, the prisoners' counsel might cross-examine him; but the prisoners' counsel did not think it necessary to do so, probably for the same reason that occurred to the Correspondent of *The Freeman's Journal* as early as August, 1882, when he stated that in regard to the men's faces being blackened, the Irish-speaking witnesses used a word which, literally interpreted, meant "dirty," but did not mean to indicate that they were otherwise disguised. Possibly they may have put crape over their faces; or there is a much more tenable theory—that, at that hour of the night, the poor boys, being suddenly awakened out of their sleep, and almost immediately disabled by terrible blows, might very well, by the miserable light of the cabin, have thought that these murderous ruffians who were committing this deed had blackened faces. The counsel for the defence put so little stress upon that point that he made no use of it in the evidence that could outweigh the statements of the informers—perjured murderers as they might be—or the evidence of the independent witnesses. I hope the House of Commons will arrive at the same conclusion as the juries. It is not difficult to look for motives which might induce informers to turn their backs on their former evidence. It is only too evident that the life of a man who has given information about agrarian murder is one which men, and especially bad men, would do a great deal to escape from. The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) himself has given a very curious illustration of what the motives may be that would weigh with men of that sort by a Question which he himself put last Session in the House of Commons. I will read the Question, although I presume that the hon. Member knows it by heart. The hon. Member asked—

> "Whether it is a fact that Cole, the informer, examined in the recent Barbavilla conspiracy case, has been pardoned; has the Government in this case departed from the usual practice of requiring an informer to leave the country; have the Executive received a Memorial from the Catholic clergymen of the district in which Cole resided, stating their opinion that it would be dangerous to the public peace that he should come to reside in that locality; whether it is the fact that he has come to reside there; and, will he state whether the district or the county is to be charged for the extra police kept for his protection?"—[3 *Hansard*, [290] 1732.]

Here we have the clergy of a district making a statement which, I presume, was understood by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), that the life of this miserable man, who had given evidence as an accomplice in an agrarian murder, was in such fearful danger that it was necessary to protect him by a police force stationed in the vicinity; and hon. Members tell us that these men would be in more danger now that they have turned back on their former evidence. The House will be slow to believe that Cole and Casey imagined that they would be in more danger than when they had to be protected by a large force from the anger of their neighbours. The life of such men is, indeed, a miserable one—God knows, in the case of the two men I have described, and certainly in the case of Cole—a life of deserved misery. But it is so miserable a life that a man would do almost anything to escape from it, even though we were not to attribute as the motive which induced Casey to go to Mr. Stokes the profit he might get by becoming informer. I have now, I believe, gone through this case completely. I think the points are very much fewer than hon. Members who have been listening to the debate to-night may have supposed. The case has been brought forward with singular ability; but against the deductions which have been drawn from the facts by hon. Members opposite I feel bound to make the very strongest protest. The hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. A. O'Connor) tells us that murder is now legalized throughout Ireland; and the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), using words which, perhaps, shocked me, who have read the writings and witnessed the caricatures which have been prevalent for so many months, less even than they may have shocked other hon. Members, told me that my pillow would be haunted by the ghost of Myles Joyce. I have seen Earl Spencer and myself portrayed in the shop windows as rejoicing in the death and murder of innocent men on the scaffold, looking on at unfortunate men suspended by the neck from the gallows. I cannot but turn for a certain amount of consolation to a paper which lies before me at this moment. That paper is to this effect. Since the day when the last undoubted execution for agrarian crime was carried into effect, up to the time when Francis Hynes suffered in the Government of Earl Spencer, there were 61 agrarian murders undetected and unpunished. That is the case of the Irish Government when they are asked if they are indifferent to the lives of the peasantry of Ireland. Who were these men whose lives are at this moment in question but the peasantry? What earthly motive could we have in hanging one peasant more than another for the murder of another peasant? Well, up to that time there were 61 undetected agrarian murders, and up to the end of the year 1882 there were something like 80 murders of that sort. They began then to be detected, and in the year 1883 there were only two such murders, while in the first nine months of the year 1884 there has not been a single murder entered upon the list as an agrarian murder. That consideration is a consolation to me for anything that may be said against the action of the Irish Government. I deeply regret if, in our action, any mistakes have been made.

Mr. HEALY: Kilmartin.

Mr. TREVELYAN: If there was a mistake in the case of Kilmartin——

Several Irish Members: There was. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. HEALY: Why did you let him out?

Mr. SPEAKER: I must request hon. Members not to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman. I have had, before this evening, to call attention to these repeated interruptions, which are unjustifiable on the part of any hon. Member, and I hope they will not be continued.

**Mr. TREVELYAN**: I am glad to have an opportunity of saying a word about the Kilmartin case. If His Excellency erred at all in that case, he erred on the right side. In the last paragraph of his letter it is stated—

> "His Excellency has determined to release Kilmartin. He does so without impeaching the correctness of the original conviction, or the *bona fides* of Hernon; but, subsequent information having created some doubt as to the identification of Kilmartin, His Excellency feels himself enabled to exercise the Prerogative of mercy on Kilmartin's behalf."

Hon. Members will see that there were two cardinal differences between the statements. The very important subsequent information which was received would, if it could have been produced at the trial, have ended in the acquittal of Kilmartin. Unfortunately, that information was not forthcoming. Under the circumstances I have referred to, as Earl Spencer stated two years ago, he had no choice except to allow the law to be carried out. And I cannot think he would be now justified in recommending Her Majesty's Government to grant the inquiry asked for by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), which could only end in this random statement of Casey's being put forward, and perhaps another statement sworn to at variance with that, together with a statement of innocence by the men who are in penal servitude. If hon. Members think that such an inquiry would not shake justice to its foundations, I am bound to say that I must disagree with them. It would undoubtedly have that effect, and, therefore, the Irish Government are of opinion that the inquiry should not be granted, in which opinion they are supported by the whole body of their officers.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Parnell*,)—put, and *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

## *MOTIONS.*

——o——

### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

#### MOTION FOR LEAVE.

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: Mr. Speaker—Sir, I am not surprised at the unoccupied condition of the opposite Bench, which, I think, is quite warranted by the nature of the announcement I made to the House that I had no intention on the present occasion of troubling it with a speech. The reason why that announcement was made will, I believe, be perfectly plain to those who heard it. Last Session I had the opportunity, on various stages of the Bill, but especially on its introduction, of stating at great length the considerations which had led Her Majesty's Government to make the proposals which it contained. But all the arguments then used, and all the facts then adduced, are applicable with increased force to the present occasion; and I think I should be abusing the patience of the House if I were to attempt again to present them even in the most condensed form. I even hope that the debates upon this Bill may not extend to any very great length. At the same time, I am perfectly sensible that, in asking the House for leave to introduce the Bill, the summary manner in which I hope it will be disposed of on the present occasion cannot be taken as any measure of the discussion that may hereafter arise. The introduction of a Bill, when its nature is well understood by the House, is very commonly permitted to take place without discussion, which is reserved to later stages. With regard to those later stages, I have already announced to the House the intention of the Government to lose no time. They believe it to be their duty to the House and the country to press the Bill through its several stages with due regard to the convenience of hon. Members and the sufficiency of opportunities for discussion. It would not be proper for me, although I hope it will be admitted that the present hour is one perfectly appropriate to the purpose for which I rise, to bring this Bill for a second time under the consideration of the House, except at a time entirely convenient to the House. I am given to understand that the discussions connected with the Address are likely to occupy both Monday and Tuesday next; and it has been stated, I believe, by Gentlemen on the opposite side that it would be for the convenience of hon. Members if it were understood that the debate on the second reading would not be taken until Thursday. Sir, it is, I own, with regret that I lose even Wednesday, when I consider that the loss of that day adds to the length of this unusual, and, of course, to all, inconvenient Session. At the same time, I should be very unwilling to commence our operations by anything like a churlish course of procedure. I am therefore prepared to agree to that proposal, trusting, and I will say believing, that there will not be in any quarter of the House a disposition to give other than the fairest treatment to the measure now to be submitted. Sir, having said these few words, I have only to conclude with the Motion of which I have given Notice.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to the Representation of the People of the United Kingdom."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor) said, he did not wish to trouble the House with any remarks on this measure at that time, as he should have opportunities of speaking on the Bill on its later stages. But he was in this position—that he held an office out of the House, which made him feel that he ought not to avail himself of the opportunities of addressing meetings on this great question which many of his hon. Friends enjoyed. He wished to state that when Mr. Speaker put the Question he should say "No" to it. At the time when the Question of the third reading of the Representation of the People Bill was put last Session, which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister stated was agreed to *nemine contradicente*, he was hastening down to the House determined, if no one else did, to say "No" to the Question. The Prime Minister had stated that the negative of the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) was given inaudibly; but he hoped the right hon. Gentleman would do him the justice of believing that had he been present he would have said "No" in a voice loud enough to have reached the Chair. He wished, as a humble individual, to put it on record that this Bill was not brought in with his approval.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Sir, I beg to give Notice that, on the Motion being made for the second reading of the Bill, I shall move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, any measure purporting to provide for the better Representation of the People in Parliament must be accompanied by provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas."

Mr. RAIKES said, he quite agreed that this was not an occasion for entering into debate on the Motion which the Prime Minister had made; but he must take exception to what the right hon. Gentleman also said—namely, that it was not an unusual or inconvenient time for introducing a measure of this kind. It appeared to him that, in a Session specially convoked for discussing this measure, it would have been more in accordance with the importance of the subject if the Motion had been made when the House commenced Business. He ventured to make his humble protest against the course taken by the Government in bringing it forward at 20 minutes past 12 o'clock. He would also express regret that the Prime Minister had not taken that opportunity of throwing any light upon certain remarkable disclosures which, within the last few days, had found their way into the public Press in connection with the measure of Redistribution. It was to have been hoped that the House would have had that night from Her Majesty's Government some further outline of their intentions with regard to that important question; and he, at all events, could only read in the silence of the right hon. Gentleman an additional confirmation of that attitude of *non possumus* which he had taken up with regard to this question in declining to satisfy the legitimate curiosity of the people.

Mr. HEALY said, he trusted that the Government would give more opportunity than last year, during the passage of the Bill, for the consideration of certain Amendments which hon. Members on those Benches had to move in reference to votes for the tenure of land. If it was the intention to send the Bill to the House of Lords in the same way as it was sent last Session, he was convinced that it would lead to a considerable loss of time.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON asked the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister whether this was the Bill as introduced last Session, or as it left the House?

Mr. GLADSTONE was understood to signify that it was the Bill as it left the House.

Motion *agreed to*.

Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. GLADSTONE, Mr. TREVELYAN, Mr. ATTORNEY GENERAL, and The LORD ADVOCATE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 1.]

### LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT (1881) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WILLIAM CORBET, Bill to amend "The Land Law (Ireland) Act, 1881," and for other purposes connected therewith, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WILLIAM CORBET, Mr. BARRY, Mr. PARNELL, Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Mr. HEALY, Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, and Mr. SEXTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 2.]

### SPORTING LANDS RATING (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Dr. CAMERON, Bill to amend the Law as to the Rating of Lands occupied for Sporting purposes in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Dr. CAMERON, Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK, Mr. MUNRO-FERGUSON, Mr. MACKINTOSH, and Dr. FARQUHARSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 3.]

### BURIAL FEES BILL.

On Motion of Sir ALEXANDER GORDON, Bill to amend the Law relating to Burial Fees, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir ALEXANDER GORDON and Mr. BRINTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 4.]

### LABOURERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DEASY, Bill to amend "The Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1883," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DEASY, Mr. PARNELL, Mr. M'MAHON, Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, and Mr. SEXTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 5.]

### UNIVERSITY EDUCATION (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. KENNY, Bill to provide further facilities for higher and University Education in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. KENNY, Mr. PARNELL, Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Mr. O'BRIEN, and Mr. DAWSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 6.]

### WATERWORKS CLAUSES ACT (1847) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. DANIEL GRANT, Bill to declare and explain the sixty-eighth section of "The Waterworks Clauses Act, 1847," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DANIEL GRANT, Mr. TORRENS, Mr. SCLATER-BOOTH, Mr. ARTHUR COHEN, Mr. RITCHIE, Mr. WILLIAM LAWRENCE, and Baron HENRY DE WORMS.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 7.]

### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY BILL.

On Motion of Mr. STEVENSON, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. STEVENSON, Mr. HOULDSWORTH, Sir WILLIAM M'ARTHUR, Mr. WALTER JAMES, Mr. CHARLES ROSS, Mr. CHARLES WILSON, and Mr. CAINE.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 8.]

### POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JOHN REDMOND, Bill to amend the Law relating to the Election of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JOHN REDMOND, Mr. O'BRIEN, Mr. GRAY, and Mr. BARRY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 9.]

### LEASEHOLDERS (FACILITIES OF PURCHASE OF FEE SIMPLE) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BROADHURST, Bill to enable Leaseholders of Houses and Cottages to Purchase the Fee Simple of their property, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BROADHURST, Mr. REID, Mr. BURT, Mr. PASSMORE EDWARDS, and Mr. PULESTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 10.]

### NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Bill to improve the condition of the National School Teachers in Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, Mr. PARNELL, Colonel NOLAN, Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, Mr. HEALY, and Mr. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 11.]

### CEMETERIES BILL.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Law relating to Cemeteries.

Resolution *reported* :—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ILLINGWORTH, Mr. RICHARD, Mr. RATHBONE, Mr. CAINE, and Mr. WOODALL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill. 12.]

### RETURNING OFFICERS' EXPENSES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Bill for charging the Expenses of Returning Officers at Parliamentary Elections on the rates, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON, Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD, Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT, and Mr. PICTON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 13.]

### BEER ADULTERATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. STORER, Bill for better securing the purity of Beer, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. STORER, Mr. HICKS, and Sir HERBERT MAXWELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 14.]

### CHURCH OF SCOTLAND DISESTABLISHMENT BILL.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved*, That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill for the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland.

Resolution *reported* :—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. DICK-PEDDIE, Mr. WEBSTER, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. HENDERSON, and Mr. M'LAREN.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 15.]

### REDISTRIBUTION OF SEATS BILL.

On Motion of Admiral Sir JOHN HAY, Bill to adjust the numbers of the electors in some constituencies of the United Kingdom, and to provide for a more equal distribution of the duties of the Representatives, having consideration to population, *ordered* to be brought in by Admiral Sir JOHN HAY and Mr. JAMES CAMPBELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 16.]

### SALMON WEEKLY CLOSE TIME (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HEALY, Bill to amend the Law relating to the weekly close season for Salmon in the tidal waters in Ireland; and for other purposes connected with Salmon fishing, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HEALY, Mr. LEAMY, Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA, Mr. O'SHEA, and Mr. BARRY.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 17.]

### SHOPS HOURS REGULATION BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bill to extend certain provisions of the Factory Acts to Shops, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Mr. BURT, Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, and Mr. PELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 18.]

### ELECTIONS IN COUNTIES (HOURS OF POLL) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT, Bill to extend the Hours of Polling at Parliamentary Elections in Counties, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT, Mr. GREY, Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD, and Mr. COCHRAN-PATRICK.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 19.]

House adjourned at a quarter
before One o'clock till
Monday next.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 27th October*, 1884.

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MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* South Warwickshire, *v*. the Hon. Gilbert Henry Chandos Leigh, deceased.

## *QUESTIONS.*

—o—

### PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882.—MR. JOSEPH R. COX.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he has made the inquiries he promised last Session with regard to the following circular:—

> "Joseph R. Cox. Midland Division, Crime Department, Mullingar, 24th June 1884. Mr. Jenkinson wishes to have the movements of the above-named watched, noted everywhere. Annexed is his description. By Order (signed), M. Jacques, D.I.C.S. Joseph R. Cox, Secretary to the Lord Mayor, 97, Stephen's Green, Dublin, five feet ten inches, thirty-three years, rather stout, sandy hair, regular nose and mouth, fair complexion, round visage, small whiskers under ears; native of Kilmore, county Roscommon, wears glasses, dresses well, wears a silk hat; was arrested under Peace Preservation Act. He was an organiser of the late Land League. His principal associates are leading Nationalists;"

and, what the results of his inquiries have been?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): No circular was issued or intended by Mr. Jenkinson. The communication mentioned in the Question was issued under some misapprehension from the office of the Divisional Magistrate, Mullingar, to County Inspectors there. It was in all respects confidential.

MR. HEALY asked, would the hon. and learned Gentleman state whether Mr. Jenkinson had given the direction? He was not asked whether his name was in the circular or not. He was asked whether the circular in question was an authentic one or not?

[No reply.]

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY said, that in consequence of the unsatisfactory answer of the Solicitor General for Ireland, he would call attention to the matter at the earliest opportunity.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—"MR. GEORGE BOLTON *v.* 'UNITED IRELAND.'"

MR. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Is it the fact that Mr. George Bolton was granted the use of the official file of *United Ireland*, kept by or under the control of the police authorities in Dublin Castle, while Bolton's action against the proprietors of that paper was pending; if so, who is responsible; and, why was the permission revoked?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Mr. Bolton was allowed on one occasion to examine the back numbers of *United Ireland*, filed in the office of the Dublin Metropolitan Police; but the Commissioner, understanding that the object of Mr. Bolton might be or was to use the information for the purpose of a private action, informed Mr. Bolton he could not have the use of any official copy for such purpose. The whole circumstance did not occupy more than half-an-hour.

MR. O'BRIEN: Can the hon. and learned Gentleman state whether Mr. Bolton had access to the official file after that?

[No reply.]

### ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—DR. DAVIES, J.P.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he has ordered a criminal prosecution of Dr. Davies, J.P., on a charge of perjury and fraud alleged to have been committed under "The Arrears of Rent (Ireland) Act, 1882;" and, if not, does he intend to order such prosecution?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): This case has been carefully considered by the Attorney General; and he has come to the conclusion that Dr. Davies and his tenant, who was in all respects equally culpable with Dr. Davies, may have thought they were legally justified in doing what they did, and that a prosecution would not be advisable. Dr Davies has since become a bankrupt, and has been removed by the Lord Chancellor from the Commission of the Peace.

### NAVY—SHIPBUILDING — REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Board have taken any steps with respect to the Report of the Committee, presided over by Lord Ravensworth, on the Building of Ships in Dockyards or Private Establishments; and, whether he can state to the House what course the Government intend to pursue in this matter?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The Report of the Committee on the building and repair of Her Majesty's ships will be in the hands of hon. Members immediately. A Departmental Committee was appointed to advise as to the practical steps to be taken, and their Report has only been received this day. It must require careful consideration; and I can only say in the meanwhile, on behalf of the Admiralty, that we are grateful to Lord Ravensworth and his Colleagues for their labours and their suggestions.

### NAVY—WARRANT OFFICERS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Board propose to take any further steps to comply with the application of the Warrant Officers of the Navy for the amelioration of their present position?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: Considerable concessions have been made of late in the case of the warrant officers of the Navy. All such officers serving in harbour ships with appointments from the Admiralty are now granted pay at seagoing instead of harbour rates. Numerous additional Greenwich pensions have been provided. The grant of compassionate allowances to the children of warrant officers whose deaths are attributable to the Service is under consideration.

### BUILDING SOCIETIES — FAILURES—A GOVERNMENT AUDIT.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, If his attention has been called to several failures of Building Societies, after an eminent London actuary had certified to their solvency; and, whether he will consider whether a Government audit might be applied in order to protect the public from such disasters?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I think this Question would have been better put to the Home Secretary, because the Registrar of Friendly Societies is under the Department of the Home Office; but if he wishes for my personal opinion, I am bound to say that, as at present advised, I do not think it desirable to extend Government interference further than at present. So far as I know at present, the Government does not interfere to protect investments, and I doubt whether it would be wise to incur the responsibility in regard to these societies.

## ROYAL NAVAL ARTILLERY VOLUNTEERS.

MR. STEWART MACLIVER asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, If a decision has yet been arrived at respecting the applications for Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers to be enrolled at Plymouth and other places?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The decision with reference to applications for the enrolment of Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers has been postponed until a general scheme of defence has been matured, based upon the Report of the Committee on the Defence of the Commercial Harbours. The Admiralty are not at present prepared to entertain the question of increasing the Force.

## INDIA—THE QUETTA-CANDAHAR RAILWAY.

MR. AGNEW asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he can state the facts respecting the taking up of rails on the Quetta Railway, referred to by the Right honourable Member for South West Lancashire and the honourable Member for Mid-Lincoln, in the following extracts:—

"Extract.—Sir R. Cross's Speech at Chester, 18th October 1884.

"When the Conservatives were in office they were ever on that look-out, and they saw an opportunity for a great market for British goods, if they could only carry Railway communication further into the north of India. For commercial as well as for strategical purposes they laid down a Railway in that part of the country; and the Conservatives believed that if that Railway had been allowed to remain and had been extended, as they had provided it should be, there would have been now a large market for our produce in that part of the world, which would have tended very much to our benefit. The Government had now been in office four years, and had been obliged, to use a common phrase, to eat humble pie; and now they had begun to lay down the very rails which they had torn up, and of which they might have had the benefit years ago."—(*Manchester Courier*, 20th October 1884.)

"In reply Mr. Stanhope wrote: 'The Quetta Line was completed from the Indus to Sibi. This part was never touched, and is still working. Preparations were made for carrying it on to Quetta and Kandahar. The surveys were made, the earthwork was done, and some few miles of Railway were undoubtedly laid. The present Government abandoned all the line beyond Sibi, took up such of the rails as were laid and were on the spot, and conveyed them elsewhere.'"—(*Bolton Chronicle*, 18th October 1884.)

"He wrote to Sir R. A. Cross. He held in his hands that gentleman's reply, dated 9th October 1884, in which were the following words: 'You are right about the Quetta Line, which was laid down and pulled up.'"—(*Bolton Chronicle*, 18th October 1884.)

MR. J. K. CROSS: Before answering this Question, it would only be common courtesy to ask my right hon. Friend whether he admits the accuracy of the quotation, for certainly none will be more astonished at the report than the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman?

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: As to the first extract, I believe it is correct. I know nothing about the others.

MR. J. K. CROSS: I am quite aware that the British public has for some time been possessed of the delusion that a wicked Liberal Government did take up a railway in India which a good Conservative Government had laid down. The facts of the case are correctly stated in the extract from the letter of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire, except in the following important particulars:—The surveys which he described as made were not completed even to Quetta. As to the earthworks, which he describes as being to a considerable extent done, some were partially constructed; but in most cases they were not even begun. And the rails which were laid from Sibi to the foot of the Bolan Pass, and also to the foot of the Nari Gorge, some of which my hon. Friend says were taken up, are still there and still in use. My right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire seems to be under the impression that the railway was completed to Quetta and destroyed by the present Government. But no permanent way had been placed upon the earthworks north of the Nari Gorge; there was, therefore, no opportunity of pulling up the rails, as they had not been laid down.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman whether his attention has been called to the despatch of Mr. Rivers Thompson, which appeared in the Afghan Papers of 1881, from which I will read an extract, and in which he protests against the action of the Government. He says—

> "But perhaps the most grievous and humiliating part of the order in this connection is that which affects not only the stoppage of the railway works now under construction, but the dismantling of the rails and the destruction of the earthworks already completed a considerable distance towards Quetta. This wilful and deliberate surrender of advantages gained after a vast expenditure of time and thought and money, and which would subserve peaceful administration much more than it would supply military requirements, is absolutely beyond the comprehension of any Native in the country."

Mr. J. K. CROSS: If the right hon. Gentleman will give the date of the Paper I shall be glad to inquire into the matter. I find that there is no very definite information as to the pulling up of the rails at the India Office. I have, however, referred to Major General Trevor, Director General of Railways under the late Government, who is now in England, as to what are the facts of the case. Major General Trevor called upon me on Saturday morning last, and gave me the information as I have placed it before the House. He will be very glad to answer any question which any hon. Member may put to him; and as he was Director General of Railways in India up to the end of March, 1881, I should think that his evidence may be taken as being quite satisfactory on this point.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: I will give the hon. Member the information he wants. The Minute of Mr. Rivers Thompson is to be found in Afghan Paper No. 3, 1881; and he will find there also another Minute to the same effect by Mr. Gibbs deploring the giving up of the railway.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: Whilst having the greatest possible respect for Colonel Trevor, I should like to ask whether the Government will lay upon the Table the Report of some official of the Indian Government who saw the works, and who was connected with the works at the time the present Government came into power?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The greater part of those works were carried on after the present Government came into Office, and there was no question of giving them up until after the Battle of Maiwand, when the troops which were protecting the works were withdrawn. I shall be glad to lay any Papers on the subject on the Table.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Is it not a fact that if the policy of the late Government on the Indian Frontier had not been reversed the railway to Candahar would have been completed two years ago?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: I am afraid I cannot answer any Question as to the policy of the late Government.

### AFRICA (SOUTH)—BECHUANALAND—MURDER OF MR. BETHELL.

Sir FREDERICK MILNER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been called to the brutal murder of Mr. Christopher Bethell, Acting Chief of Frontier Police, by the Boers, near the border of Bechuanaland, on July 31st; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have demanded reparation for the murder of this gallant British officer, and the surrender of his murderers to justice?

Mr. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the Colonial Office has received any details of the murder of Mr. C. Bethell in Bechuanaland; whether Mr. Bethell had been appointed by Mr. Mackenzie, Commandant of the Frontier Mounted Police, and was acting in that capacity at the time he was murdered in cold blood by Boers; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have taken any, and if so what, steps in the matter?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir. We have received a despatch from Mr. Wright, the Resident Commissioner, giving an account of the sad death of Mr. Bethell, and it will appear among the Papers which will be laid on the Table of the House in a few days. It appears that the murder was a very brutal act, that Mr. Bethell was shot by two Boers as he lay wounded on the field of combat. But whatever the legal aspect of the case may be, which is complicated by the fact that the murder took place neither on Transvaal territory nor on British territory, still the Government thought it was a case of which they should take serious notice. Therefore, we have telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson to the effect that, as Mr. Wright named one of the Boers who shot Mr. Bethell, and says that the other name was no secret, every effort should be made to bring the murderers to justice, and asking Sir Hercules Robinson what course he would advise.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I should like to ask a Question arising out of this answer of the hon. Gentleman. I observed not long ago a statement which appeared to have foundation —namely, that Mr. Wright, to whose despatch he referred, went to the Boers and was detained by them as a prisoner.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Mr. Wright was induced to come into the hands of the Boers by a flag of truce, and then he was told that he was retained for his own safety. He is no longer in the hands of the Boers; he is free, and therefore no steps have been taken.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND: What was the date of the Government's instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson? Will those instructions appear in the Papers, and when are they likely to be presented?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The date of the telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson is to-day. It is only three or four days ago that we received the despatch from Mr. Wright, giving an account of the death of Mr. Bethell. As to the Papers, one portion of them will be delivered to-morrow, and the second portion will be delivered in the course of the week.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: I wish to ask the hon. Gentleman whether Mr. Wright's despatch is the only one that has been received?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; I believe I am correct in saying that Mr. Wright's is the only official despatch we have received.

MR. GUY DAWNAY: Will the hon. Gentleman answer the second part of my Question—namely, whether Mr. Bethell had been appointed by Mr. Mackenzie Commandant of the Frontier Mounted Police, and was acting in that capacity at the time he was murdered in cold blood by the Boers?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; he was appointed by Mr. Mackenzie.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER: As representing the family of Mr. Bethell, I beg to give Notice that it is my intention to go more fully into the subject of Mr. Bethell's murder before the close of the debate on the Address.

MR. CREYKE: Considering it is now three months since the murder took place, and considering that it was perfectly well known in this country for nearly the whole of that time, it is strange that the Government has only thought it necessary to telegraph to-day on the subject.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: We sent out to ask for official information with reference to what we had seen in the newspapers. We only received that official information, as I have just now stated, and speaking from memory, four days ago, and we have telegraphed today.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: May I ask whether it is the intention of the Government to send Sir Charles Warren to Bechuanaland without any military force from England; and, if so, what precaution has been taken to insure his personal safety; and, whether Sir Charles Warren will be placed under the orders of Sir Hercules Robinson, or whether he will hold an independent position similar to that of General Gordon?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: There is only one part of that Question I can answer without Notice, and that is the first part. Sir Charles Warren will not be sent out to that country without any military force to support him.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY: What is the date of the Government despatch to which Mr. Wright's Report was an answer?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I really cannot answer these Questions as to date without Notice. The average time required would be five or six weeks to go, and five or six weeks to come back.

## NEW ZEALAND—TREATY OF WAITANGI—THE MAORI CHIEFS.

MR. GORST asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What steps have been taken by Her Majesty's Government to verify the statements made in the Memorial of the Maori Chiefs recently in this Country, as to alleged violations of the Treaty of Waitangi; whether any communications have been made to or received from the Colonial Government of New Zealand on the subject; and, whether such communications can be laid upon the Table?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: In reply to my hon. and learned Friend, I have to say that the Memorial of the Maori Chiefs was sent off to the Governor of New Zealand in August last, and the observations of the Colonial Government were invited upon it. No answer has yet or could yet have been received. As soon as the expected reply arrives, Papers on the subject will be laid on the Table.

## EGYPT—EXPENDITURE.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will either state to the House, or present in a Return to the House, the amount of all moneys expended (inclusive of the value of stores, military or otherwise) in or on Egypt, which have been paid, or which are to be paid, by this Country, from January 1st 1878, until the recent arrival of Lord Wolseley in Egypt?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): My hon. Friend's Question presents some difficulty, and it would be necessary to confer with several Departments. If he will put it again next week, I hope to give him an answer.

## HONG KONG—ENFORCED LABOUR.

Sir JOHN HAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If information has been received of a riot at Hong Kong, consequent upon the compulsory employment of Chinese labour to coal French ships employed in hostilities with China; and, whether directions will be sent to the authorities at Hong Kong and Singapore to refrain from enforcing any contract to labour which may have been entered into by our Chinese fellow-subjects, who from patriotic reasons may reasonably object to such employment?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: We received from the Governor of Hong Kong, on the 6th of October, a telegram in which he informed us that there had been a strike of boatmen and labourers—that 100 soldiers had been quartered for four days in the Tung Wah Hospital to support the police, but that they were not required to act; that one Chinese had been killed and five Sikh constables wounded. We asked by telegram whether the Chinese labourers had been compelled to work on board French ships. In reply we were informed that several persons had been fined for refusing to work for the *Messageries Maritimes;* but that no work had been performed for other French ships. We telegraphed to ask the Governor under what law these labourers were fined; but no reply has yet been received. I must therefore ask the hon. Baronet to wait a few days for the answer to the second Question. I may add that on the 3rd of September the Governor notified to the French Admiral Lespes that the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act must be carried out; and Admiral Lespes, in reply, gave an assurance that they would be fully respected by French ships.

Mr. NEWDEGATE asked whether, when hostilities were being carried on between two other Powers, without a declaration of war, if this country supplied munitions for such hostilities to one of the belligerents, we might not be held responsible for such a proceeding?

[No reply.]

## COLONIAL DEFENCES—REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION OF 1882.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If and when the unpublished Report of the Royal Commission on the Defence of British Possessions and Commerce Abroad, which was presented in July 1882, and on which the Inspector of Fortifications has based his Memorandum, will be laid before Parliament?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: I can only refer the hon. Member to an answer which I gave on the 6th of April, 1883, to a similar Question, when I stated that the Report on the Colonial Defences was strictly confidential, and could not be laid on the Table of the House.

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—TEACHERS IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether he is aware that the following advertisement appeared in *The School Board Chronicle* of the 27th September last:—

"North Mundham, Hunstan, and Merston U. D. School Board. Wanted an Assistant Mistress. Churchwoman. Salary £35 per annum. Apply, with testimonials, to Oliver

Lloyd, Clerk to the Board, West Street, Chichester;"

and, whether he will take any steps to prevent the disqualification of Nonconformists as teachers in Board Schools by the imposition of ecclesiastical tests?

MR. MUNDELLA: My attention had not been called to the advertisement in question until my hon. Friend placed his Notice on the Paper. I find that counsel's opinion was taken on this point in 1876, and that he advised that the Act of 1870 gave the Department no power to interfere. Such an advertisement appears to me to savour of intolerance, and is entirely foreign to the spirit and intention of the Act. I am, however, glad to say that it is the only case of the kind brought before me during the last four years, and I hope it is one which will not recur. I think hon. Members will see how unfair and inconvenient it would be for School Boards with alternating majorities of Churchmen and Nonconformists to restrict their choice of teachers to those of their own religious faith, and to introduce considerations which are alien to the purposes of the Education Act.

## THE EXPEDITIONARY FORCE (EGYPT) —ARMY CHAPLAINS.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is a Presbyterian chaplain attached to the Black Watch at present in Upper Egypt; and, if not, whether, considering the large number of Scottish soldiers in that and the other regiments under Lord Wolseley's command, he will issue instructions that a Presbyterian chaplain be sent without delay to join the expeditionary force?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I am aware of the great interest which is taken in this subject in Scotland, and I have communicated with Lord Wolseley upon it. I have not, however, received any reply to the letter. So far as the War Office is concerned, all the Presbyterian chaplains who were considered necessary by the General Officer commanding the troops in Egypt have been sent. I have also authorized the employment of another Presbyterian clergyman, who is available at Alexandria, which would set free an additional chaplain to proceed with the Expedition if his services are required.

## INDIA—BOMBAY CIVIL SERVICE.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Is it the fact that 54, or more than one-third of the entire Bombay Civil Service, occupy the three years 1867-70; and, if so, what steps does he intend to take to get rid of the superfluous men or their discontented juniors?

MR. J. K. CROSS: No, Sir; it is not the fact that 54, or more than one-third of the entire Bombay Civil Service, occupy the three years 1867-70. There are 160 men—including five statutory civilians—in the Bombay Civil Service. Of these, 48 were appointed in the four years, 1867-70, inclusive. A Memorial was received last year from a civilian, appointed in 1869, complaining of slowness of promotion, and praying that he might be allowed to retire on a special pension. In forwarding this Memorial, the Bombay Government said that, "while conscious that at present there was an unfortunate block in one part of the Service," they did not consider it expedient to induce special retirements by the grant of proportionate pensions. The Secretary of State refused the application, seeing no reason for dealing with it in an exceptional manner.

## BOARD OF TRADE (RAILWAYS)—POLITICAL DEMONSTRATIONS AT RAILWAY STATIONS.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, in view of the statement made by the First Lord of the Treasury as to the condition of Preston Railway Station when the First Lord of the Treasury was recently passing through that town, he will communicate with the Railway authorities as to the advisability of preventing in the future political demonstrations at Railway stations?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The Board of Trade have no authority or control whatever over the arrangements which may be made for preserving order at railway stations. They have had no complaints addressed to them, and they have no reason to believe that the Railway Companies are either unable or unwilling to protect the public from danger; and, under these circumstances, I do not think it would be right to propose legislation giving further authority to the Board of Trade.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Will the right hon. Gentleman make inquiries into the case of the Glasgow Railway Station, where there was undoubted danger from the great crowd? Will he also allow me to place him in possession of several letters which I have received from members of the travelling public complaining of the inconvenience and danger they were subjected to at Preston?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: If the noble Lord has any evidence and will place it at my disposal, I will gladly take it into consideration.

## LABOURERS (IRELAND)—REAPPOINTMENT OF THE COMMITTEE.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will take steps for the immediate re-appointment of the Committee on the operation of "The Labourers (Ireland) Act, 1884?"

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, that the Committee last year, in reporting the evidence it had taken, recommended its own re-appointment. The re-appointment of the Committee did not rest with the Chief Secretary; but the desire expressed on the subject would be communicated to the Prime Minister in order to ascertain whether Committee Business would be taken this Session.

## POST OFFICE—MAIL SERVICE IN THE WEST OF IRELAND.

Colonel NOLAN asked the Postmaster General, If, considering the very unsatisfactory state of the Mail Service to the West of Ireland, he could arrange to run a train leaving Dublin at 8 a.m., reaching Galway in three hours and a-half, and stopping at Mullingar, Athlone, Ballinasloe, and Athenry only?

Mr. FAWCETT: I can assure the hon. Member and others who are interested in the question of accelerating the mails to Galway and Sligo and the West of Ireland generally, that it has not been lost sight of by the Department. Negotiations are now proceeding, and directly I am in a position to come to a decision I will make it known to the hon. Members who are interested in the locality.

## POST OFFICE—POST CARDS—PURCHASE OF MATERIAL FROM ABROAD.

Mr. GIBSON, who had given Notice of the following Question:—

> "To ask the Postmaster General, if it is a fact that the Post Office Department has recently given a large contract for the supply of English post cards in Germany?"

intimated that in consequence of the Postmaster General's letter, which had appeared in the morning papers, he would not put the Question.

Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD, who had on the Paper the following Question:—

> "To ask the Postmaster General, whether he will inform the House as to the name of the German firm with whom Her Majesty's Government have contracted for the supply of the postal cards hitherto manufactured by British traders; and if he will name the various firms who competed for the Governmental order?"

asked permission to substitute a Question to the effect—Were they to conclude from the Postmaster General's letter that the opinion of the Government was that British workmen were not damaged, but positively benefited, by the purchase of commodities abroad?

Mr. SPEAKER: That is a Question entirely of an argumentative character, and is, therefore, irregular.

## TRADE AND COMMERCE—DISTRESS IN THE SHIPBUILDING TRADE.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he is aware that thousands of workmen connected with the Shipping industry have for several months been without employment on the Wear, Tyne, Clyde, and other shipbuilding ports, and that large numbers with their families are now in a condition of semi-starvation; whether, as in the case of Irish distress and Indian famines, he will endeavour to devise some system of Imperial relief; if he is aware that in this year's Navy Estimates authority was taken to build additional ships of the *Mersey* class which has not yet been began; and, whether he will endeavour to arrange with the Treasury and Admiralty that ships of the *Mersey* and other designs may be built on the Wear and other rivers, allowing the builders a reasonable commission as remuneration over and above the actual cost?

MR. T. RICHARDSON inquired whether the Prime Minister was aware that distress in the same trade existed at Hartlepool and on the Tees?

MR. MAC IVER asked if the right hon. Gentleman was also aware that there were a great many people out of employment at Liverpool and Birkenhead, through no fault of their own, and that no less than 5,000 summonses for non-payment of rates had been taken out at Liverpool alone; whether the right hon. Gentleman would suggest some measure for the relief of the distress, and give precedence to the consideration of that subject over further debate on the Franchise Bill?

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I am aware, as the public are aware, of the great distress which exists to a very considerable extent in the shipping trades at the various points to which reference has been made, and in regard to Birkenhead particularly, because, having been on the spot where it prevails at a very recent date, I have had an opportunity of knowing, from personal investigation, that it is severe. But as to the Question—

> "Whether, as in the case of Irish distress and Indian famines, he will endeavour to devise some system of Imperial relief?"

and as to the corresponding Question put by the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver), I have to say that I do not consider that the precedents of Irish distress and Indian famines are applicable to periods of depression in the trades of the United Kingdom. And I must say that I cannot help regretting that Members of Parliament should feel themselves compelled by their sense of duty to suggest in regard to their different neighbourhoods that when they are in distress from any want of employment, it is the duty of the Government to provide a means of supplying that employment. Every Question put in this House comes with a certain authority, and consequently we have to regard the expectations which are raised, and to consider whether the addressing of such Questions to Ministers is beneficial to the community or not. I think they are not; and I am bound to say, as to the case of Sunderland, I have had communications suggesting that to raise any questions of this kind in regard to Sunderland would, at the present time, be particularly inexpedient. With respect to the other part of the Question of my hon. Friend, as to building ships on the Wear, the Tyne, the Clyde, and other ports, that is a matter on which it would be quite contrary to the principle on which the duties of the different Departments are distributed were the Treasury to interfere. If it is thought that ships can be built there advantageously, I have no doubt that my hon. Friend is well qualified to carry on communications with the Admiralty on the subject. But for the Treasury to undertake to direct the Admiralty to build its ships in this place or in that place would be practically mischievous; it would be inverting the relative positions of the Departments, and would introduce great confusion into the conduct of Public Business.

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RELIEF OF GENERAL GORDON.

MR. ONSLOW asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in the happy event of the relief of General Gordon by Lord Wolseley, the former officer, as Governor General of the Soudan, will be in supreme authority, or whether Lord Wolseley, as Commander in Chief in the Soudan, is to be allowed to dictate orders to General Gordon what he is to do or not to do? The hon. Member also asked whether it was still the opinion of the Government that their whole hope of the solution of the question of the relief of the Soudan garrisons depended on the fate of General Gordon?

MR. GLADSTONE: The addition which the hon. Member has made to his Question is really a matter that can only be answered in detail in discussion, and is not a matter for a Question and an answer Aye or No. As to the hope which he suggests that General Gordon is likely to be relieved by Lord Wolseley, the hope of that happy event the Government entirely shares with the hon. Gentleman. And if that should be the case, and if Lord Wolseley should be brought into contact with General Gordon—at present he has not been so brought—the Government will be responsible for providing that all the instructions which may be necessary and useful to regulate the relations of those distinguished persons shall be applicable to the case. The Question is of a hypothetical character, and at present it would be premature to enter upon it. It may, however, be recollected that Lord Wolseley is the General Officer commanding Her Majesty's Forces in Egypt, and in that capacity is General Gordon's military superior, so that, as a matter of course, certain relations between General Gordon and Lord Wolseley would arise by the Rules of the Service.

MR. ONSLOW: General Gordon was not only appointed Commander-in-Chief, but was appointed by the Khedive as Governor General of the Soudan. What I want to know is whether Lord Wolseley will supersede him?

MR. GLADSTONE: I think that the way in which this question arises shows how very premature it is to enter upon the consideration of circumstances which have not arisen. We shall be responsible for the due regulation of these matters. To the direct portion of the Question I have already replied, and I am perfectly aware that the Khedive has appointed General Gordon to that office in the Soudan; but I do not apprehend that that appointment by the Khedive can have any operation or effect whatever upon the Rules which regulate Her Majesty's Government.

MR. BOURKE: Can Her Majesty's Government give the House any information as to the fate of Colonel Stewart?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I very much regret to state that the Government received yesterday a telegram through Lord Wolseley, which is almost similar in purport to that which appears in the public newspapers. I am afraid there can be little doubt that Colonel Stewart was among the party which was wrecked in the steamer on the Nile, and which, apparently, with two exceptions, has been massacred. I am sure that the House, on hearing this communication, will share with Her Majesty's Government in the regret with which we received this information, as well as in the great admiration which Her Majesty's Government feel at the gallant conduct of Colonel Stewart in sharing the dangers of General Gordon's mission, and also, as far as intelligence leads us to believe, their admiration for the manner in which he has discharged the duties in connection with that mission.

MR. M'COAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the actual Report of Lord Northbrook on his mission to Egypt, or only "the result of its consideration" by the Cabinet, will be communicated to Parliament?

MR. GLADSTONE: With regard to Lord Northbrook's Report, it would be premature to express any opinion. It is a rule, and a salutary rule, that the Government does not state its intention to produce Papers of this kind until it has seen them.

## PARLIAMENT — ORDER—UNCOVERING OF MEMBERS TO ROYAL MESSAGES.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I request permission, Mr. Speaker, to ask you a Question on a point of Order, in which a good many others besides myself are interested. When you, Sir, commenced, on Thursday last, to read Her Majesty's Gracious Speech, I happened to have my hat on, and I did not remove it, but remained covered. The suggestion has been made that I did not act properly in that respect, or in accordance with the Rules of the House, and if so, of course, I should at once apologize to you and to the House for having violated any of its Rules and customs. But since I have been a Member of Parliament I have always understood that the Rule is, that when a Member appears at the Bar and informs the Speaker that he has a Message from Her Majesty to this House, signed by herself, he is desired to bring it up, and the Message is brought up to the Chair and read by the Speaker, all Members being uncovered; and their being uncovered is recorded in the Votes and on the Journals. But those are the only occasions on which Members are expected to be uncovered. In all other cases of Royal Messages we are not, I understand, expected to remove our hats. If I am right, I hope, Sir, that you will relieve the feelings of some hon. Gentlemen by so informing the House; if not, I shall, as I have said, at once apologize to it and to you?

MR. SPEAKER: In reply to the right hon. Gentleman, I have to say that he has correctly drawn the distinction between Messages direct from the Crown under the Sign Manual and read from the Chair, and Messages in answer to Addresses from this House. With reference to the Speech from the Throne, what is read by the Speaker from this

Chair is only a copy of the Speech which is delivered in "another place" before both Houses of Parliament. It is, therefore, not regarded as directly emanating from the Sovereign, and neither by the Rule of the House, nor by the custom of the House, is it obligatory for any hon. Member to uncover.

## *MOTION.*

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### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE QUEEN'S SPEECH—POSTPONEMENT OF ORDERS OF THE DAY.—RESOLUTION.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That any proceedings on the Address have precedence To-morrow and Wednesday over the Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

### PUBLIC MEETINGS—THE RIOT AT ASTON HALL, BIRMINGHAM.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: It would be for the convenience of the House to have some information as to the order in which the various subjects raised on the Queen's Speech are to be taken. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, on Friday night, informed the House that he would take an early opportunity of making a statement in explanation of the riots at Aston. [*Cries of* "No!"] Well, I have the words by me, and I believe I have accurately described what the President of the Board of Trade said. It is quite clear that if an early statement is to be made, it must be made on the Queen's Speech, because, after the Queen's Speech is disposed of, all the time of the House will be occupied with the Franchise Bill, and, therefore, if it is not pressing the President of the Board of Trade too much, I should like to know on which of the three days left to us he proposes to make his promised statement?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) has misunderstood what I said; but that is not his fault, because I observe that I was incorrectly reported in one of the newspapers. In the other papers I was correctly reported. What I really said was, that I should be happy to defend myself and my constituents against any attacks which might be made upon me and them whenever the occasion should arise. I am waiting for the occasion.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: The statement I referred to I believe to be accurate; but, of course, if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade denies it, I can say nothing further. As reported in the paper which claims to have the largest circulation in London, the statement of the right hon. Gentleman was—

"I must say that while the proceedings at Birmingham have been to some extent a matter for discussion, I shall be prepared to take an early opportunity of stating to the House what I have heard with reference to them from my constituents, some of whom were eye-witnesses of the proceedings."

Mr. CHAPLIN: I wish to remind the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade of a fact which he seems to have forgotten—namely, that an attack was made upon him only the other night by the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff). The right hon. Gentleman turned off that attack by calling my hon. Friend the Member for Portsmouth a "jackal." I should like to know what guarantee we have, when the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman is next attacked, that he may not probably call the hon. Member attacking him a hyæna? Probably he will evade the point, and we shall never have his promised explanation at all. [*Cries of* "Order!"] I am perfectly in Order. Hon. Members who cry out "Order!" appear to me to be singularly ignorant of the procedure of this House. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade has distinctly stated that, when challenged, he would be prepared to defend his own conduct and that of his constituents who have been accused of behaving so outrageously. Well, he has been challenged. He has evaded one challenge, and we have no guarantee that he will not evade another. I shall consider the right hon. Gentleman to be distinctly departing from his pledge unless, without further delay, he makes the defence to which he has pledged himself.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I do not know whether the speech to which we have just listened is a Question; but if it be a Question, it is a very fair one, and I will endeavour to answer it. The hon. Member opposite (Mr. Chaplin) and the House will see that in reference to this matter I am probably the only person who will be attacked, and the only person who can offer any defence. I think, therefore, that it is only fair that I should wait for an attack or an accusation by somebody who has some personal knowledge of the events in question. When the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff) attacked me the other day, in rather wild and burlesque language, I recollected that he, at all events, was not present at Aston.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: He was present. He was at the meeting.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I was not aware that the hon. Member was present at Aston, and I thought that it was only fair and respectful to the House that I should wait for the charges and accusations which had been made against me, outside the House, by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and which I thought he would have the courage to repeat in the House. Whenever the noble Lord rises in his place and repeats those charges, I shall be perfectly prepared to meet them.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: Notwithstanding the speech which the right hon. Gentleman has made, with his usual insolence—[*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Withdraw!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I hope the hon. Gentleman will withdraw that expression.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I withdraw the word "insolence" at once, and I will say the speech which the right hon. Gentleman has made with his usual courtesy. I was present during the whole of the proceedings at Aston Park. I witnessed the riots, which were incited by the right hon. Gentleman himself—incited by the Body of which he is the ruling spirit, with the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), and which the right hon. Gentleman afterwards, with the hon. Member for Ipswich, commended publicly at different meetings. I made this charge against the right hon. Gentleman on my own responsibility, having witnessed the riots, and, therefore, the excuse he makes to-day is one hardly worthy of attention.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Allow me to make a personal explanation. The right hon. Gentleman has charged me with want of courage in not stating in the House the charge which I made outside the House. Undoubtedly, I stated at Birmingham that the right hon. Gentleman was the real author of the riots. No denial having been made to that charge—[*Cries of* "Oh!"]—none whatever; the statement was made perfectly publicly; it was reported in almost every newspaper—and no denial having been made to that charge by the right hon. Gentleman, I considered that he accepted the responsibility. But another reason why I did not wish to initiate the discussion on this subject myself was very much the same reason as that which the right hon. Gentleman has given—namely, because I am the only person who can defend my own view of the matter, just as the right hon. Gentleman appears to be the only person who can defend his view. But if the right hon. Gentleman is afraid of giving me the advantage of a reply, and if he declines to answer any charges made by any other hon. Member except myself, if I am in Order, I will guarantee to the House that I will take the earliest opportunity I can to draw the badger.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: As Member for the County of Warwick, I think I can throw some light upon this subject.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member (Mr. Newdegate) that this is not a time to discuss the matter. We are now considering the proceedings on the Address, and that is not a time for discussing the alleged riots at Birmingham.

Mr. NEWDEGATE: I bow, Sir, to your ruling. I wished merely to say that I am informed that the right hon. Gentleman was not present at Birminghim, and that Mr. Schnadhorst was not present; but that the rioters came from South Staffordshire, and were led by Mr. Tangye.

Mr. Chamberlain rose amid cries of "Order!"

Mr. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman can speak, with the permission of the House.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The noble Lord has just brought a very strong charge against me as a Minister of the Crown, and I may say that, while I shall be prepared to enter into details on the proper occasion, for the present I content myself with absolutely denying that charge.

### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—SCHEMES OF VOTING.

**SIR JOHN LUBBOCK**: I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether he will devote a separate day for the discussion of the mode of voting to be adopted under the Franchise Bill? It is quite obvious that it would be more convenient to have a discussion on that subject before we have the Bill than afterwards; it would much facilitate the Business of the Government if we could dispose of it first.

**MR. GLADSTONE**: The time has not yet arisen for the discussion of this subject. The House has the Business of the Address to proceed with, and then, as a sequence, the Franchise Bill. These matters are sufficient for the present. I do not think, therefore, that the House would approve of such discussion upon the matter referred to. When further progress has been made there would come a further question; but I own that I am by no means convinced that it would be most convenient to discuss separately the mode of voting.

**MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR)**: I venture to express a hope that before the debate on the Address closes we shall have an opportunity of hearing from the Representative of the Colonies some further explanation as to the state of things in South Africa.

**MR. W. J. CORBET** said, he had obtained first place on Wednesday next for the Land Law (Ireland) Amendment Bill, which was regarded as an important Bill by the Members of his Party. If Wednesday should be taken for the debate on the Address, he hoped the Prime Minister would give some other opportunity for the discussion of the Bill.

**MR. HEALY** wished to know whether it was proposed to hang up the debate on the Address on Thursday, and go on with the Franchise Bill? If the Land Bill should suffer on Wednesday, it would be too much to ask them to give the Government Thursday for the Franchise Bill. After the Irish Members had finished with the Address, perhaps some Gentleman above the Gangway might like to tackle it.

**MR. GLADSTONE**: There is no intention of suspending the proceedings on the Address.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

*Resolved,* That any proceedings on the Address have precedence To-morrow and Wednesday over the Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

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### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [THIRD NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [23rd October,] "That, &c."—[See page. 69.]

And which Amendment was,

> To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "and humbly to assure Her Majesty that it is the opinion of a vast number of the Irish people that the present method of administering the Law in Ireland, more especially under the Crimes Act, has worked manifold injustice, and, in the case of the prisoners tried for the Maamtrasna murder, has led to the execution of an innocent man and to the conviction of four other persons equally innocent, and this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey."—(*Mr. Harrington.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

### AMENDMENT (MR. HARRINGTON)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS.

**MR. PARNELL**: I think, Sir, it would be proper for me, in the commencement of what I have to say upon the Amendment of my hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), to draw the attention of the House to what that Amendment really asks. One would suppose, from the line of defence which has been taken by the two Government speakers, that we were asking the House here, with all the difficulties attending a Parliamentary investigation into judicial proceedings, for a particular inquiry in order to do away with and annul the verdict under which three men were executed, and under which five men are now suffering penal servitude for life. Neither we nor the Amendment ask for that. We simply ask for an inquiry; and in making out our case for that inquiry, we have brought forward evidence which is evidently too strong for the Government defenders, since they say, or practically admit, or lead us to suppose, that if this inquiry be granted the reversal of that verdict will necessarily follow. Apart from the strength of our case, or the nature of the evidence that we should be prepared to bring before the tribunal or body which we ask this House to appoint for the investigation of this important matter, we claim that if any reliance is to be placed for the future upon the pledged credit of a responsible Minister of the Crown—if, in our debates, we can take the words of a Minister of the Crown to mean what they were evidently intended to mean when uttered, that the Government are bound by all the considerations of honour and of regard for their word, to give that inquiry, or some inquiry of the kind, which we now ask from this House. It is true that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), upon the two separate occasions when his promises were made in the late hours of almost the last day of last Session, did guard himself by an "if." He protected himself from pledging himself definitely to any particular inquiry; but he did promise us most definitely some inquiry into this matter, if the allegations which were made by my hon. Friends in the debate which produced his two speeches turned out to be correct. On the first occasion when the subject was raised, on the Motion for going into Committee on the Appropriation Bill, the noble Marquess wound up his statement to the House by this declaration—

> "If the statements appear to be vouched for in the manner I have described, inquiry will be made."—(3 *Hansard*, [292] 577.)

The only condition was that the statements should be vouched for in the manner the noble Marquess had described, and the manner in which those statements were to be vouched for was that His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam should vouch for the statement of facts as detailed on that evening by my hon. Friends in debate. On the second occasion when my hon. Friends, desirous of having some clearer statement or pledge from the noble Marquess, recurred to the matter on the same evening when the House had gone into Committee, the noble Marquess said—

> "He refrained from absolutely promising that an inquiry should be instituted, for it was premature to say what would be the statement vouched for by the Archbishop of Tuam or any other person who might make representations to the Government. All he had ventured to say on the case as presented to him—all he could say was, he would promise that the Irish Government should take any representation made to them into consideration, and if the facts appeared to be as they had been alleged to be that night, then an inquiry should be made."—(*Ibid.* 589.)

The only condition attached to granting some inquiry was, that the facts should be found on inquiry to be as stated by my hon. Friend (Mr. Harrington). These facts had reference to statements made before the Archbishop by one of the informers, and of the confession by this informer, that all he swore on the trial was false, perjured, and dictated by a desire to save his life; and it is impossible for us to believe that the noble Marquess, when making that statement, did not absolutely intend that if it was found that the facts as stated by my hon. Friend were correct, a full, fair, and impartial inquiry would have been granted into this most grave and important question. I believe the issues involved in the matter are more important than any matter ever brought by my hon. Friends before the House; and I feel convinced that the conviction is gaining in strength day by day that some of the Irish Government officials have very good reasons why they consider that this inquiry should not be granted. They know that if the dying depositions of the two guilty men who were executed in Galway Goal two years ago—depositions which admitted their own guilt, and bore the strongest testimony to the innocence of Myles Joyce and of four out of the five who were convicted, and who are now suffering penal servitude—they know that if these depositions were produced, that the House would be unable to resist the granting of this Motion. Why have these depositions been withheld? The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant is very anxious that these depositions should not be produced, and, in fact, he is so anxious that he absolutely stooped to misrepresent the statement of the Prime Minister to this House. He sought, in his speech, to pin the Prime Minister to a statement which that right hon. Gentleman never made. He said that the

Prime Minister had refused to grant the depositions. The Prime Minister never did so. He was appealed to in an offhand manner by one of my hon. Friends (Mr. Callan); and he said, in reply, that it was not usual in such cases "to grant them." But he never absolutely refused to grant them; he never did what he was represented to have done by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland —refused to grant them; and until he does absolutely refuse, I will refuse to believe that he will do so. We have a very strong case; that is admitted; and I believe that if it had not been for the apprehension that so great and so good a man as Earl Spencer—if it were not for the apprehension that so great and good a man as Earl Spencer had made a mistake—and a fatal mistake as regarded the life of one of his fellow-creatures—we should have had the production of these depositions. Failing in that, we have had an inquiry into the case of Kilmartin—an inquiry first of all refused to us by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, and which was afterwards granted to us in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, with the result that Kilmartin, who had been sentenced to penal servitude, was released and restored to his family. Now, Sir, I believe we should have had this inquiry, and I must protest against the tone of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland. He almost let the cat out of the bag in an eloquent and powerful passage in his speech, when he gave the House to understand —for no other inference could be derived from that passage — that if the Lord Lieutenant had made a mistake—and the mistakes in question involved the life of one person and the liberties of others—that if the Lord Lieutenant had made such grave mistakes, he (Mr. Trevelyan) would feel "consolation"—that was his expression—for these mistakes, by the fact that crime and outrage in Ireland had been put an end to, and that the majesty of the law had been vindicated. That is our whole contention — that there are officials in Ireland who consider it is their highest duty to use every means and all means, legitimate and otherwise, to put down crime and outrage, uphold the "majesty of the law," and restore "law and order." I say that, if that is the position of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, no more fatal mistake was ever made by any Predecessor of his, than to suppose that they can ever obtain the respect of the Irish people for law and order, until they thoroughly purify and purge their tribunals from the suspicion of partiality and injustice, which cases like this must throw upon them. Until then it is impossible to suppose that the Irish people can have that confidence in law and order, and can have that desire to uphold law and order in Ireland without which you will never be able to govern —certainly never even with such a Coercion Act as now stains the Statute Book. Now, I wish to say that our case rests not, as represented by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, solely on the testimony of an informer and a murderer, who admitted formerly on the trial that he was a murderer, and now admits again that he is a murderer, and who desires to unsay what he has said. Our case rests not upon this, but upon a vast variety of other facts. It is pure irony of the right hon. Gentleman to say, and it is misleading the House for him to say, that our case rests on the evidence of Casey, the informer. I say, throw away the informer Casey. Put his evidence out of the case altogether; disregard it, as the Lord Lieutenant now wishes to do; put him on one side, and I say we have as strong and unanswerable a case as if we had no Casey at all. We have the evidence of the three "independent witnesses" themselves — its improbable character; its inconsistency with itself and with the evidence of the other informers; the impossibility of the alleged case of identification on the dark night of the murder; the physical impossibility of the story being true. These were amongst the grounds on which they based their cases. The fact is that, in several instances in which those independent witnesses swore that they were in a certain position from which they could identify persons at a considerable distance on a dark night, it was physically impossible for them to do so even in broad daylight, any more than it would be possible for anyone sitting on that side of the House to see a Member in the Division Lobby through the wall. If I say, standing here, that I could see through the wall opposite, no person here would believe me. This trial was held a distance from the locale of the murder. Some 10 days were given for counsel for the accused to prepare the defence. The journey to the place involved a whole day's railway travelling, and portions of the night by horse conveyance, and the same time back. Only 20 guineas were allowed to the counsel, described by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland as one of the most celebrated in Ireland—only 20 guineas were allowed to enable him to travel all that journey and make his investigations in an Irish-speaking district, where the only interpreters were the police, who could not be used for the purpose. Twenty guineas would have been little enough to give a surveyor for making the plans and drawings that were necessary, and one of my charges against the Irish officials is that they deliberately neglected to have the proper plans prepared. No detailed plans were made of the house and the positions which the witnesses swore that they occupied on the night in question. It was, therefore, impossible for the counsel to test the accuracy of the witnesses on those important points. The defence, in fact, was so crippled, that it was impossible for the counsel representing the accused to do their duty by their clients. It was made impossible for the defence to obtain by cross-examination the necessary information with which to rebut the testimony of the informers. Therefore, although four of the men happened to be guilty, the whole trial was a farce and a prostitution of justice, and the conviction was obtained upon perjury of a most infamous character committed by the witnesses, one of whom —the approver—swore that he was standing in the same place where the three "independent" witnesses swore they were at the time the alleged identification took place. An adjournment for re-examination of the district after the approvers' evidence—which was absolutely new—was refused, nor was leave given to go into a rebutting case. Now, I think I had better explain to the House, as there is considerable confusion as to names, by giving an outline of it, what the Crown case was against the 10 persons charged, and what our case now is by the light of subsequent revelations. The Government case was that the murder was committed by 10 men. Three of these men have been hanged, and the guilt of two out of these three we admit; five of the 10 were sentenced to penal servitude for life, and two of the 10 turned approvers. We also admit the guilt of one of the five who were sent to penal servitude; but we strenuously assert, and can prove on inquiry, the absolute innocence of the remaining four. We also admit the guilt of one of the two approvers; but say that the second, in our opinion, is innocent, and that he was compelled by fear of death to swear to that which was absolutely false. No adequate motive for the commission of the crime was assigned at the trial by the Crown against any of these 10 men. It was partly suggested that the murder was the outcome of a general conspiracy in Ireland, and the result of an order issued from some secret tribunal at a distance, and, for the purpose, the names of two men—Kelly and Nee—were brought into the case by one of the witnesses, who turned approver; but as this addition would have made the supposed number of those who committed the deed 12 instead of 10, and as the other witnesses had sworn that the number was 10, the attempt to impute the motive suggested by the evidence of the approver was not persisted in by the Crown. Therefore, afterwards, all the witnesses, independent and otherwise, swore to 10. Now, on the other hand, we have it in our power to present the strongest motives for the commission of the crime by the persons we can prove guilty. Our case is that seven, and not 10, committed this murder; that of these seven, two have been rightly executed, and are undoubtedly guilty, and that one is in penal servitude who is also guilty, and who admits his guilt, and, strange to say, protests the innocence of the other men. We, however, protest that the other men whom the jury have found guilty are innocent. The Irish Members also hold that one of the two approvers is among the guilty, that two of the guilty men are at large at this moment in the locality where the murder was committed—one of them being the ringleader and paymaster of the local Ribbon Society to which they belonged —and that another of the miscreants is now in England. According to our case, a motive can easily be assigned for the crime. We can prove that the murdered man was the treasurer of a Ribbon Society, that he had been accused of making away with some of the funds—an accusation which is alway sufficient to insure the murder of the person accused—and that, on more than one occasion, he had attempted to shoot the leader and paymaster of the gang who murdered him. We can also prove that the murdered man was a notoriously bad character, a Ribbon man, and a sheep stealer, and that he was murdered in accordance with the decree of a local Ribbon Society, as a punishment for offences against the Society and against his neighbours. It must also be borne in mind that the independent witnesses who have given testimony against the 10 men who were tried had lived on the worst of terms with the majority of the men whom they accused, and had been involved in litigation with them in consequence of boundary disputes. On one occasion Anthony Joyce, the chief of the independent witnesses, had a fight with Myles Joyce, in which he was worsted. He then had recourse to law, and Myles Joyce was sentenced to be imprisoned for two or three months. In fact, the independent witnesses at the trial formed one faction, and the accused persons another, and the result was that, when the murder was announced, the three independent witnesses held a family council, and agreed among themselves as to who were likely to have desired the death of the murdered man. By guess work they were able to indicate three or four of the assassins, and by implicating the remainder of the prisoners they not only obtained a large reward, but avenged themselves against such of their neighbours as were obnoxious to them. It is a terrible thing to think that murder so atrocious could be deliberately planned for such an object; but, unfortunately, it is but too true that in these wild districts of the country the smallest pretexts are sometimes sufficient for the commission of such crime. I invite the House to put out of consideration altogether for the moment the evidence of the two informers. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland said, in his defence of the Government the other night, that the depositions that were made in the case were all produced. Now, it is a part of the case of the Irish Members, that the depositions of the two young Joyces, the survivors of the massacre, and which would have discredited the evidence of the independent witnesses, were deliberately withheld by the Crown, by Mr. Bolton, who was the solicitor in charge of the Crown proceedings, from the cognizance of the counsel for the defence. That, we contend, was a disadvantage additional to all the other disadvantages with which counsel had to contend. The hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, first of all, denied point blank that any depositions had been withheld. Then he mended that a little, and said there were no depositions withheld, and that all that had been withheld had been declarations and informations. He said all the depositions were given. However, having a little more time owing to some interruptions on the part of my hon. Friends—interruptions which I very much deprecate, because I think it would have been much better if they had allowed the hon. and learned Gentleman to flounder on, I will not say with his untruthful, but, at any rate, his unfounded statements — he was allowed to collect his thoughts, and, after having done so, he said that all the depositions given at the inquest were supplied to the defenders of the prisoners. But, Sir, these learned gentlemen did not want the depositions given at the inquest, because they had them already. They were matters of notoriety, and had been published in the newspapers; but what these gentlemen had not received, and what should have been given to them, were the two dying depositions that it was impossible for them to get. These were withheld, and that we have on the admission of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. The hon. and learned Gentleman was compelled to renounce his miserable quibbling about the difference between depositions and declarations. He was compelled to admit that the depositions had been withheld, and to enter into his ridiculous explanation of the reasons why they were withheld. Sir, the depositions which I refer to—the depositions of the two boys who were both supposed to be dying, although one afterwards recovered—were duly taken by the stipendiary magistrate having charge of the case. They were duly attested by the magistrate, and they, from the circumstances in which he took them, and the internal evidence in them, show that they were drafted and taken to be used as evidence for the Crown, and that no idea had presented itself to the mind of the magistrate that the two boys were not in a fit position to make depositions. As a matter of fact, one of them was, because he recovered, and having recovered, and having received a good education from the good Christian Brothers at Artane Industrial Schools, contrasting somewhat with the education he had received whilst in the custody of George Bolton, he is able and willing, now he is recovered, to corroborate the testimony he then gave. These depositions had reference to the blackened faces of the assassins. The independent witnesses had sworn as the result of their constant observation of the 10 alleged assassins—that constant observation extending throughout three miles, during which, the witnesses stated, they were close to the assassins—positively to the features of the men, and also that they wore dark clothes. Well, in the suppressed depositions of the two boys, who were themselves amongst the victims of the attack, and it must be remembered that these boys had an opportunity of seeing closely by the light of torches the features of the murderers, it was set forth that the men had blackened faces, and that they wore white jackets. The boys stated this repeatedly, and, first of all, informed the policeman of it—the constable who came to ask about the murder the morning it was discovered. They said the men had their faces blackened, and wore white jackets. Well, such a remarkable discrepancy as that which existed between the evidence of the principal witnesses would, if it had been known to the counsel for the defence at the time of the trial, have been taken hold of, and strongly represented to the jury. But he was absolutely ignorant of these facts. The two depositions were suppressed. This was not evidence given by informers a long time after the massacre, but evidence given by two of the persons attacked a day or two after the occurrence. The depositions were studiously kept from the jury, but not from the Judge, because if he had chosen to look through the brief of the learned counsel for the prosecution—the brief which has fallen into our hands—he might have found these two depositions, and he might also have noticed the remark—"Patrick Joyce has recovered, but his evidence is worthless." Well, these vital documents were withheld from the prisoners' counsel. Why? I really think we should have a more satisfactory attempt at an explanation for the withholding of such documents than we have yet received. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland left the point to be dealt with by his hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland; but I venture to say that no one who heard the hon. and learned Gentleman's defence can feel satisfied in his conscience that that defence was satisfactory. But the Irish Members charge other suppressions against the Crown. They charge the Crown with the suppression of the declarations made by Philbin. The first statements made to Mr. Bolton were not furnished to the counsel for the prisoners. The Government, in their defence, rely upon the technical point that these statements were not depositions, but declarations. If the evidence had been the evidence of an approver who was in prison, counsel for the defence would have obtained knowledge of it in the ordinary way, because he would have been present, and would have made application for it. In that case, the depositions could not have been withheld; but, owing to the fact that some of the proceedings took place in the secrecy of the gaol, the Crown thought they might venture upon their suppression. I ask every fair-minded Englishman, whether, trying those ignorant peasants with all the disadvantages that necessarily attend their defence, should evidence of this kind be withheld from the ordinary investigations which the counsel for the defence would, under other circumstances, have made? Sir, I venture to say that the answer will be "No." The answer will be that the Crown officials charged with the prosecution acted unfairly in this matter, and in such a way as to defeat the ends of justice, by withholding these depositions, and that according to the dictates of honour, honesty, and of a desire to secure a fair trial, which must even be present occasionally in the bosom of a Crown Solicitor in Ireland, they must stand condemned in this matter. I do not wish to trouble the House by going into the details again. My hon. Friends have done that for me very fully;

but no attempt has been really made by the Government to meet our case. I could go on for another hour if the House would derive any satisfaction from my doing so; but in default of a reply from the Government, I do not think it is necessary to do so. If the House is satisfied with the trial and punishment of these men, nothing that I could say would be of any use; but if, on the other hand, the House is not satisfied, and thinks there has been a defect in these proceedings, that these men were tried under circumstances of great public excitement, when a large section of the public were clamouring for blood, and when the Irish Executive were thirsting eagerly for convictions, and if the House considers that an investigation of the case is desirable—and there has been ample means placed in its hand for making up its mind in the pamphlet which has been circulated by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington)—if the House thinks this, and that there is a considerable discrepancy in the evidence of the witnesses, and that the statements of the approvers in the light of the evidence of independent witnesses is unreliable on many important points—if, on reflection, it is thought that the suppression of the two depositions made by the dying lad and his brother were vitally important to the defence, and that the Crown Prosecutors were culpable in not producing them—then I say the House will vote for the Amendment of my hon. Friend. It may be said by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland—it has been said—that the foundations of law and justice in Ireland would be shaken if this inquiry were granted. Well, Sir, I deny it. I believe that if the Irish Executive could show that it was strong enough to grant this inquiry, the result, whatever it might be, would, from the point of view of the Executive itself, be beneficial, because you cannot smother this matter. It is there. It is of such a nature that it will receive attention when it is brought up again and again; and if an unwilling Executive in Ireland, fearful for the stability of its own position, knowing well that there has been injustice done, refuses inquiry to-day, and if the Government supports it in that refusal under a threat of resignation from Lord Spencer, at any rate the day must come when such an inquiry will be instituted, and when the whole truth and nothing but the truth will be known in reference to the Maamtrasna massacre.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that although he was not directly connected with the administration of justice in Ireland, yet the Office which he held was directly concerned with investigations of the same character as the one now at issue; and he should ask the indulgence of the House to say a few words on the subject of that painful debate. He spoke with some responsibility in this matter, because Lord Spencer desired, with regard to the case, that everything should be done in Ireland exactly upon the same principles and precisely in the same manner as a similar case would be dealt with in England. Before he gave his final decision on this subject, and before he sent his answer to the Archbishop of Tuam, Lord Spencer requested him carefully to investigate the case. Of course, he did so with all the care he could. He did it under the same sense of responsibility as he should have done if called upon to decide a case in England or Scotland. He had no hesitation whatever in telling Lord Spencer that he considered there was no justification whatever for interfering with the sentence of the law. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen might laugh, but it was a responsible position to hold, and he felt it his duty to accept his share of that responsibility. He would ask the House to consider what was the exact duty of the Executive Government with reference to criminal cases, and especially criminal cases involving life. It was an entire mistake to suppose that the duty of the Executive Government was to review and retry a case. That was not their business. The responsibility for the verdict and the sentence belong to the judical body—the jury and the Judge. The responsibility of the Lord Lieutenant in Ireland and the Home Secretary in the rest of the United Kingdom was to advise the Crown as to the exercise of the Prerogative of mercy, and to do that by considering carefully, anxiously, and fairly any circumstances which had afterwards supervened which might properly be considered to influence the case and the execution of the sentence passed. It was a very anxious duty for any man. Everybody would feel that. He did not think anybody who had not borne that responsibility could appreciate the whole extent of it. He did not believe that any man who ever had that responsibility had been wanting in a desire to give full and perhaps more than full weight to those considerations which inclined towards mercy. They were not there to retry the case. But what was the original case, and what were the subsequent allegations upon which it was suggested that the sentence should be varied? When this horrible murder took place there came forward three men—Anthony Joyce and two others. He said that he saw these men in the dead of the night, and fearing they were on some secret errand he watched them. This evidence was confirmed by a young woman. [Mr. HARRINGTON: His daughter.] That did not invalidate her evidence. These three men, against whom nothing was alleged, followed these men to the very scene of the murder. That was strong evidence. Then came forward Philbin. Now, in many of these cases they had to get the evidence of approvers corroborated by other evidence, but that was not the case here. The approvers corroborated independent evidence given by the principal witnesses. After Philbin came the approver Thomas Casey, and he also corroborated the principal witnesses. The extraordinary result of the trials was that out of 10 men accused, nine in one form or another, at one time or other, had acknowledged their guilt; and if they were guilty, the tenth could not have been innocent, because the whole story involved his guilt. Was there ever a case in which the evidence was so absolutely overwhelming? It was said that this was a packed jury. The pamphlet which had been issued said—"The jury were packed after the manner of all political and agrarian trials in Ireland." And an hon. Member, reading from the brief, charged the counsel with having marked the names of jurors in order to pack the juries. On the face of it, to say that juries were packed because they found verdicts of murder on such evidence, was to make an unfounded charge; no jury, with such evidence before it, could have done, or ought to have done, anything else but convict. Then, what was the meaning of the charge of packing juries? He did not wish to argue against anything that was admitted; and he implied that it was admitted that there were fair juries. [Mr. PARNELL: Two of them.] But you could not draw any distinction, because the three had the same evidence before them; and thus three juries, independently one of another, found a verdict of guilty. He supposed there was no charge against Lord Spencer or the Executive Government for acting upon verdicts found and sentences passed upon such evidence. So the matter stood till last August. [An hon. MEMBER: No; the dying declarations.] He would speak of them afterwards; but as regarded the evidence, so matters stood.

MR. HARRINGTON: In April, 1883, immediately after my release from Galway Gaol, I called the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland and the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite the Solicitor General for Ireland to the facts of this case.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes; but there was a difference between a Member doing that and the production of any evidence on which the Executive Government could act in displacing such verdicts and sentences. It was not quite correct to say that there the matter stood, because in the 18 months or thereabouts, between the time when Thomas Casey gave his evidence and last August, he twice repeated the same story upon separate occasions, not under pressure from Mr. Bolton or under fear for his life, which was safe; and upon these two occasions the same informer repeated the evidence. ["No, no!"] The case could not be met by contradiction of this sort; the documents existed; and it was perfectly well known that in the compensation case—["No, no!"] Hon. Members must please not deal with him in that way; they would have plenty of opportunity for correcting him; he would state matters as fairly as he could, according to the information he had. Thomas Casey stated first of all that Philbin was there; upon another occasion that Miles Joyce was present, although he did not enter the house. Then, last August, Thomas Cssey, the informer, came forward to retract all that he had said at the trial, and all that he had said subsequently, and to put forward the story which the hon. Member for Cork had stated so clearly, admitting that he was a murderer, that he was concerned in the murder, only saying that it was done by a different gang from the gang he had previously sworn to. This was the first new evidence that was before Lord Spencer. There was nothing new in the declaration of the son of the murdered man. The first new fact was the declaration on the part of the Casey, the informer. To explain his now having a different story, he said that he had formerly been coerced by Mr. Bolton, the Crown Solicitor, and Mr. Brady, the Resident Magistrate. It was said that this ought to be inquired into; but how could it be inquired into? It rested entirely upon the statement of Thomas Casey on one side, and on the other of Mr. Bolton and of Mr. Brady, and also of the Governor of the gaol, who was said to have been present on some of these occasions. The question was—would you believe Thomas Casey, the twice-perjured murderer, or would you believe Mr. Bolton and Mr. Brady? ["Hear, hear!"] The House would form its own opinion; Irish Members preferred to believe Thomas Casey. They had brought charges against Mr. Bolton; those charges had been submitted to juries, and they had not been sustained. He saw no reason whatever for disbelieving Mr. Bolton, Mr. Brady, and the Governor of the gaol when they said that the statements of Thomas Casey were false. For one, he did not believe Thomas Casey. And what was his story? Casey now said that Anthony and John Joyce were not there at all—it was proved by the daughter that they went out that night—that they never saw anybody at all, and that they had invented the whole story to which he had previously sworn. Casey admitted that Philbin had hit upon four of the right men; he had heard the explanation of the singular circumstance by which making a false charge altogether he had hit upon four of the men. The case was that Philbin, the informer, who first proffered himself under no pressure whatever to give evidence, was never there at all, and that he had no cognizance of the transaction of any kind; and yet one of the men executed, who admitted his own guilt, put the question the moment he was apprehended whether Philbin had been arrested. What an extraordinary circumstance that he should ask about a man who was not there. Was it possible for any purpose whatever that the Lord Lieutenant of the Secretary of State could set aside the verdict of a jury and the sentence of a Judge upon evidence such as this? Consider what Thomas Casey was. He became now a new informer; he was an informer before against one set of men; he was an informer now against another set of men. As a new informer, was there any corroboration of his statement? If his evidence was worth considering for one moment it ought to be such that you could found upon it an indictment against guilty men whom the hon. Member for Cork said were now at large. Who would believe Casey. Who would find a verdict upon such evidence? What Public Prosecutor dare present an indictment upon such evidence? Conceive it done, and Casey put forward; he would be confronted with his own oath proving that he had foresworn himself against others. He would be contradicted by the evidence of Philbin, the other informer, who swore to the men first charged, and by the confessions of the five men who had pleaded guilty. It was absolutely impossible for a Public Prosecutor to undertake to charge men upon such evidence. And yet Lord Spencer was condemned because he had not accepted this evidence of that perjured murderer. Lord Spencer was bound to decide that such evidence as that was of no account. Then there was the question of the depositions, which had been made a very serious charge against the administration of justice in Ireland—not a charge againt Mr. Bolton—hon. Members opposite were aiming at much higher game than that. The charge was that these depositions were taken away and hidden; but it was a strange way of hiding them to put them in a brief. They were submitted to the Crown counsel. It was not for Mr. Bolton to decide whether they should be used or not, but for the Crown counsel to exercise his discretion. But it was said that they were unknown to the counsel for the defence. It was alleged that the children's statement about the blackened faces was kept back, and that if it had been known to the counsel for the defence it would have been brought before the jury. Now, the fact was that the whole of these facts were perfectly well known to the counsel for the defence and to everybody in Ireland. It was notorious that these boys had made this statement, and in proof of that assertion he would refer to *The Freeman's Journal* of August 21, in the first account of what had taken place. It was therein stated that, according to the evidence, the faces of the men were black. Then there was the evidence of John Collins at the Coroner's inquest, which was also held in the month of August. That statement in *The Freeman's Journal*, and the evidence of John Collins, embraced in substance, if not in words, all that was conveyed in the depositions of the two boys. The same facts were brought out on the trial by the Attorney General. He had thus conclusively shown that it was perfectly well known that both these boys had stated that the faces of these men were black, and it was perfectly competent for the prisoners' counsel to deal with the matter if they had thought fit. Now, what did the counsel for the Crown do? They came to the conclusion—having regard to that evidence and to the condition of these children, who said they could not identify the persons, and having regard to what was evident upon the face of the depositions, that these children were not witnesses to be vouched in the case—that they could not undertake the responsibility of vouching them as witnesses for the prosecution. But they offered them to the defence as witnesses for the defence. ["No, no!" "One was dead!"] But the one who was living was produced in Court, and the counsel for the defence, with full knowledge of what he had stated, could have questioned him if he had thought proper.

Mr. GORST said, he was quite sure the right hon. Gentleman would not intentionally mislead; but he wished to remind him that the child could not have been sworn, because he had not sufficient religious belief.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, the child could have been sworn if the counsel for the defence had brought him forward.

Mr. PARNELL asked the right hon. Gentleman whether the fact that these depositions had been made was really brought to the knowledge of the counsel for the defence?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member had taken a perfectly fair distinction, but the statement at the Coroner's inquest was perfectly well known; there was no suppression of the fact that these boys had made the statement which was perfectly notorious to the whole world. The hon. Member for Cork City was under the erroneous impression that the fact had been deliberately withheld. The facts contained in these depositions were entirely immaterial to the case in the opinion, not only of the counsel for the Crown, but also in the opinion of the counsel for the defence. There was scarcely any criminal conviction in which there was no room for doubt; but the question for the person who had the responsibility of deciding was, whether the doubt was such as to overweigh and overwhelm the weight of evidence for the prosecution. He ventured to say that no reasonable man in this case could have come to a different conclusion from that which was arrived at. Next, he came to the confession of the men who were executed. He had been asked by an hon. Member the other day what had been done in the case of Peace. He had just looked into that case at the Home Office, and he found that no precedent was to be found in that case for what the Government was asked to do. His Predecessor had refused in that case to produce the confession. A similar refusal was made also in Wainwright's case. There was a very great difference between the confession of a man in respect to himself and a confession which he might choose to make about other people. In a dying confession of this kind a man became an informer; he might accuse one set of people and acquit another set of people as he chose; and if we were to accredit a document of that kind, which could not be examined and tested, we should introduce the most dangerous element it was possible to have into the revision of capital sentences. We should leave it to the man making the confession, who would be in reality an informer, to have the liberty and the lives of other men at his mercy; and for this reason the Executive Government always had refused, and always ought to refuse, to produce confessions of such a character. In regard to the Liddle case, at Durham, it was often stated that the man was let off simply on the confession of the prisoner who had been accused with him. This was not so, for he himself, in consequence of what he had learned, entertained so much suspicion with regard to the case that he instituted an inquiry into it quite independently of the statement of the other prisoner. That was a course which he had always followed, and which Lord Spencer had also followed. It was followed in the case of Kilmartin. The release of Liddle, though afterwards confirmed by the statement of Lowson, was not founded upon that statement.

MR. HEALY: How did Lowson's statement get out?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Such statements sometimes got out by means which were not known to the Home Office; but statements affecting other persons ought not to be published on authority. It was obvious that this should be so. What defence could any man have against a confession of this kind, made by a man who was dead, and who could not be called to account for it? The sort of importance which was attached to these dying declarations was founded upon what one would wish to believe was always the case—namely, that men in that situation told the truth. He was sorry to say he had seen a good many of these declarations which did not bear out that theory. In making such statements men of depraved minds were actuated by mixed motives. It had been alleged that the statements made by these men to their priests were necessarily true; but the circumstances in this case shook that opinion very much. Four or five of these men consulted their priest, who said that although from their statements he believed them to be innocent, yet he advised them to plead guilty.

MR. HARRINGTON said, their statement was not made in confession, and a dying confession stood upon a different ground. The prisoners refused to plead guilty. Overtures were made to them to the effect that they would not receive capital punishment if they pleaded guilty. The first prisoner, Michael Casey, was ready to plead guilty because he was really guilty; but the Crown Solicitor declined to accept the plea unless the other prisoners pleaded with him. In these circumstances, the priest advised them to plead guilty. It was to be remarked, however, that although they pleaded guilty in Court, on their return to the gaol they still protested their innocence.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he was not desirous of condemning the conduct of the priest; that was not his duty; but he must call attention to what the priest did. The reverend gentleman said—

> "The case was laid before me, and in the interest of the prisoners I considered it the wisest course for them to plead guilty. I was by no means clear in my own mind as to whether they were innocent. I was inclined to believe that they were, but I had no ground for such a belief except their own declarations to me."

The reverend gentleman added that he argued with himself that if they were guilty their plea of guilty would do them no harm, while, if they were innocent, the truth would be sure to come out. He would not say that the priest had not excellent motives; but he ventured, in the interests of justice and truth, to point out the infinite mischief of such a course as that. If, believing these men to be innocent, he advised them to plead guilty, was it not obvious that he sealed the fate of the men who had been convicted? Was it not also plain that he defeated the course of justice? Even if these men expected to get off, their pleading guilty would set justice off the track of the true criminals. Therefore, he must protest against such a course as being most injurious to the interests of justice. It had been said that his noble Friend the Marquess of Hartington had promised an inquiry. It was not necessary that his noble Friend should have promised an inquiry. An inquiry certainly must and would have taken place. There was no case of murder in which a man came forward with a statement of this character, whether in England or in Ireland, where inquiry would not have taken place. If this case had occurred in England, he should have instituted an inquiry at once into the statements which had been made. If there were any new facts which required investigation, he should have employed agents of his own to make inquiry into those facts. But the responsibility of the decision would have been his own. That was done in Kilmartin's case. Such an inquiry, if held at all, must be made by the person who was responsible for the decision. The Government, however, were asked to grant an independent inquiry. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had said that Lord Spencer, in the inquiry he had made, was deciding in his own case.

But who had authority to appoint the independent tribunal indicated by the Amendment? If a Court of Criminal Appeal were to be established, it must be established by legislation, and neither Lord Spencer, the Cabinet, the Queen, nor the House of Commons, could authorize anyone to take upon themselves duties which the Constitution had devolved upon others, and which really had to be discharged by the Judge and the jury, and by the Lord Lieutenant. He had been astonished to hear the suggestion of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), that the whole subject should be referred to Lord Bramwell, who, he was certain, would decline to enter upon such a task. Whether Lord Bramwell or anyone else were appointed to conduct the inquiry asked for, the House would throw the responsibility for any acts done by the Executive of Ireland, not upon the person so appointed, but upon the proper Executive officer. The hon. Member for Monaghan had suggested that a Select Committee of that House should be appointed to inquire into the matter. It was, however, absurd to suggest that a Select Committee of that House could advise the Crown to exercise the Prerogative of mercy. What hon. Members opposite were seeking to do, and one thing which the House of Commons could do, was to censure the Executive Government of Ireland for the manner in which they had discharged their duties. That was the true Constitutional course, and that was what they were asked to do that night. They could condemn Earl Spencer, and they could condemn the officials for their conduct in these transactions; but he did not think that the House of Commons would do that. That was the proper province of the House of Commons, and that was a very clear and distinct issue. The Resolution proposed to pass a broad and sweeping censure upon the method of administering the law in Ireland. [“Hear, Hear!” *from the Irish Members.*] Yes; that was the issue before them. Hon. Members opposite asked for a general condemnation of the administration of the Criminal Law in Ireland under the Crimes Act. If there had been any doubt upon the point, the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had taken care to “dot the i's.” The noble Lord had said that if the Government yielded upon this question, they would gain some Irish votes on the Division. Her Majesty's Government did not intend to deal with this question, which involved life and death, with a view to gaining votes. The noble Lord opposite had made himself the endorsee of this charge against the administration of the law in Ireland. The noble Lord had said that no one would condemn the course taken by the Crown counsel in this case more than the Attorney General for England. The noble Lord, however, should have taken the statement of his witness before he called him, because he believed that the witness he called would put him out of court. Why did not the noble Lord appeal to those Attorneys General for Ireland who had been connected with the Administration of right hon. Gentlemen opposite, one of whom sitting opposite (Mr. Gibson) was one of the most distinguished Members of that House, and whose Colleague was absent from his place that night from a cause which they must all deplore? He should be content to call those right hon. and learned Gentlemen as witnesses against the noble Lord. The noble Lord had said that the Crown counsel had kept back important evidence at the trial, and that the officials charged with the administration of the law had shrunk from hardly any process in order to obtain a conviction. He was aware that that was the contention of hon. Members opposite, and of the noble Lord who acted with them. That was the charge made in the presence of men sitting upon the Bench opposite who had been responsible for the government of Ireland, and who might be responsible for it again. They knew these Crown counsel—men who had been the ornaments of the Irish Bar, and many of whom were now upon the Bench—and how they were in the habit of administering the law in Ireland, and what foundation there was for this charge which was made against the honour of the Irish Bar and against the integrity of the Irish Bench. Hon. Members opposite asked the House to believe that the witnesses were perjured, that the juries were packed, and that the Judges, the Crown counsel, the Resident Magistrates, and Lord Spencer were engaged in a common conspiracy to do to death men of whom they knew nothing. [“All but the jury and the

Judge?"] Well, then, the Crown counsel, the Resident Magistrates, and Lord Spencer. That was the distinct charge which had been brought by hon. Members opposite. He wished the House to know what the indictment was, in order that it might be met. He believed that the majority of that House would not hold that that charge had been established. If the House were to come to a contrary decision on the question, they would not only make Lord Spencer's position untenable, but the position of his Successor impossible. He believed that such a decision on the part of the House of Commons would be not only unjust, but would be fatal to the administration of the law in Ireland; because if, upon the evidence produced, they were to set aside the Judiciary of Ireland and the decision of the Executive of Ireland, deliberately, and, as he believed, properly arrived at, they would destroy and paralyze justice, and would revive that reign of terror and that immunity of murder which the firm and just administration of Lord Spencer had happily broken down, and had so redeemed Ireland from the stain which had made her a byword among nations.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE said, he wished to make a few observations as to the considerations upon which he had found himself unwillingly compelled to vote in support of the Motion before the House. There had been, during the past two years, several matters connected with the administration of the Criminal Law in Ireland which had caused every lawyer in the House a great deal of concern and anxiety. He had hitherto held his peace from a feeling of the great importance of the considerations which had been addressed to the House from the Treasury Bench—the importance of not interfering at all in the responsibility of those engaged at a difficult time in administering the law. But now they had a clear and distinct issue, and he had listened with the greatest possible attention to the three speeches from the Treasury Bench, and with especial attention to the last speech, which, in the judicial character of its observations, was in striking contrast to the extraordinary delivery of the Solicitor General for Ireland. He did not deny that the speech of the Home Secretary might alter to some extent the decision of the House, for with great chivalry the Home Secretary had come forward and placed his responsibility between the House and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He had known, from personal experience, what great anxiety and care the right hon. and learned Gentleman had shown during the time he had held Office in the administration of the Criminal Law, and he believed he would always be honoured by those who knew anything of the administration of the law for the anxious care he had shown in the performance of his duties; but the speech he had just delivered seemed to him to leave absolutely unanswered some of the gravest considerations connected with this case. Of course, if by supporting this Motion he were called upon to support the speech of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), or to express a judgment upon the facts as put before the House by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), he would, on that ground, have declined to support it. He could not support it, because he did not see a shadow of evidence that Lord Spencer had been party to any such atrocious conspiracy as had been suggested by some Members below the Gangway. He had, too, the strongest feeling that the late Chief Secretary was perfectly justified in saying that the House of Commons could never be made a Court of Appeal. He believed the House would be the worst possible Court of Appeal that could be used in criminal matters; and for that reason he declined altogether to consider whether the evidence before the jury at the time they gave their verdict was such that the verdict could properly be given. He had no doubt the jury, with the evidence before them, acted honestly, and he did not say they acted mistakenly. There were, however, circumstances connected with the trial which he did not think had been explained in either of the three speeches from the Treasury Bench, and which made it, in his judgment, absolutely imperative, if the Government were anxious to preserve public respect for the administration of justice in Ireland, there should be something more of reasonable and fair inquiry into this case than had yet taken place. He certainly regretted the tone of the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland, though it was carefully prepared, and delivered from notes. A more violent or partizan speech in dealing with evidence it had never been his misfortune to hear; and he did regret to hear a Law Officer of the Crown deliver in vindication of the verdict of a jury a speech which he scarcely thought would have been allowed by a Judge in this country from a prosecuting counsel. While challenging, and rightly challenging, the competence of the House as a Court of Criminal Appeal, the hon. and learned Gentleman, nevertheless, went back over the evidence as a counsel for one side usually did, and asked the House to adopt and act upon his version, or rather his view of the weight of the evidence. And the late Chief Secretary for Ireland took very much the same course, denying the competency of the House as a Court of Criminal Appeal, and yet discussing the evidence before them. As to the case of Thomas Casey, the Home Secretary had put a fallacious test before the House—namely, whether it would be possible now to convict other persons than those previously convicted upon the evidence of Thomas Casey? He should say it would not; but that fact was no reason for allowing the evidence still to prevail against four men who were innocent; and he thought it ought to be tested without reference to a hypothetical prosecution, in which they were all agreed it would have no effect at all. He thought that if the statement prepared for the Lord Lieutenant were carefully examined, it would be found that there was no real conflict between Casey on the one side, and Brady and the Governor of the Gaol on the other. He agreed, however, that there was a conflict between Casey and Mr. George Bolton. Discredited as Casey had been and must be, and infamous as he was as a witness, if it were a conflict of evidence between him and Mr. George Bolton, he did not think the balance would be greatly in favour of Mr. Bolton. He was sorry to have to say it, but his view was that the very gravest misfortune that had befallen the Government in Ireland during the last two years had been the having, as one of its trusted and responsible servants in a position of great responsibility, a man of the antecedents and character they knew George Bolton to be. There was one circumstance—as it seemed to him a most serious one—which had not been greatly dealt with in the course of the debate, and that was with regard to the circumstances under which the jury were empannelled when Myles Joyce was put upon his trial. Two men had been tried and convicted, and then it appeared that the Judge, in the presence of the jurors about to try Myles Joyce, sentenced the men, who, upon the same evidence then to be produced, had been found guilty. He read that the Judge said, in the presence of these jurymen, that the evidence had established the guilt of these men clearly and conclusively, and so as not to leave a doubt on the mind of any sane man. If the Judge used these words before a jury who were about to try another man on the same evidence, he (Mr. E. Clarke) said it was one of the most deplorable incidents that had ever occurred. And it did not stop there, for he found that immediately after these men had been sentenced, those jurors were empannelled to try Myles Joyce, and an application was made by the counsel for the defence—who had probably heard the Judge's words, and must have felt how terrible were the odds against Myles Joyce—for the postponement of the trial. But the application was opposed by the counsel for the Crown, and refused. He now came to the incident of the depositions. They were the declarations of two lads who were attacked that night, made under the belief that they were dying. One lad did die; and it now appeared to be admitted that, although the depositions were formally taken, and taken by a person who knew the importance of the form, and although they were copied into the Crown brief, they were never communicated to the counsel for the defence. The answer now made was that the contents of these depositions were unimportant, and that they were known to the prisoners' counsel. He denied both these assertions. It was clear on the evidence in the case that the persons who identified the prisoners had but slight opportunities of doing so, and they spoke of the men whom they followed being dressed in long, dark clothes. The boys, however, whose dying depositions were taken, stated that the men had blackened faces and white jackets. The Solicitor General for Ireland suggested that the clothes had been white, but must have become black. It was now stated that the facts contained in these depositions were known to counsel for the defence. That was not accurate. The fact that witnesses had at the inquest stated that the boys said the men had blackened faces was no doubt known; but, at the inquest, nothing was said about the white jackets. Counsel for the prisoners did not know that there were in existence dying declarations which they might have claimed to use. They knew that witnesses had, at the inquest, repeated certain conversations. But that was a very different thing. Depositions could be seen, and then put in; but to cross-examine a witness on what someone else had told him was most dangerous. He said deliberately, as one who spoke from no small experience of professional work, that he believed if counsel for the prisoners had known that the depositions were in existence containing these two facts about the colour of the faces and the colour of the coats, they would have taken a different line in the defence, which would, in his judgment, have been extremely likely to alter the verdict of the jury. He regretted to find that the Solicitor General for Ireland, and in a qualified way the Home Secretary, defended the course taken by the Crown counsel. He ventured to say that under no consideration on earth would the late distinguished Attorney General of the Conservative Government, to whom reference had been made, have allowed a verdict of guilty to be returned in a capital case, when he had in his brief depositions which his professional experience told him might have some weight with the jury in the defence of the prisoners. If the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) took part in the debate, he hoped he would remember that he was not only a Member of the Government, but the leader and pattern to the English Bar; and he hoped that he would not allow a sentence to drop which might hereafter be quoted to justify in a trial for murder the exclusion from the knowledge of the jury of matters which might influence their verdict. A strong attack had been made by the late Chief Secretary for Ireland on the priest after consultation with whom these men pleaded guilty. This attack did not appear warranted by the facts. The plea of guilty was not a confession in the sense that it purported to be a statement by the men. Three men had already, one after another, been found guilty and sentenced to be hanged on the same evidence that was to be adduced against these men. The priest, therefore, thought that if they went to trial they would, one after another, be sentenced to death; but that, by pleading guilty, they would, if innocent, have an opportunity of subsequently proving their innocence. Taking all the circumstances of the case—and, though he was inclined to believe them innocent, yet the priest was not clear on the point—he did not think that the attacks made on the priest were justified. Ought there to be an inquiry? It was said that an inquiry had already taken place. But that inquiry was by no means satisfactory. It was held by persons who were, to some extent, implicated in the case, who, at all events, were desirous of maintaining the verdict. They had heard the tone of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland and of the Solicitor General; and what shifts and expedients would not smaller men resort to in order to protect themselves? It was said that the law in Ireland must be vindicated and upheld; but there were different ways of doing this. Justice aimed not merely at the infliction of punishment. Justice was as peremptory in demanding the proclamation of the innocence of a person wrongly charged, as in inflicting punishment on a guilty person. They wanted to punish crime; but they also wanted to give the people the assurance that there should be an honest and fair and careful investigation into the allegations of crime; but if the Government had dealt with the matter in such a way as to leave on the minds of the masses of the people a belief—and that belief not unsupported by reason—that there had been a miscarriage of justice—when they had to deal not with a mere historic inquiry into the innocence or guilt of men who had passed away, but with the responsibility of finding out the innocence or guilt of four men who, if no inquiry was made, might, perhaps, for years to come, be kept in penal servitude—there was an imperative duty resting on administrators to make further inquiry into the matter. He would not have spoken in this debate but for a feeling that a matter of this kind, having been brought before the House of Commons, it was one's duty to look all the facts in the face, and then vote on one's own independent judgment. He regretted to hear the line taken by the Home Secretary at the end of his speech. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had said that the administration of justice in Ireland was a matter in which the Government had the duty of examination with the view of doing the right thing. He quite agreed that it was the duty of the Government to examine; but it made a mistake, and weakened terribly its hold upon the allegiance of the people, if it allowed it for one moment to be supposed that the Judicial Bench was being used as the instrument of the Executive Government. The safeguard of the Government would be to dissociate one from the other. Let the Government say—"We have done our part to the best of our ability—we have investigated into the matter, and we have come to this conclusion;" but if, in spite of that, they found that there was a real desire that further inquiry should be made with the view of obtaining complete justice, surely it would be better for them to stand aside and let the inquiry be made.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT was understood to ask who would make the inquiry?

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE: Let the Government select any person independent enough of the present Party Government. No one asked for a partizan on one side or the other; but there were plenty of men who would do the work which was done in the case of Kilmartin. He believed in Kilmartin's case a distinguished member of the Irish Bar was sent to inquire and report. Let the Government make some inquiry of that kind, and then he believed those who had brought forward this Motion would be satisfied; or, if not satisfied, it might be their animosities—[*Cries of* "No, no!" *from the Home Rule Benches.*]—he was not addressing those Gentlemen, but those who had but little sympathy with them—if those hon. Members, from Party spirit or any other motive that was unworthy of them, still pressed their accusations, at all events the matter would have been cleared in the eyes of men who were free from those animosities. Holding those opinions, he should feel it to be his duty to vote for the Amendment placed on the Paper. That Amendment was not a condemnation of the Government. ["Oh, oh!"] If the hon. Gentleman who said "Oh, oh!" would read the Amendment over again, he would see that it did not purport to be a condemnation of the Government. It stated that a number of the Irish people had formed a particular opinion, and then it went on to ask that an inquiry should be made. It was on these grounds that he should vote for the Amendment.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, he thought they might dismiss a very great deal of what had been said during the debate as entirely irrelevant to the issue before the House, which was, not whether this man was guilty or whether this man was innocent, but whether a fair case had been made out for inquiry. He paid little attention to the dying declarations of men about to be hanged respecting their own innocence, or to the assertions of such men as Casey, because he made himself a murderer and a liar. There were, however, two clear and prominent facts which had come forward in the course of the debate, and which, he thought, justified them in voting with the hon. Gentleman who had demanded this investigation. One of those facts was connected with the depositions. The men were convicted on the evidence of three persons who had seen them go into the house where the murder had been committed. Those three persons stated that the men had not blackened faces, and that they had black clothes. It was altogether extraordinary that in what the Solicitor General for Ireland called a bright, starry night it was possible to see whether the men had blackened faces or not, sufficiently clearly to be able to distinguish their features; but it was evident that if these men had had blackened faces, it would have been absolutely impossible for their features to have been distinguished. It was put before the jury that there was no evidence to show that other persons had seen these men, and that they had not blackened faces. What were the real facts of the case? Two persons in this family were boys, one aged 17 and the other nine. The elder boy not only made a statement to the policeman, but he had made a deposition before a magistrate and had sworn to it. That deposition had not been produced, and he said there was a deliberate intention on the part of the counsel for the prosecution to conceal the fact. The younger boy, who had been taken away by the police, and who, therefore, could not have been in collusion with the other boy, made a deposition similar to that of his elder brother, that the men had blackened faces, and that they wore white coats. The whole case turned on those depositions, and the jury ought to have had those two facts before them—that the three men on the one side swore that those men had not blackened faces and recognized them, and that those two boys swore they had blackened faces and did not recognize them. The complaint was that the trial was unfair *ab initio* from this determination on the part of the prosecuting counsel not to submit this evidence to the jury. There was also the statement of the parish priest that he believed the men were innocent, although he had urged them to plead guilty as the only mode of saving their lives. He thought that in doing so the priest had acted most wrongly; but still the statement ought to be considered. He had not the slightest doubt that if the same circumstances had taken place in this country, and if the facts had been backed up by the English Members in the same way as this case had been by Irish Members, the inquiry would have been granted. If a demand for an investigation had been endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, was it to be supposed that the Home Secretary would neglect it? It was because they applied one system of justice to Ireland and another to England that they got into all those difficulties about Ireland. They had been told that an investigation had been granted; but what had been the understanding? The Irish Members had been told, during the discussion of the Estimates, that if they would not discuss this matter and allowed certain Estimates to go through earlier than perhaps they otherwise would have done, an investigation would be granted provided the Archbishop of Tuam demanded it. Having got the *quid pro quo*, Lord Spencer put them off with an inquiry by the officials into the conduct of the officials. He did not know anything about Mr. George Bolton except what he had seen in the newspapers; but that gentleman did not seem to be a likely person to bring himself in guilty if he had to decide the question. The Home Secretary asked who was to be sent to make the inquiry, and said that Lord Spencer could not go himself. Nobody asked that Lord Spencer should go himself; but he could send someone, and could act on the decision of that person. He thought it was a reasonable proposal that some English lawyer connected with no Party should make a fair and impartial inquiry. They had now in prison four men who had been sentenced to penal servitude for life; and the question before the House was—Did they think that the hearing had been fairly conducted, not so much into their innocence, as into the question whether there should be a second trial? On that question he would give his vote for the Amendment of his hon. Friend opposite, notwithstanding what had fallen from the Home Secretary as to the aspersion it would cast upon Earl Spencer. He thought, however, that his hon. Friend would get a little more support if he were to strike out of the Amendment the earlier part of it, which expressed dissatisfaction with the general administration of the law, and would limit it to the words—

"This House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce, and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey."

MR. HARRINGTON said, he had no objection to amend his proposed Amendment in the manner suggested by the hon. Member for Northampton.

Amendment proposed to the said proposed Amendment,

To leave out all the words after the words "and humbly," to the word "innocent," inclusive.—(*Mr. Labouchere.*)

Question, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the proposed Amendment," put, and *negatived.*

Question proposed,

"That the words 'and this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey,' be inserted after the word 'us' in paragraph 9."

MR. GREGORY said, that the question before the House was one entirely free from Party character, and resolved itself merely into one of what would be the effect upon the Executive Government in Ireland. They had had a capital conviction before a Judge and jury, or rather three successive convictions, for a crime of no ordinary atrocity, and also verdicts against five other men; and it was now sought practically to disturb those convictions, and to constitute the House of Commons, for that case, a Court of Criminal Appeal. He hardly thought it a very proper tribunal for the purpose; but, as it was sought to impose the duty upon it, it was necessary to examine the case upon which it was founded calmly, dispassionately, and even judicially. It depended mainly upon a statement made by the informer, Casey, supplemented by some inferences of the hon. Gentleman who originated the Motion, to which he would subsequently advert. Now, Casey was avowedly a principal in one of the most atrocious crimes ever committed. He had, upon oath, on three several trials given his account of the transaction; but he subsequently made a statement involving other persons as the criminals than those against whom his evidence was directed. Now, as a general rule, when a man gave you two different versions of the same transaction you disbelieved both; but, in this instance, the evidence of Casey was not only corroborated by other evidence, but two of the men who were executed confessed their guilt, and five others pleaded guilty to the indictment. As regarded the independent witnesses, the main evidence was that of the three Joyces who followed and tracked the prisoners. Their evidence was wholly unimpeached; there was no allegation against their character, nor any motive or animosity against the accused attributed to them. They followed the prisoners for two miles; they were within about 20 yards of them when the murder was committed; and the prisoners being well known to them it was easy for them to identify them. It was alleged that it was a dark night, and that, the faces of the men being blackened, the Joyces could not recognize them; but it was not always necessary to see a man's face to identify him. You follow a man you know in the street, and you recognize him by his figure, walk, gait, and bearing. You walk up to him and accost him on the strength of that, and you are generally right. With respect, again, to the blackening of the faces, it was a singular thing that the counsel for the defence had never ventured to ask a single question on the subject. It was admitted that the counsel were informed of the depositions made by the boys, such as they were, and they had four witnesses put into the box by the Crown who could have answered the question. How could the defence have been prejudiced by the answer?—because, if it had been in the negative, it only left the case as it ultimately went to the jury. With regard to Myles Joyce, it would have been a convenience if they could have had the confessions of the two men; but it seemed that there was a rule in the Irish Office which prevented their being produced. They had, however, the statement of Lord Spencer that there was nothing in these declarations which would prevent the inference that Myles Joyce had been a party to the committal of the crime, even if he had not actually struck the blow. It must be remembered that there was a common belief among ignorant men that if a prisoner had not actually struck the blow he was not guilty. As to the five men now under penal servitude, they had deliberately pleaded guilty, and now they sought to withdraw their plea. But if they were totally innocent of the crime, where had they been when it took place? What evidence did they give of their whereabouts on the occasion. Some of them presumably were married men with children, and they might have called their children as witnesses if they had been at their homes. The hon. Member who brought forward this Motion had made great use of the brief of the Crown; but, for himself, he would like to see the brief for the defence as well. If an *alibi* was a true one it was a complete defence, and it seemed strange that if these men were totally innocent there was no such evidence brought forward by the defence. Why, again, should not Casey have given the right names in the first instance? It was evidence of the crime that was wanting—not evidence against anyone in particular—and there was no reason why he should have given false evidence. He had deliberately made a statement against these men, and it had been a voluntary one. It had been he himself who had opened negotiations with the Crown. For his own part, under all the circumstances, he could not but look upon this

Amendment and the manner in which it had been treated as an attempt to frustrate the maintenance of law and order in Ireland, and as an attack upon the Executive in that country. Although he was opposed to the whole Irish policy of Her Majesty's Government, he considered it his duty to support them on this occasion by voting against the Amendment.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he must complain of the tone of the speeches delivered by Members of the Government in the debate. The desire of the Irish Members was to bring a very doubtful case to a just issue; but, judging from the fierceness and the language of the Home Secretary, one would imagine that they were conspiring together to upset law and order in Ireland. In any remarks he (Mr. W. Redmond) might make he did not expect to alter the determination of the Government. In dealing with the present case they were holding up to view the whole system of the administration of the law in Ireland. The great evil and cause of the failure of the Government of Ireland was that, instead of placing the administration of affairs beyond suspicion, Her Majesty's Government did all they could to fill the minds of the people with suspicious feelings. It should be remembered that when the murder took place, and the trial took place, Ireland was in the midst of a violent agrarian agitation. The Executive were anxious to obtain a conviction, and as a result the trial of the men in question was hurried on in an unsatisfactory manner. The people of Ireland could not understand why such a reasonable thing as an inquiry should be refused. He had travelled throughout Ireland during the Recess, and he could inform the House that the conclusion the people of Ireland arrived at was that the Government, in refusing the inquiry, refused it because it would reveal a most decided and terrible miscarriage of justice, and that Her Majesty's Government wanted to shield Earl Spencer and other Government officials in Dublin Castle from the consequences of their acts. He believed, and Ireland believed, that if that inquiry was still refused, that that was the reason, and the sole reason, for it. It was impossible to deny that there were circumstances connected with the case which threw grave doubts on the correctness of the verdict. When such a reasonable doubt existed it was obviously the duty of the Government to institute an inquiry. He warned the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government that there could be nothing more fatal to the future administration of justice in Ireland, and nothing more calculated to intensify the hatred of the Irish people for the English Government, than a refusal to grant a full and fair inquiry into a case which was so admittedly doubtful.

MR. MELLOR said, that an inquiry had already been made by Earl Spencer himself; he had not left it to any subordinate, but had made every inquiry himself, and had consulted the Judge who tried the case. The Judge was perfectly satisfied with the verdict, and to grant a fresh inquiry, when no fresh facts had been brought to light, would be to cast a most unjust reflection on the conduct of the highest officials in the country. There was no ground for casting such a reflection upon them; and though, if any fresh evidence had been brought forward, he would support an examination into the whole case, he saw no grounds for asking the Government to reconsider their attitude in the matter. By granting the inquiry asked for, the House would be declaring that there was reason to believe that the independent witnesses had committed perjury for the purpose of obtaining the conviction of innocent men. It was impossible, after reading the evidence in the case and considering all the facts, to adopt the views of hon. Members who supported the Amendment. The Lord Lieutenant and the Irish officials could have had no possible interest in this case but to see that justice was done. This was in no sense a political crime. What could it matter to the Lord Lieutenant or the other officials whether Myles Joyce was convicted or not? Therefore, they ought not to be censured for the action which they took. The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) said it was the duty of the Crown to put the two dying declarations, of which so much had been said, in evidence; but the House should remember that the prosecuting counsel had to exercise his discretion in the matter. It was known to the counsel for the defence, and to everybody in Court at the time of the trials, that at the Coroner's inquest Police-constable Johnson said that the boys had stated that the persons who came into the house had blackened faces. The prisoners' counsel might have satisfied themselves on that point by cross-examining Johnson; but this they did not do, although Johnson was called by the Attorney General, so that they could put any question to him. It was unfair, under such circumstances, to say that the counsel for the Crown failed in his duty in not putting in these statements, or in not communicating them to the counsel for the defence. Inquiry had been made by the highest officials, and the result was that the Lord Lieutenant and everyone else were satisfied that it would be dangerous to reopen this case; and if they did so, case after case might similarly be reopened.

Mr. LEWIS said, it was admitted on both sides that the case had been stated with great power and fulness, and his excuse for interposing for a few moments must rest on this—he was not aware that any Member from Ireland had expressed himself adverse to the Amendment; and he took the opportunity of saying he felt bound to disagree from the course most unfortunately taken by the three hon. Members who had spoken from the Conservative side. Looking at the Amendment as it stood, it pointed to a new inquiry; whereas what was really meant was a new trial. There had been a great confusion of terms throughout the debate; and when they spoke about a new trial, as the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) did, although that hon. Member might think such a thing possible, yet they knew that the law permitted no such thing to be done. He (Mr. Lewis) supposed that what was meant was that the Lord Lieutenant was to act as if it were a new trial, and be playing the part of Judge and jury, going over, as if he were a Judge, each case tried and decided by Judge and jury under proper process of law. Now, if that was so, he must say, taking the matter as it was supported, there was no case. The beginning and the end of it was the recantation of the evidence of the approver, Thomas Casey. The Home Secretary, in his very able speech, pointed out—and, as it was a point not to be forgotten, it might be repeated—Casey was not an informer on whose evidence conviction of the prisoners rested. He was merely a redundant witness, brought in for the purpose of supplementing the mass of evidence that supported the prosecution, and was introduced solely for the purpose of removing all possible doubt. It seemed to him that in calling this approver the Crown counsel rather overdid his case than supported it. But, putting his evidence aside, if the verdict was not to be supported, then no verdict in the United Kingdom in a murder trial could be sustained. On the other hand, if this verdict could justifiably be attacked, how could the administration of justice be carried on in any Court in the United Kingdom? Complaint was made that the test the Home Secretary put as to the mode of investigation was not a proper one; but it was a very proper one. If this man's new evidence was right, then other men ought to be put on their trial who had not been tried, for he pointed to A. and B. as guilty; and, therefore, if his evidence was to be credited, they ought to be put on trial; and, if they were, would any jury deliberate for a second in coming to a conclusion? The Crown would be told hereafter—"The witnesses you brought forward on a former occasion are now convicted of perjury, and you produce them for convicting in the present trial." Here was a kind of composite case. Was the informer to be credited as regarded half the prisoners, but perjured as regarded the other half? That seemed to him an impossible position to take; and when they raised the question of identification there was the same trouble as regarded the five who acknowledged themselves guilty as the five who did not. With regard to what had been said about the blackened faces, all he could say was that he could just as much identify a man from his back as from his face. As the hon. Member for East Sussex (Mr. Gregory) had pointed out, if they saw a man whose gait, whose manner, whose dress was perfectly well known to them, they did not want to see his face to identify him in the street many yards off. He was startled and grievously disappointed to find the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke), with his reputation, condescend to such puerilities as he did. What did he think of most importance? He, with his knowledge of the law, asked for an inquiry;

and two things he put forward in support of his view—first, that after the two first prisoners were convicted, and before the jury were sworn for the next case, the Judge made some observations on their guilt. But if the Judge did so, was that any reason for attacking a verdict arrived at by any independent jury? Another objection was that an adjournment of the trial was refused. Now, assuming that was an improper or unwise exercise of discretion, was it a reason why the solemnity of the administration of justice should be despised and condemned, and Judge, jury, and counsel be accused of being engaged in a conspiracy? He would venture to say, if the House were for a moment to attempt to interfere in this case, they must not expect to have law and order abiding in Ireland. The Opposition in that House had frequently to complain of the inaction of the present Government in Ireland; and he would ask hon. Gentlemen around him how they could consistently turn round upon the Administration, now that they were supporting the due administration of law in that country? How could they now censure Her Majesty's Government for the legitimate performance of their duty? He would not be representing the opinion of his constituents if he were to join in this attack on the Government. All he could say, with great humility, was, he deeply regretted to find the Amendment had any support amongst Conservative Members. It was greatly to be regretted that they, who had so often had to support the Government in protecting life and property, should, in reference to the punishment of one of the most dreadful butcheries that ever disgraced a civilized country, be called upon to cast stones at a Government standing by a Judge and jury in the due administration of the law. He sincerely hoped the House would not entertain the Motion.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY observed, that the more this case was discussed in the House the more painful it became. It had gone beyond the question of administration of justice in Ireland, and touched vital points in the administration of justice in England also. The question of the propriety of withholding from a jury the dying declarations that were made by two men—one of whom was fatally injured, and the other only recovered after a protracted illness—was a question that had been debated by lawyers on both sides of the House; but he was surprised to hear his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Grantham (Mr. Mellor) contend that a prosecutor's counsel was right in not placing these dying declarations before the Judge and jury. Personally, he had always thought it was the duty of counsel in England to put everything before the jury that could conduce to the elucidation of the truth. Did anyone mean to say that the great discrepancies shown by these depositions, as compared with the statements made by the witnesses, would have had no influence on the minds of the jury who had heard the case? He had reason to believe, from what he had heard stated, that the Judge was aware of the existence of these depositions; and yet was it possible that the Judge should have known, and yet should have stopped one of the jurymen from asking a question respecting them? It was said that the boy who made them was raving; but, if so, why did Mr. Brady take them? Why was that declaration made in which Michael Joyce stated, among other things, that the men had black upon their faces? The young brother of that witness, when he was supposed to be dying, though he recovered after many months, also made a statement to the same effect. When he was put on the table to be examined he was asked whether he understood the nature of an oath, and when he answered that he did not he was told to stand down. Where was that boy during the three or four months before the trial? [Mr. Callan: At George Bolton's.] He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) knew where the boy was, and he did not need hon. Gentlemen to interrupt him in that way. Why was not the boy, in the meantime, instructed in the value of an oath, in order that his evidence could have been admitted? He had read over and over again that a Judge had postponed a trial for the express purpose of allowing an important witness to be instructed in the nature of an oath. This murder was undoubtedly the most atrocious crime that had come under the notice of civilized Ireland or England during the present century, and was committed within 25 miles of his own house. Such a concatenation of depravity and wickedness as had attended the circumstances of this murder—the perjury committed admittedly by the approver; the perjury admitted in the confession to the clergy; the utter absence of knowledge of even the existence of a God on the part of some of the witnesses, filled his mind with perfect horror. As to the condition of Ireland, no one was doing good service to the Irish nation who excited the minds of the Irish people to believe that the Lord Lieutenant was himself personally criminal in this matter. ["Oh, oh!" *from the Home Rule Benches.*] Did anyone, then, think that the Lord Lieutenant was personally criminal in this matter? [Mr. BIGGAR: Yes, yes.] Any Member who made such accusations was only exciting prejudices against the best case that could be brought forward, that would be fatal to its calm consideration by that House. Personally, he made no charge against the Executive, he made no charge against the jury, and he made no charge against the Judge. As to making a charge against the Chief Secretary or the Lord Lieutenant, suggesting that they were actually thirsting for blood, it was too disgusting and too horrible to be even uttered in that House. But there was something more than this. The depositions in question did not touch the guilt of other persons. He could quite understand such declarations not being easy to cross-examine upon when they affected the guilt of other people; but, in this instance, they did nothing more than say that they were unable to accuse anybody, because the faces of the murderers were blackened. He asked how could counsel for the Crown think he was doing his duty when he kept back those declarations, and thus concealed a material fact, which, if believed, would have negatived the evidence on which these men were hanged? The two stories were incompatible. Either the independent witnesses swore truly, or the two young Joyces stated that which was false to the magistrate who took their depositions. His claim was that it should have been left to the jury to see whether those discrepancies could be reconciled. He quite agreed with the Home Secretary that too much reliance should not be placed upon dying confessions; but in the case of Myles Joyce it should be remembered that he was acquitted by his fellow-prisoners even when they admitted their own guilt. But there was one important question he desired to have answered. To whom did these men make the declaration? It was said it was a statement not made to the Governor of the prison, but a solemn statement made to the Resident Magistrate engaged in the case, and that it was made upon oath in the form of a deposition. Was that true, or was it false? Was it possible that in the administration of justice in Ireland a deposition on oath could be taken from a criminal previous to death exculpating himself and inculpating anyone else, and for an official of the Crown to take it? If it was not true that the statement was taken upon oath, why did not some official of the Crown say so? If there was anything in that deposition which would throw light on any part of the affair, why, in the name of the God of justice, was it not produced? It was with the greatest pain that he had come forward in this matter. Everybody knew that he was not in perfect accord with hon. Gentlemen opposite; everybody knew also that his voice had not been silent in denouncing those crimes that were a disgrace to the country during the time they prevailed, and that he endeavoured to put the saddle upon the right horse in such cases if he could; but he could not remain silent there after reading the pamphlet of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington). The questions were few and simple, and if they were not more satisfactorily answered than they had hitherto been, all he could say was this—that the conclusion which would be come to, not only in Ireland, but in every country where they took the trouble to read these proceedings, was that there was something to conceal. If anyone wanted to know what feeling had been excited in Ireland on this subject, he had only to read the article in *The Times* of to-day from their own correspondent. It should be remembered that the Archbishop of Tuam had hitherto been a strenuous supporter of law and order, and had acted with a courage that was deserving of the highest honour. Did the Government think they did well to discourage such men? The question would not only be debated in Ireland now, but would go on to be debated, and it would be heard of again in that House. By refusing an inquiry they would greatly embitter the hatred of the Irish people in regard to the manner in which justice was administered. Considering that there were four men now lying under sentence of penal servitude for life who were alleged to be innocent, he saw no good reason why the Lord Lieutenant should not follow the precedent he had set in Kilmartin's case, and send down a Queen's Counsel to investigate the matter. If an inquiry were refused, he should say that justice had been frustrated in Ireland, and not for the first time.

Mr. MACFARLANE explained that it would have been very difficult for him to have voted for the Amendment as it originally stood. He should have been obliged to explain that his vote went only in favour of an inquiry, and not as endorsing in the smallest degree the aspersions that had been cast upon many of the officials of the Crown in Ireland. He was sorry such a charge was made against Lord Spencer, because he could not believe that any Nobleman would lend himself to such a thing. There were three reasons which should induce the Government to grant an inquiry. The first was the possibility that there had been a miscarriage of justice; the second, and the most important one, was that the public was convinced, rightly or wrongly—a very large mass of the public—that injustice had been done. That was not desirable in any country, and least of all in Ireland. But there was another reason, and that was the possibility that an inquiry might enable them to deal with this perjured villain, Thomas Casey. Let him be asked to swear to the truth of the statement which he now made in contradiction of the statement he had previously made, and then it would be in the power of the Government to prosecute Mr. Casey for perjury, and that of itself would be a great advantage, because a greater villain never walked the earth, by his own confession. It was very much to be regretted that the dying deposition included in the brief for the Crown had been withheld from the counsel for the defence. No one had noticed the particular point that Michael Joyce never said that he did not recognize the men; on the contrary, there was a distinct statement that he did. The reason why the Government, as he understood it, refused an inquiry was that it would discredit justice in Ireland. But he did not think that justice could be further discredited than it was in Ireland. He was sorry the Government had made such a determined stand, because he thought they had made a mistake. He trusted the Government would reconsider the question and grant this inquiry.

Mr. ROUNDELL said, he had listened to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) with extreme regret, because he considered that the question of the administration of justice was one far too sacred and too important to be made a matter of Party politics. He was content to express his strong conviction of the utter groundlessness of the charges which had been brought against the Irish Government, to protest against this attempt to impeach the administration of justice in connection with these murders, and to rest the vindication of the conduct of these trials and of the action of the Lord Lieutenant upon the speeches which had been delivered by various Members of the Government. His object in rising was to express his strong and very deep sense of the utter mischievousness and the wicked recklessness of these charges, which had been brought upon the flimsiest foundation, and which had been trumped up for Party purposes in order to discredit the administration of justice.

Mr. HARRINGTON rose to Order. He wished to know from the Speaker whether the hon. Member was in Order in asserting that he and those hon. Members who supported his Amendment had trumped up charges for political purposes?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not in Order in stating that hon. Members have trumped up charges with that motive. The hon. Gentleman, I am sure, will withdraw that expression.

Mr. ROUNDELL begged to withdraw the expression, with an expression of regret for having used it. He would say that these charges struck at the very root of the administration of justice in Ireland; and if the Resolution were carried it would render government impossible in that country. It was impossible to reprobate too strongly the conduct of those who were dealing this blow at the administration of justice in Ireland, or the political profligacy of those who were willing to play ducks and drakes with such a sacred subject for Party purposes. Some hon. Members appeared to be content to cast common honesty, patriotism, and national interests to the winds as long as they could embarrass the Government. The object of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), and of those who acted with him, was evidently to discredit the administration of justice in Ireland.

Mr. CALLAN rose to Order. He wished to know whether the hon. Member was justified in saying that the object of any Member of that House was to discredit the administration of justice?

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not gather that the hon. Member made such a charge.

Mr. CALLAN: Those were his words.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member had not completed his sentence.

Mr. ROUNDELL said, he had observed that the object of the hon. Member for Westmeath, and of those who acted with him, was evidently to discredit the administration of justice in Ireland.

Mr. GORST rose to Order. The language of the hon. Member was quite clear; and he wished to know whether the hon. Member was in Order in using it? The statement made by the hon. Member was that the object of the Mover of the Amendment to the Address, and of those who acted with him, was to discredit the administration of justice.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member did not appear to have finished his sentence. He used some words which did not reach my ear. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will repeat those words?

Mr. ROUNDELL: What I said was that their object was to discredit the administration of justice in Ireland.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY: I rise to Order. Is that expression Parliamentary?

Mr. SPEAKER: I cannot say that the hon. Member, in attributing motives of that kind to hon. Members of this House, is regular, or is using Parliamentary language. After that expression of opinion, I have no doubt that the hon. Member will withdraw the observation.

Mr. ROUNDELL said, that after the ruling of the Chair he would at once withdraw the expression. The object of the hon. Member for Westmeath, and of those who acted with him, was to prevent, if possible, the renewal of the Prevention of Crime Act—an Act which, in his judgment, alone answered for such measure of law and order as now—outwardly at least—prevailed in Ireland. Of this he was sure—that he spoke with the full assent of the great majority of hon. Members on both sides of the House when he said, deliberately, with the strongest emphasis and with the deepest conviction, that the renewal of that Act, in its main provisions at least, and possibly with an extension of some of its provisions to the United Kingdom, was a vital necessity, paramount in importance over all minor considerations of its possible effect upon the fortunes of this or that Ministry.

Mr. GIBSON said, that a Motion like that now before the House was one which would always receive the attention and anxious consideration of all Parties; and, therefore, he was not surprised to find that hon. Members had given great attention to this question. For the purposes of argument, he was content to pass by the magnitude and the atrocity of these murders. It was conceded that there was no reflection on the Judge who presided at the trial. It was also conceded that the juries, upon the evidence submitted to them, were within their rights in the way in which they had performed their duties; and it was further admitted, and not to be denied, that the prisoners had the advantage of the defence of the Queen's Counsel and junior counsel they themselves had selected. These being matters of great importance, and out of the controversy, what remained? It was sought to set aside trials that were had before that Judge and before those juries, and with the advantage of that defence, and also to repeal judicial proceedings in which four men, now alleged to be innocent, had themselves elected in open Court to plead guilty. Of course, he need hardly say that propositions of that immense breadth required the most close and jealous examination when they were gravely submitted to any tribunal, or to any assembly; and it was obvious that a proposition to set aside or impeach or invalidate proceedings of that nature could not be gravely entertained without very powerful arguments, and without almost overwhelming proofs. He would not go at all into the details of the evidence; but he would take the three chief, broad facts which stood out in conspicuous relief—first, that of the 10 men who were charged with being parties to this murder, nine of them, at some time or other, openly admitted their guilt. That was a great and important fact. The next great fact by which he had been struck was that three independent witnesses, not mixed up or involved in the crime, had given evidence, and given it at once, two days after the offence, from which they had never varied or swerved. That evidence was supported by the fact that nine out of the 10 had admitted their guilt. The other fact to which he would refer was of less importance—namely, that there were two approvers; and he put that last, because he thought it the least important. It merely accentuated facts which had, in reality, an independent existence. Those being the broad, essential facts that struck the mind, what was it that first started this inquiry, and put it within the purview of examination? It was the fact that these approvers had made a statement inconsistent with their previous evidence. He would, however, pass by the approvers with the observation that at one time they admitted—and one of them still admitted—that they were guilty of murder; and they now asked to be credited with implicit belief in their recent statements, because they had now added the further admission that they had been guilty of a perjury which assisted in the conviction and execution of a man whom they knew at the time to be innocent. The approvers' case was that they were suborned by the officers of the Crown, who possessed full knowledge of the facts, deliberately to come forward and swear away the life of an innocent man. He could only say that that was a most terrific charge, and, just as it was a terrific charge, so it rendered them bound to examine it closely, and to see that they were not carried by their feelings to a hurried conclusion—one which they were not coerced to by other cogent evidence. When they were asked to assume such a state of unheard-of crimes the question occurred to them, what was the motive that drove these men to such an appalling state of crime and wickedness? This was not a case of loyalty and disloyalty, or landlord and tenant; it was not a case of class hatreds or sectarian animosities; it was a case of peasants against peasants. He felt bound to say, with the advantage of his professional training as a barrister, that, looking at the matter as closely as he could, he was unable to arrive at the conclusion at which they were asked to arrive. The Archbishop of Tuam had made himself the medium of communication in regard to this extraordinary statement of the approvers; and he had no doubt that when the Archbishop found himself the depository of it, he thought it his duty to communicate it to the Head of the Executive in Ireland. That was the state of facts presented to the House of Commons last August; but he would make neither observation nor criticism on the way in which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War undertook that the matter should be examined into. At any rate, Earl Spencer had felt himself bound to examine into the question; and the letter of Sir Robert Hamilton, with the Memorandum attached, embodied the result of that examination. That letter was not the isolated work of the Viceroy himself. He had able advisers, and no doubt the Lord Chancellor of Ireland himself, a most able and capable man, assisted in every step of the examination. That being so, they were asked to regard that inquiry as naught, because the three officials, whose names had been referred to, were heard in the matter and took some part in it. He failed to find anything to lead to the conclusion that, beyond supplying the Executive with such information as they were asked for, those officials took any more active part in the inquiry. It was impossible to make an inquiry into the matter without inquiring of those three men what their acts had been, and the only other persons who could possibly be mixed up in the matter were the two informers. The statement of the informers was, of course, known to the Executive; for it was contained in the letter which the Executive received from the Archbishop. With all the information thus before him, Earl Spencer had exercised the grave responsibility of deciding on the case. It was, however, urged that apart altogether from the question of the informers, in consequence of certain evidence having been kept back at the time of the trial, which had been given at the Coroner's inquest, in reference to the statements by the two boys Joyce that the murderers had their faces blackened, an inquiry should now be granted. It was asserted that this evidence was kept back, not through carelessness or neglect, but deliberately, as a piece of malpractice, knowing that such evidence would advance the case of the prisoners. That was the charge which was now made. But where was the motive on the part of those who were thus charged with such malpractices? This was not a case between class and class, but between Galway peasants on the one hand, and Galway peasants on the other; and several convictions, admittedly just, had already taken place in regard to the murders. Where was the motive to induce the Crown counsel to be guilty of such a malpractice? A great deal had been said with regard to depositions; but there were two depositions in the possession of the prisoners' counsel—namely, the depositions of Collins and Johnson, made at the inquest, in which they said that the two boys had told them the men had blackened faces. [Mr. HARRINGTON: No.] He was dealing with the debate as it had gone on; and the Solicitor General for Ireland had made that statement in the House on the responsibility of his position. He confined himself to the declaration of the Solicitor General, who pledged himself to the fact that the depositions of Collins and Constable Johnson substantially embodied the declarations of these two boys, which were made on the morning after the murder, and were in the hands of prisoners' counsel. The case of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) was that the depositions of the two boys were not in the possession of the prisoners' counsel. He (Mr. Gibson) had no means of examining these matters any more than other hon. Gentlemen; but he accepted the statements that were made on the responsibility of the Solicitor General for Ireland. The two depositions purported to be dying declarations; but it was quite certain that the declaration of Patrick Joyce could not, from any aspect of the case, be made evidence as a dying declaration. [Mr. HARRINGTON: Why not?] The person who made the declaration was not dead. On the contrary, he was produced in Court on the trial, and it had been pointed out by hon. Members that he was unable to be examined owing to the circumstance that he was not sufficiently informed to understand the nature of an oath. Therefore he assumed that, whatever that particular declaration might be called, it could not be made evidence in any shape or form in itself, or by the persons to whom it was given. Of course, that left the case of Michael Joyce untouched; but the declarations of both boys were noticed by Collins and Constable Johnson, and the reference to them would be found in their depositions. He was glad that the fact had been stated, because, no doubt, it was perfectly right that the prisoners' counsel should be fully seized and possessed of every topic that might be ultimately urged, and that could throw light upon the transaction, leaving them to the exercise of their own judgment whether they would use it in the elucidation of the trial from their point of view. He quite agreed with that proposal, especially in a case of this sort, where identification was of such extreme importance. It was manifest to anyone who read the statements of Collins and Johnson that, although they were only giving what might be called hearsay evidence, they had furnished the prisoners' counsel with materials which they might use if they thought proper by means of cross-examination or otherwise. Of course, it was always possible to raise an argument upon questions in connection with trials which had taken place by suggesting that something might have happened differently, or that greater or less force ought to have been given to particular points. He did not think that any inquiry whatever could be upheld if that class of reasoning were to have too much weight attached to it. All they had to see was that the prisoners had been fairly tried, and that those who defended them had been fully and fairly instructed. If that were done it ought to go far to satisfy the House that the trial was one which ought not to be lightly set aside or impeached. There was only one other topic he desired to make a comment upon, and it had reference to the four men who were now undergoing penal servitude, and who were alleged to be innocent. If that were really so, it was a serious matter. Myles Joyce was dead, and, of course, this discussion could not have any effect upon his case. But these four men were alive, and there might be an urgent desire to have the case examined into fully in their interests. But the men themselves deliberately pleaded guilty in open Court. There was no question of jury or prosecutor at all; but in open Court they pleaded guilty before the Judge. There was no question that the Judge took any improper steps in the case; and it would require an overwhelming case to his mind to induce him to arrive at the conclusion that any inquiry should be granted as to whether men were innocent who themselves had deliberately pleaded guilty in open Court. He made no reflection on the action of the clergyman. He had read the letter written by that gentleman, and it seemed to him that the rev. gentleman was anxious to do that which he considered wisest and best for those who were, perhaps, members of his congregation. If he had erred, no doubt it was from a desire to do what he thought was for their good; but he (Mr. Gibson) was certainly unable to arrive at the conclusion that the House of Commons, acting judicially upon the facts as disclosed at present, could arrive at the conclusion that four men were innocent who had deliberately admitted their guilt. He found that afterwards—some days afterwards—they presented a Memorial to the Lord Lieutenant asking for the clemency of the Crown on the ground, not that they were innocent, for they did not assert their innocence, but because they had not taken the same part, and that their guilt was of a less degree than that of others.

MR. HARRINGTON asked where that was stated?

MR. GIBSON said, that it had been stated by the Solicitor General for Ireland. [*Cries of* "No!"]

MR. HARRINGTON said, he thought that the right hon. and learned Gentleman was mistaken. Where was the Memorial? Would the right hon. and learned Gentleman produce the Memorial?

MR. GIBSON said, he was quite aware that it was not in the pamphlet published by the hon. Member (Mr. Harrington); but the Solicitor General for Ireland had openly made that statement in the House on the responsibility of his position. As he had stated before, he had no more opportunity of examining these statements than any other hon. Member; but he accepted them on the responsibility of the Solicitor General. What the Solicitor General said was, that in a Memorial presented some time after these men had admitted their guilt they asked for the clemency of the Lord Lieutenant, not on the ground that they were innocent, but that they had not taken the same part, and were not present in the same degree, as others. In this case, in order to establish the right of inquiry, it seemed to him necessary to arrive at the conclusion that three witnesses, actuated by some petty and private malice, had knowingly sworn away the lives of innocent men. That was certainly one of the propositions made; and the second was that the Government officials, with full knowledge of the facts of the case, conspired to get the conviction of innocent men by the subornation of perjury and the suppression of evidence. That was putting the matter in a form of precision, and these were certainly two enormous charges. He had heard the statement of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), in the course of his very able and closely argued speech, and he assumed that the debate would not close without some indication from the Law Officers of England as to what their opinion in the matter was. It was not desirable that an important matter, involving so many grave issues, should close without a full expression of their views; and he believed the House would await the opinions of the Law Officers of England with much interest. They could never relieve any Executive of the responsibility of their position. If men were in Office carrying on the details of the Executive Government, possessing the right of making examination into these cases, and wielding also the Prerogative of mercy, upon them must always rest the enormous responsibility of the just and fair discharge of their duties. In this case, as far as he could see, all the facts had been before the Executive, and were before them now; and with a full knowledge of the facts, for the reasons they had given in the Memorandum, and for the reasons which they had given since, they had arrived at the conclusion that this was not a case in which any further inquiry should be granted. Under those circumstances, he was unable to support the Amendment which had been moved.

Mr. O'BRIEN remarked, that the speech announced early in the evening by the Home Secretary had now been delivered; but he did not know that it added a great deal to the debate, except in enabling hon. Members to draw a contrast, which was somewhat humiliating to Irishmen, between the Irish Tory officials and those English Tory Gentlemen who, one after another, had got up in the House and evinced a desire for inquiry in a case where the life of one innocent man and the liberty of four other innocent men had been sacrificed. A great portion of the debate had been diverted by the Representatives of the Government into a perfectly needless defence of what the Judge, the jury, and Earl Spencer had done in reference to the case as it was presented on the trial in Green Street. But that was not the question before the House. The question was whether the evidence in this case was falsely and fraudulently presented at Green Street. The question was whether the Government knew very well, or the officials had realized very well, that everything in the case depended upon the evidence of the three Joyces not being discredited; whether, knowing that they did not deliberately suppress two vital depositions which were in their printed briefs before them, and keep them from the knowledge of the prisoners' counsel; and whether Earl Spencer had not up to that hour suppressed two other dying declarations which still further discredited, and altogether shattered, the story of these three witnesses. He did not propose to waste the time of the House in discussing the improbability or the impossibility of the story told by the three Joyces. He had himself gone over the ground, and he could hardly imagine anybody, except an Irish Solicitor General with a handsome fee in his pocket, going over that ground, and coming to any other conclusion than that the story of the Joyces was, from beginning to end, as wild and as impudent a fabrication as was ever made. It was not necessary to dwell upon that. He would not even follow hon. Members into the question whether the two boys were right or wrong in saying that the murderers had blackened faces and wore white jackets. All he would point out was that, although the Government now raised the question that the boy Michael Joyce was raving when his statement was taken, yet Mr. Newton Brady administered to him an oath believing him to be capable of understanding it, and took down his sworn deposition with the knowledge that he was dying. He would only make one other remark, and it was that in a somewhat similar case in the County Clare a few disjointed words were heard from a dying man —Doherty—and upon those few words gurgling in a dying man's throat Francis Hynes was hanged. The question was not whether this was right or wrong, but whether it was within the province of the Crown Solicitor to pronounce these boys' depositions worthless, and to smother them up. Was it the province of Mr. Peter O'Brien, who had the depositions in his brief before him, and who knew that the prisoners' counsel had not seen them, to conceal them? He did not know where the line was to be drawn if a Crown Solicitor was to have a discretion in a matter of this sort. Was it to be tolerated, when the Crown opened a case upon a particular theory, that a Government official was to be at liberty to hide away every bit of evidence that conflicted with, or utterly destroyed and shattered, that theory? He thought the way in which the case had been presented to the House by the various Members of the Government who had spoken in the debate was not much more creditable than the way in which it had been presented to the jury in Green Street. The Home Secretary, to some extent, had adopted a more judicial and a fairer tone; but the speeches, both of the Irish Solicitor General and of the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland, were speeches adapted for English Members who were ready to listen to them, but who would not listen to the arguments of Irish Members. The Government had the hardihood to assert, and it had been re-asserted that night, that the whole of the case of those who desired inquiry was founded upon the statement of the informer Casey; the fact being that Casey's statement might be struck out of the case altogether, and their claim for inquiry would not be injured. The ex-Chief Secretary, in particular, did all he could to spoil the perspective of the case by labouring on certain little discrepancies between the statement of Casey to the police, and to the Archbishop of Tuam, and he had eloquently denounced Casey as a murderer and a perjurer. Undoubtedly, Casey was a murderer and a perjurer of the deepest dye; but so was Patrick Delaney, the Phœnix Park murderer; and he wondered that the Crown did not remember, when they put him on the witness table in Dublin that day, that the object this murderer of Lord Frederick Cavendish now had was not to bring other murderers to justice, but to swear away the liberties of political offenders. Her Majesty's Government had thought Casey worth paying £1 a-week to until he went to confession, and they had thought it worth making more than one attempt to bribe him to leave the country. Let them deny that if they could. He thought he should be able to show, by simply reading the Memorandum, that the discrepancies and contradictions were in Earl Spencer's own statement, and not in Casey's testimony. He would give the House one specimen. Earl Spencer said, speaking of an interview between Mr. Brady and Casey—

> "It is to be remembered that this happened on Saturday, the trials being fixed to commence on the following Monday, and that the case was considered by the Crown as being perfectly complete and conclusive against all the prisoners."

If it had been so considered, why should the Government allow a man to go free who was admittedly one of the murderers?

> "The nature of Casey's evidence having been reported to the Attorney General, it was determined to accept him as an approver. On the following Monday all the prisoners were brought down to Green Street. Immediately on their arrival Casey sent a message to Mr. Bolton by the Governor, saying he was anxious to see him. Mr. Bolton thereupon went down to the passage below the Court, into which the cells open, accompanied by the Governor and Mr. Brady, R.M."

Why should Mr. Bolton have gone at all if it had been agreed that Casey was to be accepted as an approver? The Memorandum went on to say—

> "The Governor called Casey out, and Casey was then informed by Mr. Bolton that his evidence would be accepted, provided he told the entire truth."

It was quite evident that Casey's first statement to Mr. Bolton was not accepted as satisfactory. And why? Because Casey refused to name Myles Joyce among the guilty party; and they had it now admitted in the Memorandum of Earl Spencer that it was not until the men were actually brought down for trial to the Court House that, in a second interview with Mr. Bolton, Casey was accepted as Crown witness. As a matter of fact, with a rope round his neck, he had mended his hand, and made his story tally with that of the three Joyces. It was Mr. Bolton's intention, from the beginning of the case, to have nothing that would conflict or would not exactly square with the testimony of the three Joyces. Hence Casey's first statement was refused, because he would not implicate Myles Joyce. It was for the same reason that Mr. Bolton suppressed the declaration of the dying boys. Why did he suppress them? Because they conflicted with the story of the three Joyces. Upon another and important element in the case, the Government went on the theory—and the whole defence of the Government seemed to go on that theory, for the House had now before it nothing or very little that was not before the jury in Green Street—that everything was clearly brought out at the trial; and, therefore, the House had been favoured with a long defence of the Judge and jury, and the pages of the national journals had been searched for expressions of approval in regard to the conduct of the jury. He wondered the right hon. Gentleman the ex-Chief Secretary, as he made his quotations, did not wince when he referred to journals which he had not hesitated or scrupled in that House to calumniate and to hold up when it suited his purpose to do so as sympathizing with crime. He (Mr. O'Brien) left the House to infer what a pass things had come to with regard to justice in Ireland, when the mere fact that a couple of Catholics had been admitted upon the jury, and a Judge had conducted himself like a gentleman, had to be celebrated as a phenomenon in the national journals. Among other brilliant points made by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, there was this one—that for full two years after this trial happened there was no complaint of it in Ireland. He would remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that the scene on the scaffold was hardly known, and it was not supposed that Earl Spencer had in his possession two dying declarations of Myles Joyce's innocence. He would further remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that he himself (Mr. O'Brien) was prosecuted for denouncing the execution as a judicial murder, and such was the state of public feeling in Dublin at the time that the Government were only saved by a majority of one from having the bill thrown out by the Grand Jury. His hon. Friend the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) had openly denounced Earl Spencer for having hanged an innocent man. He was prosecuted for it, but the Government dared not go on with that prosecution. Why was that? It was because they knew very well that the Grand Jury of the City of Waterford would have thrown out their bill. There was something to say in defence of the Judge who tried the Maamtrasna prisoners. The Irish Members did not impugn the Judge or jury in this matter. He was unable to guess what the learned Judge might say now, if he were charging a jury with all that had been discovered since in his possession. It must be remembered that much had been discovered since Mr. Justice Barry was consulted by Earl Spencer in reference to the Memorandum. He (Mr. O'Brien) was anxious to quote to the House what the same learned Judge, Mr. Justice Barry, said in the Clonbur murder case, when he discovered that a dying declaration of vital importance to the prisoner, but not of more vital importance than the two declarations of the dying boys in this case, had been withheld. He had been anxious to quote the language of the learned Judge when he discovered that that dying declaration had been withheld by the representative of the Crown. Unfortunately, he had not the learned Judge's words by him; but he knew that Mr. Justice Barry denounced the conduct of whoever was responsible for the disappearance of that affidavit in language of the gravest censure. The Judge in that case was the same as in this. The Crown Solicitor was the same —it was Mr. George Bolton, who, by an unfortunate coincidence, was in both cases the victim. He (Mr. O'Brien) had heard the same Judge, Mr. Justice Barry, declare at Belfast later, when trying an action against him (Mr. O'Brien) by Mr. Bolton for libel, after hearing Mr. Bolton's evidence, that the disappearance of the affidavit in the Clonbur murder case had never yet been explained. The Home Secretary had taunted him that night with the fact that Mr. George Bolton had been enabled to obtain a certificate of character from an Orange jury in Belfast. No doubt, he had done so. For the only thing he (Mr. O'Brien) had charged Mr. Bolton with—namely, swindling and subornation of perjury, Mr. Bolton had obtained a verdict of £50 from a Belfast jury. He would like now to say a few words about the inquiry. The ex-Chief Secretary had taken upon himself to quote a most misleading report of the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War in reference to the inquiry that was really promised. He thought the right hon. Gentleman might have left the noble Marquess, whose straightforwardness most of them were disposed to recognize, to answer for himself, and to throw some light upon the matter in the course of the discussion. He thought that the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland might have entitled himself to the charity that was due to defunct politicians, and have allowed the Irish people to forget the peculiar characteristics of his career in Ireland. But the right hon. Gentleman had judged differently; he had thought it necessary to remind them that he still lived. Certainly, he had upon this parting occasion left upon record a speech which was a perfect specimen and epitome of all the qualities that had earned for him the indignation of the people he was supposed to rule, although most likely they had earned for him also the cheers of his Friends in that House. When he had heard the right hon. Gentleman the other night discussing in the most lofty manner the mundane motives that were attributed to the Government in this matter by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), he could not help wishing that the right hon. Gentleman had given them a little less of his preaching, and had exemplified a little more in practice the virtues he professed. When the right hon. Gentleman was complimenting the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) on his ability and sincerity—qualities which the House would readily recognize without the assistance of the right hon. Gentleman—he might have remembered that he had put the subject of his compliments on a plank bed; had seized his newspaper and plant; that he had defended his action in the House of Commons by imputations which might have ruined the hon. Member's good name, and that he had never yet had the generosity to acknowledge the mistake he had made. This was not the only test the House possessed of the right hon. Gentleman's judgment in Irish affairs. There was not a single case of this kind which had been brought forward by the Irish Members in which the right hon. Gentleman had turned out to be right, and in which the Irish Members had turned out to be wrong. Let them take Kilmartin's case. The right hon. Gentleman exerted himself just as strenuously in that case to prove that the law could do no wrong in Ireland; that Kilmartin was rightly sentenced to penal servitude, and that he ought to remain there. And Kilmartin would have remained there if the view of the right hon. Gentleman had been taken; but an independent investigation was made into that case, such as was asked for now. Mr. Carton was sent down to investigate it on the spot, and the consequence was that Kilmartin was now free. Earl Spencer did not deserve very much credit for liberating him, for he had been mean enough, in discharging the man, to continue the wrong by insinuating that he was guilty after all, and declaring that the remission of the sentence was an exercise of mercy and not of justice. Did any sane man believe that the release of Kilmartin would ever have entered into Earl Spencer's head or heart if it had not been that the opinion of the House of Commons had forced him to liberate an innocent man? As to the quotation from the noble Marquess's speech, the noble Marquess unquestionably did make a general promise only at first; but after the stress of another hour's debate, he made another and a satisfactory promise of a full inquiry; and he (Mr. O'Brien) would put it to the noble Marquess himself whether any man in that House could have dreamt that the inquiry he promised to make was to take the form of a secret conclave in a private room in the Castle conducted by Castle officials? Who was the principal witness in that inquiry—the vital witness in that inquiry? It was Mr. George Bolton, who simply passed a verdict upon himself. Mr. George Bolton was officially suspended, and in disgrace, and it must be said for him that he was in suspension under false pretences. He was suspended on the ground that he was a bankrupt. He was not a bankrupt at all; but, nevertheless, the Government did not venture to reinstate him. Upon the certificate of an English Judge—Mr. Justice Fry—he was declared to be a convicted swindler of a most heartless type, and he was the person who was responsible for the disappearance of a vital affidavit of the Clonbur murder case. He was a man who held two situations, and whose chance of obtaining a pension depended on his finding some reply to Casey's confessions. And this was the sort of man who was practically asked to present a Report upon his own conduct. The Home Secretary, in the earlier part of the evening, hinted that the Irish Members were flying at higher game than George Bolton. He agreed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman most thoroughly. He believed George Bolton to be altogether of the third or fourth order. Earl Spencer said that he had satisfied himself that no inquiry was necessary. He (Mr. O'Brien) thought it would be much more to the point if the noble Earl had satisfied the Irish people as well. Earl Spencer was just as deeply involved in responsibility for these transactions as anybody else. It was a notorious fact that Earl Spencer wrote Mr. George Bolton an autograph letter, thanking him in terms of the highest commendation as a public benefactor for his efforts in the cause of justice. If the Government would lay that autograph letter from Earl Spencer on the Table, and contrast it with the achievements of Mr. Bolton, he was not at all sure that Earl Spencer would derive much advantage from the correspondence. The Government had the power, and the majority of the House apparently would probably go with them, to refuse an inquiry into this case, just as they had the power to hang innocent men; but what would be the opinion of the Irish people all over the world about it? It would be this—that Myles Joyce was murdered, and that Earl Spencer was afraid to face an honest inquiry. The noble Earl was afraid, perhaps, that it might be found that other men had been murdered as well by the same legal machinery. The opinion among the Irish people would be that Her Majesty's Government had found out that they could not rule Ireland except by perjured informers and infamous officials of this kind, and that they had made up their mind to resort to acts in Ireland that would drive the people to revolution if they were tried in England. The only foundations for so-called justice in Ireland were the bayonets of the military and police. One of the most extraordinary and perverse notions which ever entered English heads about Ireland was that Earl Spencer had produced tranquillity in Ireland. On the contrary, he believed Earl Spencer had done more than any other man in their time to interrupt and destroy that process of tranquillity. The ex-Chief Secretary the other night, when he paraded the reduced statistics of undetected crime in Ireland, abstained from referring to the secret statistics of murder under Earl Spencer's rule, and the hankering desire for immolating victims, so that it might be said that there was no undetected crime in Ireland. George Bolton knew his business, and his business was to enable his masters to boast in the House of Commons that there was no undetected crime which had not been unavenged. In this particular case Bolton knew that his best trump was the story of the three Joyces. He determined to stick to it through thick and thin, he destroyed every bit of evidence that collided in any way with it, and he did all he could to tout for information in support of it. In conclusion, he (Mr. O'Brien) would only refer for an instant to the miserable attempts which had been made to explain the vital point in this case — why the two depositions which were before the eyes of Crown counsel were withheld from the eyes of the prisoner's counsel. It had been stated that the subject of those depositions was hinted at in the information of Collins and Constable Johnson at the inquest; but did anybody assert that any full report of that inquest appeared in any newspaper? The prisoners were not represented at the inquest by counsel, and they were not even produced there themselves. Even if they had been present they spoke Irish, and would not have been able to understand what was going on. Then, was it necessary to say that the depositions of these men, Collins and Policeman Johnson, were handed over to the prisoners' counsel? The hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) had most learnedly and ably pointed out the difference between the dying declarations before Mr. Brady and the statements of Collins and Johnson. It was almost a farce for the Irish Members to argue with the majority of that House; and he was sorry to say that they were not in a position to threaten. But he warned the House that, whatever the vote of the House might be, an adverse vote would only exasperate the feeling of the Irish public about Myles Joyce's fate, and sooner or later Earl Spencer, and the Government which harboured him, would repent of the way in which they had dealt with this question.

Mr. O'DONNELL said, that in rising at that hour of the night he felt called upon to protest, in the first place, against the most extraordinary manner in which the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) had misrepresented the essential points of the case. What could be less fair, as a representation of the reality, than when the right hon. and learned Gentleman again and again laid stress on the fact that four men, whose innocence seemed now so clearly established, had pleaded guilty on their trial at Dublin? Surely, when the right hon. and learned Gentleman made that imputation, he ought to have called the attention of the House to the circumstances under which these unfortunate country peasants, ignorant of the English language, surrounded by everything that could terrify their inexperience and deepen their despair, and in the company of informers who had received every inducement to swear to anything that seemed to suit the case of the Crown, were induced to plead guilty as the only chance of escape from the rope prepared for them by the hands of perjured witnesses. He had been deeply sorry to hear the right hon. and learned Gentleman indulge in such clap-trap in behalf of the case; and he must also protest against that other argument of the right hon. and learned Gentleman when he put to the House that stale fallacy—where was the motive of the prosecution for accusing these men, rather than any other men, in the case of peasant against peasant? If the case before the House were not the case of Irish peasants done to death by the zeal of the Crown Prosecutors in Ireland, the House would find no difficulty, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman would find no difficulty, in explaining how, under this system of preparation, a case for the Crown under the Third Empire was made out. In the first place, the prosecuting counsel formed a theory, and in too many cases they went to any length in order to shape their facts so that they might fit in with that theory. Having once seemed to convince themselves by an examination of the facts, that they bore a certain interpretation, thenceforward their official minds were bent not upon a careful and impartial sifting of the evidence, but upon a careful packing of the evidence in order to suit the theory they had preconceived in their minds. There would be no difficulty in suggesting such an explanation if it were an English case; but as it was an Irish case, the right hon. and learned Gentleman harped upon the theme—"Where was the motive?" He (Mr. O'Donnell) thought that whatever might be the conclusion drawn from the course of the debate, as far as it had proceeded—and he was afraid that that conclusion would be fortified by the subsequent stages—an unsatisfactory result would be substantiated by the way the facts of the case had been met by a Liberal Administration. Great interest had been excited by the case in the mind and heart of every Irishman who had observed the action of Her Majesty's Government, from the first moment the matter was brought before them, and at last one of the most law-abiding and order-loving ecclesiastics in Ireland presented the facts of the case to Her Majesty's Government. But the Archbishop of Tuam had been met in a manner that could only tend to exasperate the Irish people, and which was not only an outrage upon justice, but an insult to the intelligence of the Irish people. Certainly, the Government were to be congratulated on the discrimination their officials had displayed in the course of the inquiry. It would be found that, with the exception of the evidence which saved the perjured murderers, they had suppressed the evidence even of the victims themselves, which might have saved an innocent man from the scaffold and others from the horrors of penal servitude. The Government and the Government officials were safe in the House of Commons, in the presence of their majority, and were safe also even when that majority was absent. As had been observed already that evening, it was very easy for Liberal Members to stand up and make speeches in support of the Government, when those Members had abstained from listening to nine-tenths of the Irish case. One after another the supporters of Her Majesty's Government had risen in their places to maintain that the whole of the Irish case rested on Casey's evidence—those Gentlemen who came forward as the advocates of Her Majesty's Government having carefully absented themselves from the House while the most telling and most essential portions of the case were being made known, portions in no way dependent on the repentant admissions of Casey, the perjured Crown witness. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), in the most eloquent and convincing speech which he had just delivered, had laid great stress upon the not very creditable manœuvre of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, who did not hesitate to quote from the columns of the national organs expressions of thankful approval of what, at the time, was believed to be the just punishment of a dastardly crime. If it had not been to suit his own purposes, the opinions expressed by the national journals would not have come so glibly from the lips of the right hon. Gentleman, but, on the contrary, he would never have permitted his supporters to know that the national journals had ever condemned outrage, or expressed their approval of the punishment of crime. He (Mr. O'Donnell) asked the House to contrast the present action of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland with his studied reticence for years—his studied suppression of evidence of the most important character with regard to the Irish people and the Irish journals—and he asked the House to judge, when such had been the conduct of the late Chief Secretary under their very eyes, whether it was difficult to understand how it was that inferior officials in another arena resorted to the same shameful system of suppressing evidence? The late Chief Secretary had deliberately stated that even if Earl Spencer had committed a mistake—and by a mistake he meant euphemistically to cover more than what ordinary people called a mistake—that even if Earl Spencer had committed a mistake, it ought to be overlooked in consideration of the success of his administration. Was there ever a more dreadful application of the horrible doctrine that the end justified the means? Was ever such a lesson preached from the most demoralized pulpit inside or outside Christianity? These were the official morals—the governing morals—of the best specimens of Ireland, headed by a Scotch Regenerator of Ireland sent over to administer their affairs. Was it, then, a matter of surprise to find the Boltons, and the Lee Andersons, and all the rest of the official tribe ready to carry out the same official doctrine that the end justified the means? The Irish Members now came to that House to ask for an inquiry into Earl Spencer's mistakes. One of the chief organizers of Earl Spencer's mistakes was Sir Samuel Lee Anderson, for, as if to throw ridicule upon the dignities conferred by the Crown, upon that very day, Anderson, the jury-packer, had received the honour of Knighthood—rising up from his bended knee with all the blushing honours of British chivalry upon him. Her Majesty's Government left uncleared the reputation of the man who had been judicially murdered, and they preferred to leave in life-long slavery innocent men who had been unjustly condemned, rather than run the risk of exposing that which, after all, was probably only one of the minor mistakes of Earl Spencer. Surely, the Prime Minister would not take unkindly a suggestion on this matter which had just occurred to him. He believed that the works of that eminent politician (Mr. Gladstone) had been for some time in preparation for republication, and in due course, no doubt, his famous disquisitions upon King Bomba and the Neapolitan system of government would again be issued to an admiring public. He would suggest to the Premier that it might complete the European idea of his consistency if he would add to the work an Appendix in the form of a Vote under this heading—"The Suppression of Evidence, and the Execution of Innocent Persons, under my Administration of Ireland." If the right hon. Gentleman would do that, he (Mr. O'Donnell) would promise him an European success. He confessed that he was curious to observe the intervention of the English Law Officers in this most important discussion. He should observe with great interest by what process the English Law Officers would be able to reconcile their English countrymen to the possible application in England of those theories in regard to the suppression of evidence by the Crown on which the Crown was so dependent in Ireland. Not only had the depositions of the victims of the murder been suppressed at the trial, but, as had been again and again pointed out, Earl Spencer still continued to suppress the dying depositions of the two criminals who, while acknowledging the justice of their own punishment with their dying breath, and knowing that they were about to be launched into eternity, protested the innocence of Myles Joyce, who, by the mistake of Earl Spencer, was sent to die by their side. The other day, in the North of England, two men were sentenced to death for the murder of a police-constable. One of the men acknowledged his guilt, and emphatically declared the innocence of the other man who had been legally convicted, and who stood, just as he did, condemned to death. In that case, the Crown respited and pardoned the innocent man—the man whose innocence was testified to by the real murderer. They acknowledged his innocence, and it was notorious from one end of the country to the other that it was the solemn dying declaration of the real culprit that was the determining evidence which produced the pardon and liberation of this unoffending man. In the face of that case, which was of public notoriety, was Earl Spencer to be permitted to keep back from the public of this country these dying depositions? He told Her Majesty's Government that they might refuse 10 times, 50 times, or 100 times to produce the depositions; but the Irish Members would in the end drag them from them. Her Majesty's Government must not suppose that a debate that night, or next week, or a month hence, would exhaust the question. The determination of the Irish Members would last as long as the resistance of the Government. They were determined to drag this matter out into the full light of day, and, in the end, Earl Spencer, with all his mistakes and all his official admirers, would be obliged to give up the depositions. The Irish Members would hunt up the present Government until they rendered full satisfaction, and would even follow the matter up with their Successors—an eventuality which might not be far distant. He expected no practical result from the present proceedings; but he believed that in the minds of a vast majority of the English people there was a very strong suspicion that Earl Spencer had very good reasons for avoiding inquiry. Furthermore, he was satisfied of this—that the action of Her Majesty's Government afforded a conclusive argument to justify the Representatives of Ireland in treating that Government as one of the most unscrupulous, one of the most hypocritical, and one of the most cruel Administrations which had ever represented English usurpation in Ireland.

MR. DEASY said, he had not intended to take part in the debate at that late hour; but he had risen to express a hope, with his hon. Friend who had just sat down, that the Attorney General for England would give the House his opinion on the points which had been put forward by the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who had spoken in favour of the view of the Irish Members. In order to give the Law Officers of the Crown an opportunity of making up their minds, he would venture to occupy the attention of the House for a very short time indeed. In doing so, he did not propose to go into the evidence which had been laid before the House in much detail by many hon. Members from those Benches, and from all quarters of the House. He merely wished to say that he did not believe the Members from Ireland would be discharging their duty to their countryman were they to allow this question to remain without being adequately sifted to the bottom. It had been over and over again stated that it was the opinion of 99 out of every 100 persons in Ireland that Myles Joyce was murdered, and that four men were now detained in penal servitude for a crime of which they were innocent. He believed that no Gentleman who had listened to the discussion for the last night or two, if he were not altogether blinded by Party prejudices, could come to any other conclusion than that the case put forward by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) was irresistible and conclusive. He (Mr. Deasy) could very easily show, he thought, that the points put forward in favour of his hon. Friend's view of the case had not been met by those hon. Gentlemen who had endeavoured to argue against them. One point which struck him as very powerful, and one upon which very little stress had been laid, except by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), was the identification by the so-called independent witnesses of the assassins on a dark night at a distance of 150 or 200 yards. His attention had been directed to this particular point in reading over the very able pamphlet of the hon. Member for Westmeath. In that pamphlet his hon. Friend stated, and the statement could not be contradicted, that, in the daytime, he took a policeman with him from the road to a distance of nearly 200 yards from the point at which the alleged assassins were said to have been identified, to the exact place where they were alleged to have been seen by the so-called independent witnesses. Meantime another constable walked along the road to the spot where those witnesses swore they were standing at the time of the identifications. His hon. Friend asked the policeman who accompanied him whether he could tell him which of the constables was standing on the road facing him; the constable to whom he put the question was unable to say, although it was then the middle of a clear and bright day in broad daylight. After considerable hesitation the man said he thought that it was Constable Murphy, for he was the stoutest of the men in the hut. Now, it was notorious that the Government were slow to keep men in the Constabulary unless they had good eyesight; and if it was impossible for a constable, in the middle of the day, to recognize a companion at that distance, how much more impossible was it for these three independent witnesses to have been able to distinguish the assassins at the same distance on a dark night! The thing was utterly absurd. No one would believe it; and it was only because the Lord Lieutenant and his underlings were afraid of an investigation, that one had not been granted long before this. The speech of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland was one of the most extraordinary he had ever heard in his life. He did not think that the hon. and learned Gentleman attempted at all to combat the arguments of hon. Members on that side of the House. On the contrary, he kept altogether wide of the main issue raised by them, and argued no point to which they attached importance. The hon. and learned Gentleman quoted from *United Ireland*, and also from *The Freeman's Journal*, to show that at the trial of Myles Joyce no serious complaint was made against the composition of the jury or against the conduct of the Judge. It had been stated over and over again during the debate that the conduct of the Judge and the verdict of the jury were not at all impugned by hon. Members on those Benches, and they had very little fault to find with the manner in which the learned Judge discharged his duty on that occasion. It had been alleged that one jury was packed, and the number of Catholics who were challenged was sufficient to prove that it was packed. He had no doubt, however, that if it had been fairly constituted it would have given exactly the same verdict which the other two juries had given on the same evidence. What the Irish Members alleged was that the evidence had not been fairly put before the jury, and that most important evidence had been suppressed. The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) had pointed out that in the case of Francis Hynes there was no scruple on the part of George Bolton to put in evidence the dying depositions made by a man who was admittedly raving, and almost unconscious at the time it was made. Nevertheless, in this case, on the very same ground, the Crown carefully abstained from putting in evidence the dying deposition of the murdered boy. They said it was because he was raving, and almost unconscious, and that it would have been unfair for them to place that deposition at the disposal of the counsel for the prisoners. But in the case of Francis Hynes no consideration of that kind was allowed to stand in the way, and because the dying man in that case merely mentioned the the name of Francis Hynes, Hynes was convicted and died on the scaffold. He (Mr. Deasy) did not see why the Crown should not have acted in a similar manner in the case of the Maamtrasna prisoners, except that they were determined at all cost and at all hazards to get a conviction against these men. They were also told by the hon. and learned Solicitor General that the House of Commons could not be converted into a Court of Appeal. He knew it was extremely inconvenient to the Government that Irish Members should be pursuing the course which they felt it their duty to take on the present occasion; but there was no other way open to them, and if the Government undertook the responsibility of legislating for Ireland, and devised for that purpose machinery which in this case had resulted in the execution of an innocent man, and imprisonment of four innocent men, they must take the consequences. The hon. and learned Gentleman had also told them that to grant an inquiry would be to discredit the cause of justice in Ireland. But the hon. and learned Gentleman must know very little of the country which he represented in that House, because if he had kept his eyes and ears open he would have been convinced that there was no respect for the law as administered in Ireland; indeed, the only persons who at the present time were taking a course likely to bring about some respect for the law there were those who were backing up Irish Members in their demand for this inquiry, and the Irish Members themselves, for he believed that nothing would be more conducive to the re-establishment of law and order than an investigation of the circumstances attending the trial and execution of Myles Joyce, and the sentences on the men now in penal servitude. But if only for the sake of their families, if only for the sake of the unfortunate individuals who were disgraced by reason of their father's death on the scaffold, he believed that House was bound to grant this application if they were not positively reckless of what was done in Ireland in the name of law and order. But the best proof he could give of the insufficiency of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman was that after a short time the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland got up to speak also on the same side. One of the statements made by the right hon. Gentleman was that many hon. Gentlemen who had not the advantage of hearing the Solicitor General for Ireland might rest assured that he had fully met the arguments of his opponents. He said this lest hon. Members who had heard his speech as well as the two speeches made subsequently by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) might think that the Solicitor General for Ireland had utterly failed to prove the case to which he had addressed himself, and the right hon. Gentleman accordingly seriously told the House that the hon. and learned Gentleman's speech was convincing. He believed that statement was made for the benefit of those hon. Members who had heard the hon. and learned Gentleman, but who remained unconvinced, and were more disposed to take the word of the right hon Gentleman than to place confidence in the arguments of the Solicitor General for Ireland. The late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland had also taken upon himself the responsibility of explaining away the statement of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War; but he (Mr. Deasy) was at a loss to understand why the noble Marquess was not able to defend himself. He had often seen him in a more difficult position than that in which he was placed by the speeches delivered on Friday last. And yet he appeared to be unable himself to explain why it was that the inquiry which he promised had not been granted. Perhaps he felt that the right hon. Gentleman was more conversant with the art of Parliamentary debate, and was a better hand at proving that black was white; at any rate, it was a strange thing that the noble Marquess would not take the trouble to get up in his place and explain why it was that the promise made had not been carried out; because it was useless for him, or any right hon. Gentleman, to endeavour to put an interpretation on his words which they would not bear. It was evident that the noble Marquess intended seriously to have the inquiry held when he gave the pledge. That pledge, however, had been broken, and Irish Members would not in future be disposed to rely upon any promise that might come from the Treasury Bench. If there was one person on that Bench upon whose promises Irish Members were willing to rely, it was the noble Marquess the Secretary for War; but he regretted that in future his word could not be seriously taken by them. But the true explanation of the conduct of the Executive in Ireland and of the conduct of the late Chief Secretary was to be found in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that up to the time of the murder of Francis Hynes, 61 murders had been committed in Ireland. The Orange Party there—Mr. George Bolton, and those who acted with him, and whose position depended upon the goodwill of the English journals, and upon English far more than upon Irish public opinion—found it necessary to prove that the Criminal Department in Ireland had not completely broken down. Accordingly, having confined 10 or 12 men in prison, although they might have reason to suppose that one or two were innocent, they did not scruple to take the lives of three of them, and, on a plea of "guilty," sent the others to penal servitude. He was not surprised at all at the course taken by Mr. Bolton and Mr. O'Brien—men described by the occupants of the Treasury Bench as persons of the highest honour. Well, Mr. Bolton's honour had been impeached in that House; and he (Mr. Deasy) had experience of the way in which Mr. O'Brien managed to get convictions from juries, for, in the City which he had the honour to represent (Cork), a trial, in which the latter was engaged, of some prisoners charged with political offences at the last Winter Assizes, was brought under his notice. He was inclined to believe that no political trial could go on in Ireland without the aid of Mr. O'Brien. At the trial in question the jury disagreed, and Mr. O'Brien followed certain of those who tried the prisoners into the street and demanded the names of those high-minded and honourable men who refused to agree to a verdict against the prisoners. It was thus that justice was administered in Ireland, and thus that Mr. O'Brien conducted prosecutions. He would not detain the House at greater length, because he believed that many hon. Gentlemen wished to speak on this question after what they had heard from the learned Solicitor General for England; but he would add, in conclusion, that no case for a full and fair investigation had ever been more completely proved or better made out than this, and he agreed with those who said that if the Government did not accede to the request of Irish Members, they would not hear the last of it during the present Session, but would be troubled with it for many a long day.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Justin M'Carthy.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday*, 28*th October*, 1884.

MINUTES.] — SELECT COMMITTEE — Public Petitions, *appointed* and *nominated.*

## *QUESTIONS.*

### NAVY—NAVY PAY.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether Her Majesty's Government propose to take any steps to improve the pay and rations of the seamen of Her Majesty's Navy?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: Additions of pay have been from time to time granted, and the pay of petty officers was increased last year. No further changes are at present proposed. The rations are good in quality, and sufficient.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE—RAILS FOR INDIAN RAILWAYS.

MR. H. H. FOWLER asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether his attention has been called to statements which have appeared in the public press, that the Government has made large contracts with Belgian ironmasters for the supply of rails for Indian railways; and, whether he will give the House full information as to the nature and extent of these contracts?

MR. CARBUTT also asked, What truth there is in the statements made in the South Wales newspapers that the Indian Government had obtained large quantities of rails abroad, to the manifest injury of our ironworkers at home, who are at present only partially employed?

MR. J. K. CROSS: In reply to my hon. Friend (Mr. H. H. Fowler), I may say, Sir, that on the 23rd of June last, since which date no foreign contracts have been made, I stated the nature and extent of foreign contracts placed up to that time during the last seven years; and I also said, with respect to steel sleepers which had been ordered in Belgium, that they were "somewhat novel to English manufacturers," and that "several of our greatest English manufacturers had declined to make them or to tender for them." I am now glad to be able to say that some of these firms have reconsidered this decision, have accepted the advice I then gave them, and are adapting their machinery to the manufacture of these sleepers. With respect to the Question which my hon. Friend now puts, and in reply also to the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Monmouth, I may say that I have not seen any authoritative statement as to the purchase of rails in Belgium. The fact is, not a single rail has been ordered abroad by the Indian Government during the last 10 years; and there is not the slightest shadow of an atom of foundation for the report.

### NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—REORGANIZATION.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, When it is proposed to promulgate the new scheme for the Dockyards?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: A scheme for the reorganization of the constructive staff at the Dockyards has recently been promulgated. No other changes are at present in contemplation.

### WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF GRENADA—ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

MR. HEALY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What reply Lord Derby has given to the petition of the Catholics and Nonconformists of the Island of Grenada in reference to the illegal vote for the Parsonage of the Disestablished Church?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The history of the case is as follows:—On the 12th of June came a despatch saying that the Legislative Council had voted a sum of money for the Rectory House of St. George's. As the Church had been disestablished in 1874, the Secretary of State replied by an inquiry as to what obligation there was on the Colonial Government to execute these repairs, and at the same time a telegram was sent to the Governor, instructing him to defer the expenditure of the money voted. A reply was received to the effect that, in the view of the Colonial Government, there was an obligation on them to keep the Rectory of St. George's in repair during the lifetime of Canon Anton, whose vested interests had been saved by the Act of 1874, and that on his death they were, therefore, bound to pay for the dilapidations before handing it over to the Church Body. We were also informed in another communication that the largest portion of the sum voted had been already expended—the repairs having been begun as early as the 12th of May. To this Lord Derby replied that he regretted that the Vote had been taken without his sanction, which would not have been given, and that it was not reported to him till it was too late to prevent the expenditure, and directed the Governor to communicate the purport of this despatch to the Memorialists.

MR. HEALY: Might I ask the hon. Member whether, seeing that this Vote was illegal, the parties concerned will be compelled to refund the money to the taxpayers?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said the Vote was improper, but it could not be said to be illegal.

MR. HEALY: Will the hon. Member lay the Papers on the Table?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I will lay them on the Table if moved for.

## WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF ST. VINCENT—PRISON REGULATIONS.

MR. HEALY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If it is a fact that Mr. M'Leod, the Provost Marshal of the Colony of St. Vincent's, the person who, by virtue of his office, has control of and is responsible for the management of the prisons of that Colony, recently made to the Secretary of State a number of serious charges against Mr. Gore, the Lieutenant Governor of St. Vincent's, in connection with the management and control of the prisons of the Colony, in which Mr. M'Leod accused Mr. Gore of immorality in connection with the female prisoners, and of gross abuse of his position as Lieutenant Governor; if it is a fact that all inquiry into those charges was refused, and that Mr. M'Leod was compelled by the Colonial Office to withdraw the charges he had made; if it is intended to hold any independent inquiry into the truth or otherwise of Mr. M'Leod's charges; and, whether the Secretary of State for the Colonies recently declared in the House of Lords that the West Indian prisons required the strictest supervision?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The charge made against Mr. Gore by Mr. M'Leod was addressed, not to the Secretary of State, but to the Governor-in-Chief of the Windward Islands, and was that Lieutenant Governor Gore had curtailed Mr. M'Leod's rightful powers as head of the gaol, and sought to deny him a voice in the management of the Kingstown Prison; but there was no reference to any immoral conduct. The statement in the House of Lords referred to in the Question was made by the Earl of Carnarvon, and it was one with which everybody would agree.

MR. HEALY: Although it is an admitted fact that the West Indian prisons require supervision, nothing at all is to be done.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It is a fact that they require supervision, and also that they receive it.

MR. HEALY: I beg to give Notice that I shall draw attention to this matter, and to the conduct of the hon. Member, on Report.

## PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—PROCLAIMED MEETING AT CRANAGH, CO. WICKLOW.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is not the fact that the County of Wicklow is and has all along been in a state of tranquillity; and, whether he can state upon what grounds a public meeting, proposed to be held at Cranagh on the 5th instant, at which the senior Member was to address his Constituents, was suppressed?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The county of Wicklow is, and has been, peaceable. The proposed meeting at Cranagh was proclaimed because, being summoned to condemn land grabbings, it was announced to be held in the immediate vicinity of an evicted farm, which had been purchased by a man named Murphy, who had been "Boycotted," and as regards whom personal danger was apprehended if the meeting took place there.

## AFRICA (SOUTH)—BECHUANALAND—MURDER OF MR. BETHELL.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he could state what is the date of the murder by the Boers of Mr. Bethell, Chief of the Frontier Police; what are the dates of the first official Despatch sent from the Government to inquire into the circumstances of Mr. Bethell's murder, and of the official reply, and of the consequent instructions to Sir Hercules Robinson referred to on Monday; and, whether Mr. Bethell was killed while endeavouring to save from the Boers Montsioa, the Bechuana chief who protected British subjects during the Transvaal War, and whose territories were guaranteed by the Conventions of 1881 and 1884?

Mr. STUART WORTLEY asked, At what date the first request was despatched from home for information concerning the murder of Mr. C. Bethell, which took place on July 31st, and which was reported in the English newspapers in the second week in August; and, whether such request was telegraphic?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: In answer to those parts of these Questions which are not rather matter for debate than for Question time, I may say that Mr. Bethell was killed on the 31st of July last. The first intimation we received that there had been any foul play in connection with his death was in a letter we received from his brother on the 22nd of August. On the 25th of August we received a communication from Sir Hercules Robinson, not alluding to Mr. Bethell's death, but in which he stated that Mr. Bethell's appointment as Commandant of Police had been disapproved by him, and that he told Major Lowe he could not approve of it. Having received that letter from Mr. Bethell's brother on the 22nd of August, we sent, on the 26th, a despatch to Sir Hercules Robinson, asking him to ascertain the truth and give all particulars; and we received his reply to that despatch, enclosing Mr. Wright's account, on the 23rd of October, and on the 27th we sent off the telegram I referred to yesterday. The important point to bear in mind is, that it is only by Mr. Wright's communications that we learnt that the names of those who committed the murder are known, and that there is a Native witness who saw and can identify the men. Although on this occasion I must ask the House to take my word for it, in justice to the Secretary of State I must say that he came to the determination, in reply, to send that telegram on Friday last, and it was in no wise in consequence of the Questions which were put down that that telegram was sent.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: May I ask if Her Majesty's Government received the intelligence of the death of Mr. Bethell by telegram; and, if so, on what date?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: We received the account of Mr. Bethell's death by telegram on the 8th of August, and we immediately telegraphed out at once to see what Mr. Bethell it was. It merely stated the death.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: May I ask the hon. Gentleman another Question? Two gentlemen were sent from Cape Town into Bechuanaland in an official position—Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Bowen, who was Secretary to Sir Hercules Robinson. They were not, I understand, far off at the time of the occurrence. Has no Report been received from them?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: My right hon. Friend is incorrect. They were a long way off, in Stellaland, and knew nothing at all about it. Mr. Rhodes went up afterwards. He arrived on the 25th of August in the neighbourhood of Montsioa's country; but he was not within several hundred miles of the place when the murder took place.

Mr. CREYKE asked whether it was not the fact that in consequence of the publicity given to this matter in the Press by the brother and relations of Mr. Bethell, the Colonial Office took some steps; and whether they might not infer that had it not been for the agitation by the relatives of the murdered officer, the Government would have passed the matter over in silence?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: I can have no control over hon. Members' inferences, but the facts of the case are these. The first statement we received was on the 22nd August, in a letter from Mr. Bethell's brother. In consequence of that the Colonial Office sent out to make inquiries. Most undoubtedly the Colonial Office were as anxious as anybody to bring the murderers to justice; and I can assure my hon. Friend that he is quite wrong in thinking that we required any stimulus in taking action in the matter.

MR. STUART WORTLEY asked whether on the 8th of August, as the hon. Gentleman said when the first telegram arrived announcing Mr. Bethell's death, it was known at the Colonial Office that Mr. Bethell was in the employment of the English Government?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes; it was known that Mr. Mackenzie had appointed him temporarily, but we did not know exactly whether he had assumed office, and we did not know whether there were any police to command. I am not quite certain whether we knew at that time or not that Sir Hercules Robinson had refused to ratify it; but certainly we did know that he had been appointed by Mr. Mackenzie.

MR. STUART WORTLEY: Did Sir Hercules Robinson refuse, as a matter of fact, to ratify it?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes.

MR. CREYKE: May I ask why, if the facts were perfectly well known on the 11th or 12th of August, the Colonial Office waited for a letter from Mr. Bethell's brother before taking any steps?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he really must dispute what the hon. Gentleman had stated. The matter was not well known in England. He believed the first mention of any foul play in connection with the death of Mr. Bethell was on the 19th of August. He thought that was the first date on which there was any mention in this country of any murder having been committed.

## AFRICA (SOUTH)—CONVENTIONS OF 1881-4—MONTSIOA.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, after Mr. Bethell's murder, the Transvaal Government forced Montsioa to submit to their authority; what is the position of Montsioa now; and, how much territory and how many of his tribesmen Montsioa has lost in consequence of his loyalty to Great Britain in 1881 and since?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It is difficult to answer that Question. ["Hear, hear!"] What I mean is this—it is difficult to answer in a few words. The complete Papers will be in the hands of Members in a very short time. The exact position of Montsioa now I cannot say without making a speech. If the hon. Member asks me to make a speech, I will do so. It is impossible for me to give the figures in reply to the third Question.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think I can answer the last part of the Question. I observe it is stated, with some apparent authority, in the public Press that Montsioa's territory is now confined to 10 farms. What I want to ask is, when Papers will be laid on the Table?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY replied, that he was urging the printers forward. One batch of Papers had been, he believed, delivered that day, and the other batch would be in the hands of Members on Friday or Saturday.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT gave Notice that, on that day fortnight, in order to give the hon. Gentleman time to obtain the information, he would ask, Whether it was not the fact that the boundaries of Montsioa's territory between his own lands and those of the Boers were fixed by the Conventions of 1881 and 1884; and, whether he could tell the House how many of the tribes had since perished by the hostile action of the Boers?

## FRANCE AND CHINA—HOSTILITIES—BLOCKADE OF FORMOSA.

MR. J. G. HUBBARD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the Government are aware that, as reported in *The Times* of 27th October—

> "The blockade of the west coast of the Island of Formosa began on the 23rd inst. and that no vessels are allowed to embark or disembark at the Island, which is completely isolated;"

whether this blockade by France of ports belonging to a Power with which she is not at open war is consistent with International Law; whether France has, under the circumstances, any right to prevent English vessels from entering the ports of the Island; and, what measures the Government propose in order to obtain for English commerce the compensation due for damages accruing from the interruption to which it is subjected?

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT also asked, Whether British merchant ships have been stopped and overhauled by French men-of-war off the Chinese coast; whether the French have declared a blockade of Formosa; and, whether the French Republic has declared war upon China; and, if not, whether Her Majesty's Ministers will direct the British Admiral in command of the China Station to take steps to stop these piratical proceedings?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government, on the 23rd instant, received from the French Government a formal notice of blockade of the ports of Formosa, and the notice was inserted in *The Gazette* of the 24th instant. France has undoubtedly the right to blockade those ports, and the notification of blockade might be taken by neutral Powers as a notification of a state of war. France has, in the circumstances, all the rights of war, including the right to prevent access to the blockaded ports, incident to a belligerent blockade if she desired to exercise them; but in the absence of a formal declaration of war, either by France or China, Her Majesty's Government have thought it necessary to communicate with the French Government on the subject, in order to remove all doubt as to the position of neutrals' shipping, and I am unable to make any further statement pending the result of that communication. Before the notification of blockade three British vessels were boarded off Tamsui; and upon representations being made to the French Government on the subject, it was admitted that the proceeding was irregular, by reason of a regular blockade not having been established. Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to make any claim for damages which can properly be supported by International Law; but up to the present time no such claim has been preferred. In regard to the last paragraph of the Question of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), I can only express my regret that he should have used expressions in this House offensive to a friendly nation.

In reply to a further Question by Mr. J. G. HUBBARD,

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that he could not undertake, without permission from the Secretary of State, to lay any Papers on the Table. He might mention, however, that certain Papers relating to recents events in China were about to be laid; but he could not give any particulars with regard to them.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT gave Notice that he would ask the noble Lord on Thursday whether the examination of neutral merchant ships without a declaration of war did not constitute an act of piracy?

MR. WARTON asked whether the Government had taken any pains to find out the actual number of French ships, with the view of ascertaining whether the blockade was an effective one, or merely a paper one?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I do not know, Sir.

## ASIA (CENTRAL)—BRITISH CONSULATE AT KASHGAR.

MR. ECROYD asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the attention of Her Majesty's Government has been directed to the desirability, in the interests of British commerce, of establishing a Consul at Kashgar?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: This question has been under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government; and it has been decided, after communication with the India Office, that the amount of British trade at Kashgar was not as yet sufficient to warrant the establishment of a Consul there. If the hon. Member has any facts which he wishes to bring to the notice of the Foreign Office, every attention will be given to them.

## AFRICA (SOUTH) — BECHUANALAND—SIR CHARLES WARREN'S EXPEDITION.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can give any information to the House as to the scale of the Military expedition which is to accompany Sir Charles Warren from England to Bechuanaland; what is the number of the English Force now in South Africa; and, whether General Warren will be placed under the orders of the Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson, or hold an independent position in South Africa similar to that conferred on General Gordon in Central Africa?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It is not yet possible to give the House any detailed information on the subject. The War Office are in close communication with Sir Charles Warren and with our officers in South Africa as to the scale and nature of the military forces, and preparations that may be necessary. The strength of the regular British troops in South Africa is about 4,000. Sir Charles Warren will, of course, be under the orders of Sir Hercules Robinson, as High Commissioner for South Africa.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Do I understand that an expedition will be sent from England?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No; I do not say so.

MR. W. E. FORSTER: May I ask whether we may consider that Sir Charles Warren is going out to South Africa?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; I think the House may consider that as settled.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: When shall we know? Sir Charles Warren is, I understand, still in England; and what we here wish to know is whether the preparations have been settled?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: That Question ought to be addressed to the Secretary of State for War.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Would the Secretary of State for War kindly answer that Question?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I cannot state for two or three days when the necessary preparations will be completed.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Will a Supplemental Estimate be asked for?

[No reply.]

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS—DR. CRICHTON BROWNE'S REPORT.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether instructions were given by the Secretary of the Education Department to Mr. Fitch, one of the permanent officials of the Department, to prepare an answer to Dr. Crichton Browne's Report, after reference had been made to that Report in this House?

MR. MUNDELLA: Immediately on receipt of Dr. Crichton Browne's statement it was sent to Mr. Fitch for perusal. Mr. Fitch communicated to me his dissent from Dr. Browne's conclusions, and his dissatisfaction with the methods which Dr. Browne employed; but he was not requested to make any official Report until the document was made public by being laid on the Table of this House.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Is it the fact that Mr. Fitch is the gentleman who had the principal hand in drafting the New Code?

MR. MUNDELLA: He had not the principal hand in drafting the Code. He was one of a Committee of nine or ten gentlemen employed on that Code.

## ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—PENSIONS—SERGEANT INSTRUCTOR LYNE.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM asked the Under Secretary of State for War, If, in accordance with his promise of 8th May 1884, he has submitted the case of Sergeant Instructor Lyne to the Admiralty; if he is aware that Sergeant Instructor Lyne has not received the additional pension to which he is entitled; and, what is the reason of this delay?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Yes, Sir; the case of this Sergeant Instructor was submitted to the Admiralty. I am informed from that Office that the increase of pension will be made as soon as the necessary Order in Council has been obtained. I am also informed by that Department that many points have arisen in connection with the award of pensions to non-commissioned officers in Marines serving in the Auxiliary Forces. Those points are in course of settlement, and an Order in Council will be obtained to sanction extra pensions being allowed.

## PORTUGAL—QUARANTINE AT MADEIRA.

MR. CREYKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government has recently received reports from Madeira as to the quarantine regulations of the Portuguese Government involving loss of life to British seamen, especially with reference to the cases of the s.s. *Plessy* and the barque *Valetta;* and, whether Her Majesty's Government, in the event of the Portuguese Government declining to abolish altogether the vexatious and absurd restrictions placed on vessels direct from English ports, will impress upon the Government of Portugal the necessity of at once opening the existing excellent lazaretto at Madeira?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Consul at Madeira has furnished Reports on the cases to which the hon. Member refers. Her Majesty's Government regret that, notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances, the Portuguese and other Governments continue to maintain a stringent quarantine system; but attention will at once be called to the importance of opening the lazaretto at Madeira.

### AFRICA (SOUTH)—BASUTOLAND—THE POLICE FORCE.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, What is the number of the Police Force which has been put under the orders of Colonel Clarke to enable him to carry out the instructions given him by Lord Derby, in his Despatch of January 25th 1884, appointing him Resident Commissioner in Basutoland, and instructing him to protect life and property, and to maintain order on the border; what is the area of Basutoland; what is the length of the border line between Basutoland and the Orange Free State; and, whether any representations have been made by the Government of the Orange Free State with reference to the Force needed to maintain order on the border, in fulfilment of the terms of the Treaty of Aliwal North?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The police force in Basutoland, under Colonel Clarke, consists of 13 officers—of whom four are Natives—and 146 men. The area of Basutoland is 10,293 square miles, and the length of the Border line between Basutoland and the Orange Free State is, I believe, about 200 miles. It is a fact that Sir John Brand in last July represented that, in his opinion, Colonel Clarke's force was insufficient; but I may remind my right hon. Friend that this was at a moment when there was an abnormal excitement and disturbance connected with the attack of Moroks on Sepinare, within the borders of the Free State, and since this is over complaints have subsided. I may add that Colonel Clarke did not share the opinion of Sir John Brand, and has not asked for more police than the number granted to him.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER asked whether this force had been under Colonel Clarke's orders for some time?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes, Sir; from the time he went to Basutoland.

### POST OFFICE—MAIL SERVICE TO THE WEST OF IRELAND—THE MIDLAND GREAT WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER asked the Postmaster General, If he can inform the House of the nature of any proposals which have passed between the Post Office and the Midland Great Western Railway Company, with a view to the acceleration of the mails to the west of Ireland; and, whether steps will be taken to secure that the mails to and from the county of Mayo shall be accelerated in the same manner and on the same terms as those agreed to recently in respect of the mails in other parts of Ireland?

Mr. FAWCETT: In the first instance an inquiry was made, with the object of ascertaining whether it would be possible to secure an acceleration by making the existing train start at an earlier hour and travel at a faster rate; but, on the Railway Company assuring us that this is impracticable, I am now considering whether circumstances would justify the running of another train. If any acceleration should be secured, I can assure my hon. Friend that Mayo would participate in it.

### LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—MR. J. R. COX.

Mr. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If he will state the reasons for issuing the following "confidential communication" to District Constabulary Inspectors in Ireland:—

> "Joseph R. Cox. Midland Division, Crime Department, Mullingar, 24th June 1884. Mr. Jenkinson wishes to have the movements of the above-named watched, noted everywhere. Annexed is his description. By Order (signed), M. Jacques, D.I.C.S. Joseph R. Cox, Secretary to the Lord Mayor, Dublin, 97, Stephen's Green, Dublin, five feet ten inches, thirty-three years, rather stout, sandy hair, regular nose and mouth, fair complexion, round visage, small whiskers under ears; native of Kilmore, county Roscommon, wears glasses, dresses well, wears a silk hat; was arrested under Peace Preservation Act. He was an organiser of the late Land League. His principal associates are leading Nationalists?"

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I stated yesterday, in answer to the hon. Member, that the communication referred to was issued in misapprehension to the County Inspector in one Division. It is not usual, and it would be detrimental to the interests of the Public Service, to state the reasons for issuing confidential communications to County Inspectors. I must, therefore, in this instance, respectfully decline to state them.

### INLAND NAVIGATION AND DRAINAGE (IRELAND) — DRAINAGE WORKS ON THE BARROW.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether Mr. Fitzgerald has yet completed his survey and valuation of the lands to be relieved by the contemplated drainage works of the Barrow; whether he can state the estimated expense of the works to be executed on the main stream; and, how soon the final Report of Mr. Manning the Engineer may be expected?

MR. COURTNEY: I am very sorry to say that in spite of all our efforts we cannot get Mr. Fitzgerald to report, and Mr. Manning's final Report must follow on his. The provisional Estimate for works on the main river only is about £300,000. In view of the delay on the part of the valuator the Treasury communicated with the Irish Government last week as to the expediency of appointing at once a Committee to consider what could be done with the materials in our hand. I have heard to-day by telegraph from the Lord Lieutenant that he agreed to the proposition.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE SHIPBUILDING TRADE.

MR. MAC IVER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the following paragraph, which appeared in *The Glasgow Herald* of last Saturday, viz.:—

> "State of Trade—Glasgow. Shipbuilding still depressed. . . . . A significant feature of the depression is a movement on the part of the operatives to procure employment on the Continent. Shipbuilding in France is reported to be on the increase;"

and, whether Her Majesty's Government are in possession of any information which leads them to doubt the accuracy of this statement?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: My right hon. Friend has asked me to answer this Question, and I will do so to the best of my ability. I am not certain whether the paragraph to which the hon. Member calls attention refers to any movement of operatives from Glasgow. If so, I have no information whatever on the subject; but I have heard of a movement of operatives from the North-East Coast, where the depression in shipbuilding is very great indeed; and I have learned that some few men—I believe no considerable number — have found employment in the shipbuilding yards in France, chiefly in connection; I believe, with the repairs which are going on upon French vessels. I may, perhaps, point out to the hon. Member that the French Bounty Law provided that ships might be built abroad up to a certain time, but that they were to be repaired in French ports; and the effect of that has been to increase the pressure of the depression in this way—that, in the first place, it created an exceptional demand for ships in this country, and led to the employment of a large number of persons who might not otherwise have been employed. When the artificial demand ceased, the depression, of course, was increased proportionately, and at the same time there has been an artificial demand for labour created in France by the repairs which have become necessary on these ships.

MR. MAC IVER: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will allow me to thank him for his reply, but, at the same time, to point out that he has not answered my Question, which is, whether it is or is not true that shipbuilding in France is reported to be on the increase?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have no positive information—no late information—with regard to the question of shipbuilding in France; but, as far as I know, there is no considerable increase.

### NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) — INCREASED GRANT TO CONVENT SCHOOLS.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the Government are now in a position to state what is the scheme for increased emoluments to the Convent National Schools, in Ireland, as promised last Session by the Member for Hawick Burghs?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): On the 18th July last my right hon. Friend the late Chief Secretary stated that this matter was under consideration, and would be dealt with before the Estimates for the coming year are framed. That promise is kept in mind; but I am not at present in a position to make any more definite statement.

### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—REPORTED FALL OF KHARTOUM.

**MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR)**: I wish to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received any confirmation of the rumour as to the fall of Khartoum which appeared in the evening papers?

**THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON**: No, Sir; no information whatever on that subject has been received either at the War Office or at the Foreign Office.

### PUBLIC HEALTH—ALLEGED OUTBREAK OF CHOLERA IN NORMANDY.

**SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT**: I wish to ask the President of the Local Government Board, Whether any steps have been taken to ascertain the nature of the disease which has broken out at Yport, in the North of France; and, if that disease is cholera, what measures had been adopted to prevent its spreading to this country?

**SIR CHARLES W. DILKE**: Information as to the nature of the outbreak has been asked for by the Medical Department, and partial information has already been received. With regard to the steps taken to prevent the spread of cholera to this country, a most complete examination of the ports has been made in advance during the last four months; and all the regulations which were formerly in force, and which successfully prevented the last epidemic of cholera in Northern Europe from spreading to this country, and which probably have been improved by experience, are in operation at the present time, and have been supplemented by the examination of ports to which I refer.

### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—MR. JUSTICE BARRY.

**MR. CALLAN** wished to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland a Question of which he had given him private Notice. It was, Whether the dying declarations of Patrick Joyce and Patrick Casey, taken by Mr. Brady, R.M., the day but one before the execution on the 15th December, admitting their own guilt, but stating the innocence of Myles Joyce, and refferred to in the Memorandum of Earl Spencer, were submitted to the consideration of Lord Justice Barry, who tried the prisoners; and, whether Lorn Justice Barry was consulted in the matter by his Excellency before refusing to grant the inquiry?

**THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER)**, in reply, said, that he had telegraphed to Dublin immediately upon receiving Notice of the Question; but he feared he could not answer it precisely. It appeared that Judge Barry certainly had the papers before him on the 13th of December.

**MR. HARRINGTON**: Does the hon. and learned Gentleman mean to insinuate that the depositions made on the 14th were before Judge Barry on the 13th?

[No reply.]

## *NOTICE OF AMENDMENT.*

### THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.

**LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**: Having regard to the statement of the Prime Minister the other night that the Government repudiate violence and outrage, and in order to enable the House to come to a decision on the matter at issue, as well as in justice to the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, I now beg to give Notice that I will move the following Amendment to the Address:—

> "And we humbly assure Her Majesty that we regret to find in recent speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an incitement to interference with the freedom of political discussion, and a justification of riot and disorder."

**MR. LABOUCHERE**: It would be very convenient to the House to know whether the noble Lord intends to bring on his Amendment immediately after the one under consideration has been disposed of; or whether, as is reported, there is to be a debate on the Transvaal, or any other subject? Perhaps the noble Lord will be able to inform us.

**LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**: I cannot tell.

**MR. LABOUCHERE** said, that it would be convenient to the House if the hon. Member for Birkenhead intended to proceed with his Amendment on the Address immediately after that now before the House was disposed of.

MR. MACIVER said, that he intended to move his Amendment; but he hoped the hon. Member would not think him discourteous if he declined to state when.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

—o—

### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FOURTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [23rd October,] "That, &c."—[See page. 69.]

And which Amendment, as amended, was,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "and this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey."—(*Mr. Harrington.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

### AMENDMENT (MR. HARRINGTON)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he was glad to see that the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) had found himself in a position to adopt the alteration in his Amendment suggested on the previous evening, for it put more clearly, more precisely and succinctly, what the Irish people most particularly demanded at the present moment. What they most wanted just now was a declaration of opinion from the House as to whether a case had not been made out for a re-investigation of the circumstances under which certain men were condemned to death, some executed, and some imprisoned for life. They did not want to have these murder cases retried in Parliament. The House had no machinery of that kind; but what the House was well entitled to ask was whether an appeal of the kind now put forward for re-investigation by proper authorities and in a proper way had not been made out, and whether they were not entitled to insist on that inquiry being held? Members should be made acquainted with the physical condition of that part of Ireland where the murders took place, and what the population consisted of. The population in the district lived in almost complete separation and isolation from civilization all round. He happened to be in that part of the country almost immediately after the occurrence of these murders; and, though he made no minute inspection, he obtained a tolerably clear knowledge of the district. Those even who had seen a Red Indian settlement or a Bedouin encampment could hardly have an idea of the condition in which the people of the Joyce country had lived. Local feelings of spite and ill-feeling grew and fostered easily in such a district amongst the people. A quarrel once begun would go on there from generation to generation, almost like a Corsican vendetta, and that would in a sense explain the personal hatred that existed, and even the dreadful fact that reckless charges were capable of being made against enemies who were not believed to be guilty of crime. He did not wish to arraign the finding of the jury or the action of the Judge. Nevertheless, there were some extraordinary features in the case. In their testimony the three independent witnesses had alleged that they had followed those ten desperate murderers over three Irish miles of broken country, and had never lost sight of them. Not one of those ten men, going as they were to do a desperate deed, had ever looked round to see whether they were followed. Then it was alleged that the three men had stood behind a bush, and that the murderers had almost touched them. Anyone who knew that part of the country knew that the vegetation was very scanty, and the bushes were all very small. The night was dark, and yet those who swore to the identity of the accused represented themselves as being in a position to state positively to their identity. Surely the very improbabilities of the case were sufficient to justify a re-investigation. Again, he was surprised at the careless way in which the Memorandum of the Lord Lieutenant had been made out. In one paragraph it stated that the evidence was "not merely circumstantial evidence." But the whole of the case had rested on direct evidence; and in the Memorandum, therefore, the Lord Lieutenant seemed to be mixing up one kind of evidence with another. What answer had they received to their request for a reconsideration of the case? The Government appeared to be exceedingly unhappy in its selection of Irish Law Officers. It appeared that they were very much exercised by the difficulty either to get them into the House or to get them out of it; and certainly the statement of the Solicitor General for Ireland had not advanced the case for the Government very much. The hon. and learned Gentleman had made an unusually heated partizan speech on the matter. The ex-Chief Secretary, it was true, had gone into the case more clearly and closely. What did the whole sum of the case as represented by the right hon. Gentleman amount to? It was in great part a contention that there was very much evidence offered by the Crown, so much that the conviction was warranted. He spoke as though it was a question of weighing so many witnesses against so many, the verdict going to that side which had the most; but they claimed that if they could produce one witness who ought to be heard, and was not heard, they had established their contention, and showed that the case ought not to be considered entirely settled at the bar of public opinion. Not a single point made by the hon. Member for Westmeath was disposed of; all the most important points he left exactly as he put them, and nothing that was said in contradiction to the facts they had brought forward ought to change an impartial public opinion. Again, the ex-Chief Secretary attempted to work on the feelings—he was going to say on the passions—of the House, by his reference to the agrarian and other outrages that had been committed in Ireland. But he had nothing whatever to say on that central point of the case—the depositions of the two boys—and he (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) could not help expressing his great regret at the manner in which they had been dealt with, at least by one great newspaper which influenced public opinion out-of-doors and in that House. When the hon. Member for Westmeath made his speech and put his case before the Government, his pamphlet upon the subject was in the hands of all persons who were interested in the facts it contained. Yet the article in *The Times* newspaper, in stating the case, left out of it all reference whatever to these depositions. How could English public opinion be properly formed if such omissions were made? He supposed it was done by mishap or carelessness; but he asked the House, how could English public opinion be fairly formed on a question like the present when one of its most leading organs could thus deal with a part of the case so important and so momentous? He was quite certain that if similar conditions existed in connection with the administration of the law in England an inquiry would be promptly granted. The Home Secretary also made a speech of some weight and importance in reply to the case put by the hon. Member for Westmeath. Some part of that speech, indeed, was not perfectly consistent. It was conceived apparently in the same spirit as that of an answer given by the Under Secretary for the Colonies that evening to the effect that he had already answered a certain Question, and, besides, it would be impossible to answer such a Question as that. Very much in the same style was the answer of the Home Secretary. He said—"This question has already been re-opened, and, besides, it would be wholly impossible to re-open a question like this." The right hon. Gentleman told them that he had himself thought over the whole question, and had, on his own responsibility, advised the Lord Lieutenant not to grant the sort of inquiry they desired. He did not tell the House, when he gave this advice, that he had any idea whatever of the existence of the depositions of those two boys which were kept by the counsel of the Crown from the counsel for the defence. Irish Members asked the Government to do nothing unusual or unprecedented. They merely asked the Government to do what had been done in the case of Kilmartin—to give an independent inquiry into all the old facts and the new, and say whether, on the whole, there was not a case made out sufficient to allow innocent men to be set at liberty, and to remove from the family of one man who had been executed the stain of guilt if he were proved to be innocent. How could the Government, in face of the support given to this proposition by so many eminent English lawyers, refuse the appeal now made to them? He made no insinuation or reflection upon the learned Judge or the jury, yet he felt compelled to say that there was at that time a general inclination to say—"We must punish someone." That was a most unfortunate feeling to get into the public mind at a time of excitement. There was a disposition to connect these murders in the Joyce country with the agrarian disturbances and agrarian crime. The Home Secretary pleaded that it was the business of counsel for the defence to have found out and used whatever facts and depositions were favourable to the prisoners. But, surely, whether counsel for the prisoners knew or used certain facts or not, if certain important evidence was not presented to the jury, there was a case for an inquiry. It did not appear to him that the defence in these cases was very skilfully conducted. He thought a little more vigilance on the part of counsel for the defence would have enabled them to get all the evidence that could be brought forward in favour of the prisoners. But if that evidence had been produced at the trial it would have influenced the minds of the jury—nay, it might have entirely changed their verdict. Was not that alone a strong ground for inquiry? He could not help feeling a certain doubt as to whether there was not a want of courage on the part of the Government in not acceding to this demand. It was the duty of the Government, fearless of a perverted public opinion—fearless of the threats and menaces of any particular Colleague; fearless of what might be said of them here or there—to stand up and say—"We do now at last believe that it has been shown that a mistake has been committed; we are willing to make that admission; and with that admission we are willing to grant a proper and independent inquiry, and by all the means in our power secure that justice shall be done to the living and the dead."

**MR. GLADSTONE**: Sir, I am sorry to interpose in this debate, and for many reasons I should have been glad if the argument of this case had been left in the hands of those who, from their training and experience, are really competent to conduct that argument with a perfect balance of mind and temper, and the absolute exclusion of all feeling that might bias their judgment, and with the capacity to weigh evidence which the Members of this House in general, and which certainly I myself in particular, can make no claim to possess. But, although that is the case, there are two considerations which lead me to believe that I should not fully discharge my duty unless I made some attempt to give my opinion, and the reasons for that opinion, to the House. The first of these considerations is of very great importance to the question, which undoubtedly neither the hon. Member for Cork (Mr. Parnell) nor anyone else whom I have heard has, in the slightest degree, exaggerated when they described it in the strongest terms they could command; for there can be no graver occasion than when the House of Commons should be solicited, or feel itself inclined, not merely to correct the conduct of particular persons belonging to the judicial body of the country, but to reopen a great judicial case of criminal justice which has been settled under circumstances of peculiar solemnity, and, as I think, of peculiar advantage for arriving at the truth. I will not say that there would be no case where it would be the duty of the House of Commons to search for the means for attempting an operation of that kind; I only say at present that it is one of the gravest cases that can be conceived; and I will endeavour at least to give this practical proof of my sense of its gravity, when I shall seek to avoid all imputations of motive, all exaggeration of the case, all that could give offence in any quarter; and if I cannot imitate the capacity of those who professionally investigate and conduct these questions, I will endeavour at least to conform to that judicial temper which they all strive to maintain. That is my first reason; and my second reason is that I think it due to Lord Spencer, who holds a high Office, under circumstances of peculiar anxiety, with the entire and unlimited confidence of his political Colleagues, that I should not shrink from giving him—I will not say whatever advantage he may derive—but, at all events, whatever conscientious witnesses may be brought in to support him on an occasion when not merely his judgment has been called in question, but when the severest charges have been launched against him; such charges that, if they could be proved, undoubted dismissal from Office would be no adequate notice of the acts involved in them, and nothing less than impeachment should follow. [*Irish cheers.*] I am very glad that Gentlemen in that quarter of the House concur in my view of the gravity of the case, as far as Lord Spencer is concerned. Now, let us see what is the Motion that we have before us—what are its terms and what are its objects. The Motion prays for a full and public inquiry into the execution of Myles Joyce, and the continued imprisonment of four other persons. It aims, I think, at three objects—in the first place, it censures; in the second place, it asks for the retrial of the case; and, in the third place, for the revision of the case in consequence of new facts or evidence that is supposed to have come into our possession since the trial was concluded. Now, with regard to the censure upon Lord Spencer, that, I think, it ought to be clearly understood, is as distinctly as possible involved in the Motion itself and in its terms. The hon. Member (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) who has just sat down says we are only asked to do what was done in the Kilmartin case. I distinctly traverse that with all the courtesy that that statement will permit. In the Kilmartin case it was not even the act of this House which caused further proceedings. It was the production of facts and the discussion in this House. [*Irish cheers.*] I am very glad to hear those highly judicial cheers, which confirm the statement I make. It was the new facts and the discussion in this House which led the Executive Government spontaneously to refer to the Viceroy on the subject, and which led the Viceroy, from his own conviction, to arrive at a certain conclusion. But now, on the contrary, by the very terms of the Motion which are before us, the action of the Viceroy is absolutely excluded, and he is condemned, if this Motion passes, as incompetent and unworthy to perform the duties of his Office. I hope I have made it clear, even to the hon. Member who has just spoken, that there is a broad and clear distinction between this case and that of Kilmartin. It has been said, and no Gentlemen expressed their own opinion, that the motive of Lord Spencer in declining to re-open this case has been to shield official guilt and offences. I am not cheered as I was a moment ago. Well, I believe that is so now I have obtained the testimony which I should not have asked for had it not been so freely and abundantly rendered on previous occasions. Now, Gentlemen opposite think that the casting upon Lord Spencer of charges utterly destructive of his character and honour is for us a very slight matter. Who is Lord Spencer? Lord Spencer is a man of whom I will say, without fear of contradiction from any of those who differ from him more than from any who agree with him in general politics, that you cannot through the length and breadth of the country name an individual who commands a larger personal confidence. [" Oh, oh! " *and loud cheers.*] [An Irish MEMBER: Not in Ireland.] I am not speaking of hon. Gentlemen in that quarter of the House. I am speaking of the rest of the community. I am speaking of the general estimation in which Lord Spencer is held, and I affirm without fear of contradiction that there is not a man in this country who enjoys to the same singular degree the respect, the confidence, the veneration, and the affection of his fellow-subjects. Well, Lord Spencer does not stand alone; but I will not speak of those of whom I have less personal knowledge. I will not speak, for instance, of even so distinguished a man as Mr. Hamilton, who was sent to Ireland simply and solely because, on a survey of the whole range of choice, he was found and believed by us to be the best and ablest man whom we could send to fill a most arduous post. As I have never been in close official relations with him, I will not speak of him, and on the same ground I will not speak of the distinguished Gentleman who is now Attorney General for Ireland. But there is one person besides Lord Spencer of whom I will speak—a person who received a well-merited tribute last night from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), in the admirable speech which he made, if I may presume so to call it, and that is the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. I have known the Lord Chancellor of Ireland well; I have sat by his side in the arduous conflicts of this House; I have seen the interior and exterior qualities of the man, and I have never known a man of a mind more thoroughly judicial, or of a capacity more deserving of, or more entitled to, the absolute confidence of his friends, and of all those with whom he may come in contact. Well, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has, of course, been the leading adviser of Lord Spencer in these transactions. It was his duty as a Member of the Government, and from no duty of his would he ever shrink. The reason I mention these things is to convey to the minds of hon. Members, if I can, what I think to be an error in their modes of procedure. I tell them plainly that a speech like the speech of the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), couched in terms of studied moderation, and without a word of charge or offence, is infinitely more likely to operate upon the mind of this House with respect to a Motion such as the present, than the making against a man like Lord Spencer, surrounded as he is by other men of the highest character and capacity, charges which, if true, show them to be the unworthiest of mankind. It would be well, if hon. Members desire the favourable judgment of this House, that they should speak a language understood by this House. But they have attempted to approach our hearts and minds through the medium of these sweeping condemnations of the character and motives of men whom we have been accustomed to revere and to love even more than we admire them. They speak to us in a foreign language. [Irish MEMBERS: We are foreigners!]

MR. SPEAKER: I must request hon. Members not to interrupt the right hon. Gentleman. These interruptions are very unseemly, and I hope they will not be persisted in.

MR. GLADSTONE: I, Sir, will do what I can to contribute to the peace and order of this discussion by taking no notice of what is said. I think, perhaps, a wider sense has been given to my words than they themselves convey. I say that hon. Members speak a foreign language when they make these charges against gentlemen like Earl Spencer and those by whom he is surrounded, such as the Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Of course, I do not mean to say that they really spoke in a foreign language when they argued the case now before us. But I wish to point out to them that that extravagance of speech is an impediment in the way of the object which I have no doubt they unanimously desire to attain. With regard to another class of functionaries in Ireland, I own that it appears to me that there is something very unsatisfactory in this mode of attack. There is a gentleman of the name of Bolton, in respect of whom I shall only take his name as the representative of an official person charged with certain duties. Well, what course has been taken in his case? He has been charged with offences which I understand are indictable offences, and for which, if I am rightly advised, it is in the power of those who believe them to be provable to secure his being indicted. [*Laughter.*] I am much obliged to the hon. Members who think that scornful laughter is one of the best modes of arguing a judicial question. It might, perhaps, be asked—"Why is not that course taken?" But I will suppose that for some reason or other it is not fit to be adopted; and, on the other hand, that the subject is fit to be treated in this House. I want to call the attention of the House to the manner in which it is treated. This House, according to every sound Constitutional doctrine, is the great inquest of the nation; and although there may be wrongs into which it is not the province even of this House to inquire, yet every one of us would desire to extend and not to contract that province. I will not, therefore, say that it is beyond the province of this House to inquire into these charges of an indictable offence which are made against Mr. Bolton; but this I will say—that the powers which the House exercises when it enters upon such a case are very great powers—powers which require to be carefully limited and checked in their use; and I must say that it is to my mind a dangerous and not altogether worthy practice—not worthy of the dignity of this House and of its Members—to present to the House Motions of great mildness in terms not directly conveying censure, and to support them in speeches involving the most tremendous charges of every kind. What is the effect? The effect is that those charges are scattered abroad to the world with the authority which they derive from having been introduced in debates in this House, but that no man is obliged to prove any of them. Now, that is a dangerous and evil state of things; and my contention is that when these grave and tremendous charges are brought forward by particular persons, these persons ought to be bound to prove them. [Hon. MEMBERS: Let us prove them. Grant the inquiry.] You wish for an inquiry. Then let him who wishes for it lay upon the Table of this House the charges which he wishes to make. That I say, not without some facts in my recollection, has been repeatedly the practice of this House when proposals were made ostensibly for an inquiry, but when the very institution of the inquiry involved at least a *primâ facie* case of the gravest reproach, to require those who made the charges to bring them under the consideration of the House, and to pledge themselves to prove them, and only when the House has known what pledges were taken by the person making the accusation has the inquiry been granted. I remember a case not so grave as this, but yet a very grave one, in which I was myself concerned. A Notice of Motion was given by a distinguished Member of this House—the late Mr. Horsman—impugning the conduct of a very high functionary, a Bishop of this country—I forget the exact charges—but in regard to his proceeding in instituting to a particular benefice. The Motion was a vague Motion for a Committee to be appointed to inquire into the Bishop's conduct. Well, Sir, I made some investigation of the Journals of the House upon this occasion; and I found that I should be going according to precedent, as well as to principle, if I made a Motion to this effect—that the Member for Cockermouth do lay upon the Table of this House the charges to which he pledges himself, and which he pledges himself to prove before the Committee, before entertaining his Motion for a Committee.

Mr. HARRINGTON: If the right hon. Gentleman will permit me, I shall be very glad to do so.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am very glad of any amendment in the form of proceedings that can be made. I am only observing upon the practice which has been adopted in the present case, which has been to place upon the Table a mild and comparatively inoffensive Motion, but, in speeches in support of it, to charge Lord Spencer with offences for which he would deserve impeachment, and to be still more liberal in accusations against other persons. I will only say one word more on this point. Were there a Motion made of direct censure upon the conduct of official functionaries, even in regard to judicial business—I mean persons connected with the Crown and Executive Government—that I should consider to be a Motion totally differing from the Motion before us, for I think it is desirable to leave the greatest latitude to accusations against persons in the Public Service; and it is not on account of its bearing on them that I would oppose this Motion at this moment, but on account of its bearing, as it appears to me, upon the judicial system of the country. Well, the first of the objects of the Motion of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Harrington) is censure, and the second is a retrial of the case. I limit myself to that proposition, because I admit that various Gentlemen in that quarter of the House have more or less declined to adopt the contention that the case out to be retried. But a considerable portion of the arguments of hon. Members opposite is directed to what amounts to a demand for a virtual retrial of the case. For example, the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) who has just sat down went over a good deal of the case with regard to the three identifying witnesses, and likewise with regard to the declarations made by the boys; and with respect to the first he raised a number of contentions as to the improbability or impossibility of their having given sound and true evidence, and in respect of their being under the influence of adverse motives, the whole of which had nothing whatever to do with the new matter which has come in since the trial, but which is a complete revival of questions involved in the original proceedings. Therefore, it is idle for the hon. Member to say, if he adheres to those arguments, that he does not ask for a retrial of the case. The hon. Member went further, because he dealt with the declarations taken from the two boys. He supposes that he has before him the fact that the counsel for the defence, having in his hands so much, at any rate, of those declarations as were given into the hands of the policemen, yet did not think fit to make them the ground of any fresh proceedings; and then the hon. Member actually says that because the counsel for the defence omitted to do for his clients what the hon. Member thinks he ought to have done, therefore there is ground for reopening the case.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: If he had done so; I did not say he had done so. What I said was that if by some strange neglect on the part of the prisoners' counsel the case had not been put before the jury as it ought to have been, that was ground for making an inquiry.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Member said two cases—either wilful omission or neglect. We know that the defendants' counsel did not proceed upon this evidence; the hon. Member says that he ought to have proceeded upon it; and his contention is that on account of this neglect on the part of the counsel for the defence there ought to be a retrial of the case. Therefore, let us not conceal from ourselves that this is not a contention for a retrial on account of any new evidence which has come out since the original trial; but it is a contention that there should be a new trial because the prisoners' counsel may not have taken a certain course which the hon. Member thinks he ought to have taken. If we have come to that, that we are to retry a great judicial case, not simply on account of errors committed by the Crown, but on account of errors which we rather think may have been committed by other people whom the prisoners charged had for their defenders, then, indeed, there is an end of the settled administration of justice in this country—then, indeed, it is high time that you should set about devising a totally new set of provisions for the purpose. There is no question at all as to many important facts in the case. I shall not attempt to speak of them with authority; but I will point to what I think is a reasonable view which might be taken of them by a lay and untutored mind who regards them from without. In the first place, it is impossible to put out of view that we are dealing here with the verdict not of one jury, but of three. In the second place, it is impossible, I think, for any reasonably-minded person to omit from his consideration something of great importance in connection with the topic I have just touched on—namely, possible error on the part of the counsel for the defence. Was there ever so fine an opportunity, supposing that some error was committed by the counsel for the defence in the first of these trials, for the counsel in the following trial to notice that defect? [MR. HARRINGTON: They were the same counsel.] Very well; it is identically the same thing; it is rather stronger. If he was the same counsel, assuredly there never was an opportunity so favourable for a man to consider in the second trial whether he had done his best for his client in the first, and, if he found he had not, to correct it in the second; and, again, in the third trial, to consider whether he had done his best in the first and second, and in the third to supply the defect. These are circumstances which certainly appear to me to give a remarkable solidity to the judgment and the sentence which we have before us. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in his, as I think, very temperate and very dignified speech yesterday, observed on the remarkable strength of the evidence upon which those verdicts were given. I think he said—and even an uninstructed person might well believe that there was something most remarkable in the fact—that you have in this case no less than three distinct identifying witnesses. It was one of those cases in which, as I understand it, the identification amounted to everything; because although the identifying witnesses did not see the deed done, yet they saw the persons charged place themselves in the position which brought them within the guilt of murder. And there were three distinct witnesses to this fact; there were also the confessions of guilt, and there was the evidence of the approvers. With respect to the evidence of the approvers—and it has been one of the most satisfactory features in the debate—there has been no great disposition to rely upon it, on the one side of the House or the other. Several Gentlemen on that side told us they were willing to part with the second deposition of Casey, and I do not think that there is any great disposition on this side to place undue reliance on the first. With respect to the plea of guilt, I know of no reason why it should be invalidated. But with respect to the evidence of the three witnesses, that is a point of such importance that I wish to ask the House to observe some of the particulars affecting that evidence and those witnesses. These witnesses had to go through three trials. There were three opportunities of testing their consistency, each with himself, and their consistency one with another. Not in a single particular in any one of the three was that consistency in the slightest degree impaired or broken down. Next, they were corroborated, up to a certain point, by the daughter; because a fact, very strange in itself, which is not now doubted or questioned, of their having—labouring men—given up the night to an excursion from their dwellings, is placed beyond all doubt whatever. As the right hon. and learned Gentlemman the Member for Dublin University (Mr. Gibson) observed last night, a large part of this identification remains practically undisputed—it is only as to a portion that there is a subject of contest. Next, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman observed, out of 10 persons found guilty, nine have, at one period or another, distinctly and formally admitted their own guilt; and there is only one, and he is dead, with respect to whom that admission is not forthcoming. There is another point which I have not heard noticed—at any rate, it is one that strikes me—it is this—that this evidence of the three identifying witnesses is not wholesale evidence given hand over head; but it is evidence given with discrimination. Two of the three identifying witnesses speak to the identity of all the 10 men; one of them speaks to the identity of nine, and says, with regard to the tenth, he did not know him. That is certainly a circumstance of care and apparent fidelity, which goes to support the evidence of those witnesses. But is not this a very extraordinary fact, upon the showing of hon. Gentlemen in that quarter of the House, that whereas 10 persons were charged with being out of their homes in a particular place engaged in committing a particular crime in the middle of the night, no single attempt has ever been made during the trial, or during the subsequent period, to prove an *alibi* for any of those 10 men? Is it possible to conceive, if those 10 men had not been the guilty persons, it should not have been practicable for some of them to show that they were at home in bed at the time when the murder was charged to have been committed; or, if not in bed, that they were, at least, in some other place than this? [Mr. HARRINGTON: Wives are not admissible witnesses.] But if their wives are not able to give evidence, there are not so many houses in Ireland where there are not children. I understand that there were actually two witnesses paid for by the Crown for Myles Joyce who were not called; and I am not aware that there could be any difficulty in proving that point. Another point that ought to be considered is that we are not dealing with an error of judgment on the part of those three identifying witnesses. They do not say—"I think it was so and so; to the best of my belief it was so and so." They did not give an opinion; they swore to a fact; they bound themselves as absolutely as men could do to the fact of the identity. The consequence is that if they did not speak the truth they were evidently perjurers. Then the House is asked to come to the conclusion that after three juries approved of their evidence, that evidence is to be rejected, and the men are to be treated as guilty of perjury. And does any one of those Gentlemen think that a jury would be found to convict any one of those persons? I do not hear a reply. [Several Irish MEMBERS: That is not the question.] There are ways of treating this question, undoubtedly, which are extremely short and easy. The oaths of the three men thus affirmatively and thus negatively corroborated, and the tale they tell, is dismissed by the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) as a wild and impudent fabrication. Undoubtedly, if we, sitting here as Members of Parliament, sent for other purposes than to go into judicial decisions, and finding this mass of evidence given by these three men, whose testimony is woven, as it were, one in the other, making a threefold strand hard to break—if with our knowledge of the contour of the country and the circumstances of the case, and with the opinion formed here by us as Members of Parliament, we are to disturb the most solemn judicial proceedings; then, indeed, the position is one of very great peril, and I trust the House will pause before consenting to assume it. Then there are three points that are taken—the evidence of the boys, the dying declarations of the two men, and the recantations of the approvers. So far, I believe, as is known to us, it is the recantation of one approver only—namely, Casey. [An hon. MEMBER: Two.] That is alleged; but we have not facts of that kind in our possession, and I must say I do not regard the matter as of any great importance. Whether there were one or two, it appears to me that such evidence is of very little value; and I believe hon. Gentlemen from Ireland are as well as aware as we are of the absolute impossibility of founding anything upon such evidence if it were to be applied to finding any person guilty of a criminal offence. But I dismiss the evidence of the approver, as I do not avail myself of the evidence of the approver. With regard to the two dying declarations, I would only speak of them as they appear from the statements of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The nature of these declarations is such that I believe in a legal sense they never can be treated as evidence. But I understand it also to be the case that they may present circumstances entitling them to moral weight; and in such a case they ought to be taken notice of and even acted upon by the responsible Minister in the exercise of the Prerogative of mercy. I am only going to offer an unprofessional remark—an extraneous remark—and it is this. It appears to me that if any moral weight is to be attached to such declarations, clearly the very first condition which you must absolutely require is that they should be conceived in the spirit and language of men who, conscious of the grievous offence they have committed against their laws and against their kind, seek at the last moment to make the best atonement in their power by telling the whole truth they know, and doing everything in their power, on the one hand, to exempt the innocent from punishment, and, on the other hand, to bring the criminals to justice. I take the statement of the declarations as it appears from the accounts given by hon. Gentlemen opposite who plead the force of it, and who tell us that these dying men pointed out the persons by whom they said the crime had been committed.

MR. HARRINGTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman produce the declarations?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have been tolerably patient of the hon. Gentleman's interruptions. I am not availing myself of anything in the declarations known to me. I am arguing upon what is shown, or stated, of them by those who plead them; and I say that upon their own plea they do not possess the very first qualification for entitling them to assume moral weight, and that qualification is that they shall be declarations of men desirous to atone for their, in this instance, horrible offence, by endeavouring to procure the full and effectual administration of justice. Then it is said that there is great importance in the evidence of the two boys, and here the charge is made of the suppression of the evidence of the boy who survived. Subject to all the reserves I have made as to the value of evidence, I entirely contest the statement made more than once that the declarations of the boys were contradictory to the evidence of the three identifying witnesses. There is no contradiction whatever in my opinion. [*Laughter.*] I regret that there are Gentlemen in this House who think that contempt, and the free expression of contempt, is the best mode of arriving at the truth in a difficult investigation carefully requiring the exclusion of all such elements. I differ from them, and I am very sorry, partly for my own sake, which is a trifling consideration, much more for their own sakes, and very much more still for the sake of their country, to which, I think, they are not doing justice when they are not able to conduct their operations in this House in modes more agreeable and more consistent with prudence and right feeling. I am of opinion, subject to their better judgment, that there is no contradiction whatever between the statements of the boys, and particularly of the surviving boy, which is the most important, and the allegations of the three witnesses. The points are whether the upper parts of the vestments were light or dark, and whether the faces were dirty or blackened, or in their ordinary and natural condition. I am not an Irish scholar, and it does not appear clear whether the boy who survived declared the faces to be merely dark and dirty, or actually blackened; and I will suppose he declared them blackened. Well, it was observed by my right hon. Friend that they might have been blackened when the men were in the cottage; it does not follow that they were blackened when they were made objects of identification by the three witnesses. And as to the upper vestments, what could be more easy and more simple than upon entering the cottage, or about it, they should strip themselves of the dark clothes they ordinarily wore, and should go into the cottage exhibiting a lightness of colour in their vestments? There is nothing approaching to a contradiction between the statements about the blackened faces and the clothes and the evidence of the three witnesses. It is said that all this in the boys' depositions was withheld from the knowledge of the prisoners' counsel. The hon. Gentleman opposite has possessed himself of the brief of the counsel for the Crown. Without making an inquiry into that matter I cannot regret that he has got the brief, for I am very glad he should know everything that can be known. [Mr. BIGGAR: Oh, oh!] The hon. Member for Cavan is maintaining the consistency of his character; but if he will be kind enough to shut his ears for one moment and allow me to proceed without interruption, I will repeat that I am glad the hon. Gentleman should be in possession of everything and anything that will assist him in this investigation. It is said that the final declaration of the younger boy was not communicated as a document to the Court, or to the opposite counsel; but I believe, as a fact, that that final declaration did contain the particulars which I have mentioned about the light clothes, which particulars were not contained in the account the boy gave to the constable. The account given to the constable, however, did contain the important fact about the blackened faces—if the word used signifies blackened. Did the counsel for the defence call, or attempt to call, the boy for the sake of examining him upon that matter?

MR. HARRINGTON: The Crown produced him; but he was not allowed to be sworn by the Crown, because upon his production on the table it was found that he was not sufficiently instructed to know the nature of an oath.

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, Sir; but the hon. Gentleman's account does not draw the distinctions which are essential to the truth. The case is that the Crown suppressed this evidence, and the answer is that the Crown placed the boy upon the table to be examined. The Crown placed him upon the Table where a man is placed when he is going to be examined. What more could the Crown do?

MR. CALLAN: Teach him the nature of an oath.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. Gentleman interrupts me by an exclamation which I must call impertinent—no; I will not say impertinent. Even the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), in the course of his remarks to-night, observed that when he heard the speech of the Home Secretary yesterday it reminded him of an answer given by the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to-day. The hon. Gentleman confuses a little the present, the future, and the past tenses. I am reminded by my right hon. Friend that it was in the power of the counsel for the defence, who had been cognizant of the statements about the blackened faces for months before, at any time to have called the surviving boy as a witness; and if he had not been examined it would have been owing to the discovery that he was not a competent witness to give evidence in Court. The Crown placed him in a position to be examined, and that was all they could do, so far as they were concerned. We have this fact before us, that the counsel for the defence did not think it any part of his duty to his clients to take any step whatever to promote the examination of the boy. Such are the grounds upon which it is attempted to disturb these remarkable verdicts, and it is an attempt to disturb them in order that there shall be a full public inquiry. What is this inquiry to be? What are its possible forms? We are to begin by shutting out the only regular and Constitutional form. The Constitution of this country knows nothing of criminal appeal, properly so called, nothing of the retrial of cases, as was explained by the Home Secretary last night. It knows of the reference to the responsible Minister, who, surrounded by the very best advisers, and acting under the deepest sense of responsibility, is entitled to exercise the Prerogative of mercy. That mode of operation you begin by excluding, because what you are asking for is not a further investigation of the question by the responsible officer of the Queen, but it is a full and public inquiry, a description to which his operation could not correspond. What kind of a public inquiry is it to be? Is it to be a Committee of this House? I remember a similar case of endeavouring to overset the verdict of a jury by a Committee of this House. It was in the case, well known at the time, of Mr. Whittle Harvey. It happened in 1833 or 1834, and I myself sat upon that Committee. I voted alone against the Report of the Committee, which attempted to overset the verdict of the jury in Mr. Whittle Harvey's case. Mr. O'Connell was Chairman of the Committee, and he conducted the case with consummate skill and ability. That all but unanimous Report was presented to the House, and, powerful as the House is when acting in its own proper province, it showed how impotent is the House when it makes an irregular use of its machinery, although it was used as well as it could be for the purpose in view. The Report was so little recognized by the public opinion of the country that the Benchers of the Inns of Court, to whom Mr. Whittle Harvey had applied for his admission to the Bar, persisted in their refusal, and beat the Committee of the House of Commons. That was not very promising for inquiry by a Committee of the House, and yet I am by no means sure, if there was to be an inquiry at all, whether that would not be as good a method as any other. What has been suggested? It has been suggested that a very eminent Judge, Lord Bramwell, should be sent to examine into the matter. Has the hon. Member who recommended this appointment satisfied himself that Lord Bramwell will accept the duty? I suspect he knows as well as I do that there is not the smallest likelihood of such an acceptance. What would he or anyone else be invited to do? He would be sent partly to correct the defence at the original trial—for that the argument on the other side distinctly includes—and partly on account of the new evidence, which we believe to be wholly without weight for the purpose in view, and virtually to overset the verdicts of three juries, given unanimously and with a universal recognition of the weight of the evidence on which they were founded. What means would he have? How would he go to work? Whom would he examine? Would he examine this child now of 11 years? [An hon. MEMBER: Certainly.] Well, we know what the child has to say; we know his statement about the faces of the men and about their garments. As to one of these statements, that the faces were blackened, we know very well that the counsel for the defence did not think it worth his while to use it on behalf of his clients. Is he to examine the convicts who pleaded guilty? Is the House to send down some great lawyer to examine these four convicts who pleaded guilty, without any direct evidence tending to show that they were innocent, and to endeavour to convict them of falsehood on that plea, and prove them to be innocent? Is he to examine the recanting approver? I hardly think anybody will recommend that. [Mr. HARRINGTON: Why not?] Then there is one Gentleman who would examine him. I really thought that, throughout the debate, and especially by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and other hon. Members on that side of the House, a disposition had been shown to abandon as hopeless the statements of Casey as the foundation for any proceedings of a public and judicial character. If anyone could be found to undertake the inquiry, how is he to examine these persons? He has no power to administer an oath; he has to go to work without the sanction of an oath; and upon the strength of such evidence as he gets without the sanction of an oath he is to overset the verdicts which were arrived at in public after solemn and repeated inquiry, and covered by that solemn sanction. [Mr. GRAY: The Kilmartin case.] In that case the proceeding was one known to the Constitution, and it was completely distinct from that of a Court of Justice. But the proceeding you recommend is totally unknown to the Constitution; you have no precedent; it is a new and unheard-of method of disturbing a solemn judgment. It cannot be covered by the sanction of an oath, and the issue is not to be referred even to the judgment of a jury. In these circumstances, I must express my hope that a vast majority, a large and overwhelming majority, of this House will decline to accept this most objectionable and most inefficient Motion. My last objection to the full and public inquiry, be it as full and public as it may, is that it must be totally inefficient. You cannot possibly come at a body of testimony through the medium of such an inquiry, worth for one moment to be put in competition with the testimony upon which was founded the original solemn proceeding. We do not admit that there is any substance in the new evidence. We conceive that there is the greatest danger in arguments like those of the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy) for re-opening and retrying that which was publicly, fully, impartially, and repeatedly tried, and affirmed by a Judge and by three juries. We enter our protest against the institution of a Court of Criminal Appeal, in the first place, for a single case, and not upon the foundation of a general law; and, in the second place, against the institution of a Court of Criminal Appeal, totally inferior in all its means of action, and in all its power to investigate the truth, to the tribunals which it seeks to supersede.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR said, that the speech of the Prime Minister was really disappointing, not only to his political foes, but also to his political friends. It was one of the weakest, the lamest, and the most halting speeches the right hon. Gentleman had ever delivered in that House. The largest part of it was taken up with questions utterly irrelevant to the points at issue; and, so far as it was relevant, it consisted of nothing but weak and flimsy arguments in support of the case of the Crown. He would just take two of the statements made by the Prime Minister as an example. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of Lord Spencer as having the respect of the general community. Surely it ought to have occurred to the right hon. Gentleman that by far the greater measure of Earl Spencer's success as an Administrator was to be found, not in the opinion of the general community over which he ruled, but of the people by whom he was sent to govern. It was as notorious as any fact in Ireland that there never had been a Representative of Her Majesty in Ireland who was more deeply and more widely loathed and despised in that country than the present Lord Lieutenant. If he were asked for a proof of this statement he need but refer to a recent tour of Earl Spencer, with the main incidents of which the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly familiar. By a consensus of opinion and action that was almost unprecedented, the loathing and the hatred in which Earl Spencer was held by the population of Ireland was then made known. He would give a second specimen of the right hon. Gentleman's statement and argument. The right hon. Gentleman asked, how could the Government convict those three men? What evidence could they produce; what tribunal could they institute to try them; what machinery had they available? That was the confession of the Prime Minister after two years of the Crimes Act—that three men, publicly accused of murder, could not be brought to justice or to trial. But he would give the right hon. Gentleman a fair chance. Let him place at the disposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) the Search Clauses of the Crimes Act and the Secret Inquiry Clauses of the Crimes Act, and, if his hon. Friend would accept the loan, the services of Mr. George Bolton, and let his hon. Friend be supposed capable of imitating the jury-packing tactics of Crown Solicitors in Ireland, including the latest accession to the honourable order of Knighthood; and he promised on behalf of his hon. Friend that in three weeks he would have a case which no jury would reject for the conviction of the real murderers. He was glad that the right hon. Gentleman referred to the Kilmartin case, of which, hitherto, the Government had been a little shy. The late Chief Secretary never said a word about that case until, at the end of his speech, he had to reply to an interruption. Yet that case must have been present to the right hon. Gentleman's mind. It was the Kilmartin case which kicked the right hon. Gentleman upstairs. The Prime Minister denied that there was any analogy between that case and the present. But the two cases were analogous. In each there was a crime committed, a man convicted, a statement that the conviction was unjust, and that the man was innocent, founded on a dying confession. Next, in the Kilmartin case, there was a primary inquiry held by the Government, and the then Chief Secretary brought forward that inquiry as an answer to the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). A second inquiry was refused by the Chief Secretary; but it was compelled by the action of the House, and the unhappy man was released after having undergone the horrors of penal servitude for two years. When Kilmartin was released his first thought was what would be the feeling of the Chief Secretary, who had done all he could to prevent the inquiry being held. He had thought that the late Chief Secretary's conscience would have been roused; perhaps it was, and his transfer from Ireland to the Foot-and-Mouth Disease Department was a consequence of that rousing of conscience. He remembered that when the horror which attended the execution of Myles Joyce was brought before the House the Prime Minister seemed to be greatly shocked. But the case was brought forward still more strikingly by his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) in *United Ireland*, in which was given the declaration of those two men from the gallows when they had the noose round ther necks. But the result was that his hon. Friend was put on his trial for seditious libel. That was a test of the willingness of the Government to institute an inquiry into the matter, which they professed themselves ready to do if a proper case was shown. But the cheers which last night greeted his hon. Friend were not only an expression of the regard and esteem in which he was held by his friends, but indicated the conviction that the struggle with the powers of darkness at Dublin Castle was coming to an end, and that his hon. Friend's day of reckoning with Lord Spencer was very near. The trial of these men had been conducted with indecent haste, and the jury were only a few minutes in each case in finding their verdict. Everybody in Court, from the Judge downwards—and it was with deep concern that he included the counsel for the defence—were anxious to be rid of the case as soon as they could. [*Ironical Ministerial cheers.*] Well, he had not intended to refer to the counsel for the defence in these cases, as he did not wish to make it a personal matter; but, having been so directly challenged by the Prime Minister and Home Secretary, he would say that the counsel for the defence were incompetent, notoriously incompetent, to conduct it. The prisoners, as murderers, were defended by the smallest and pettiest counsel which the miserable fees of the Government would allow them. [Mr. KENNY: They were the worst on the Connaught Circuit.] The counsel for the defence were utterly incompetent. [*Interruption, and* "Eminent counsel."] The counsel employed could in no sense be said to be more eminent than the hon. and learned Member for Stockport (Mr. Hopwood), who interrupted him. He would repeat that there seemed to be a conspiracy between the Judge, counsel, and the juries to hurry the cases through the Court. Casey in his evidence stated that some time before they reached John Joyce's house they were joined by two additional men, Patrick Kelly and Michael Neale. The Judge called attention to this remarkable discrepancy in the evidence for the Crown, for it was observable that all the independent witnesses swore to there being 10 men, whereas the addition of Kelly and Neale brought the number up to 12. The mention of the two additional names afforded a clue to the whole affair; but although the chief prosecuting counsel for the Crown had declared that these men were at the root of the confederacy, no endeavour had been made to find any trace of them. He would ask the Government who Kelly and Neale were? Mr. Justice Barry remarked that it would be for the jury to say whether it was impossible or improbable that they were the instigators and concoctors of the whole affair. Yet the Government did not even condescend to make any inquiry about them. For once the counsel for the defence made a good fight. Mr. Malley tried to get a postponement, and one of his reasons for demanding it was the very point that had just been referred to; but Mr. Murphy, the counsel for the Crown, declined to accede to the request. He thought he had now clearly established the fact that there was a conspiracy to hurry on the case without a due and thorough investigation of the main and essential circumstances. In his opinion, the Government did not want to find out the true concoctors of the Maamtrasna massacre, because if the illegal murderers of Maamtrasna were discovered the legal murderers of Dublin Castle would also be discovered. With regard to the blackened faces, the Solicitor General for Ireland, in a flight of imagination, gave it as his explanation that black was white and that white was black. The explanation of the ex-Chief Secretary was that the poor boys, seeing the hellish work in which these fiends were engaged, would naturally imagine that their faces were black. This was the kind of evidence which they were asked by the Government to accept as probable and credible. The men who committed the murders were most of them relatives of and all of them well known to these two boys. Persons about to commit a crime in Ireland almost invariably disguised themselves—most commonly by blackening their faces. Almost the first thing that Casey had said when interviewed was that the men had blackened faces. The evidence was conclusive that the faces of these men were blackened.

If the two boys were unable to identify the men, who were stated to be their first cousins, when they were standing over them beating their lives out, because the men's faces were blackened, how was it possible that the witnesses for the Crown could have identified them at a distance of 50 yards in the night time? He submitted that there was no pretence for the course which the Crown had adopted of holding back the fact that the boys had stated that the men's faces were blackened. It had been stated by learned counsel of great ability that the practice at the English Bar was that all facts of importance were communicated by the counsel for the prosecution to the counsel for the defence. But was that done in this case? Would the Attorney General for England dare to say it was? He dared not do so. It had been said by the Home Secretary that it was notorious that the boys had said that the men's faces were blackened. But was it notorious that the boys had stated that fact in their dying depositions? Such depositions were perfectly legal documents, and they were wilfully kept back by either the solicitor or the counsel for the prosecution from the counsel for the defence. The Home Secretary had further said that one of the boys was placed in the witness-box in order that he might be examined by the prisoners' counsel, but that it was proved that the lad did not know the nature of an oath. But this boy had been for three months in the care of the police; and could not they in that long period have educated him sufficiently to let him know the consequences of giving false testimony? It must be remembered that the boy was nine years of age, and was stated to be an intelligent lad, who could easily have been taught such a simple matter as that. The police did not train the boy because they did not want his evidence. The note inserted in the Crown brief by Mr. Bolton that the boy's evidence was unimportant was a deliberate lie, because his evidence would have been most important and pertinent. The inference was indisputable that the evidence was kept back wilfully and fraudulently. The Government had refused this inquiry on the ground that to grant it would be to interfere with law and order in Ireland, which was a paraphrase for saying that if it were granted they would lose the inestimable services of Lord Spencer. He, however, asked that this inquiry should be granted in the interests of law and order, and in the interests of Lord Spencer himself. Lord Spencer had, in the minds of the Irish people, as odious and as terrible a stigma upon his character as ever attached to any man. He was believed by the overwhelming majority of the Irish people to have been guilty of a cruel judicial murder; and the belief went further, because it was believed that he had been guilty of that murder in pursuance of a general policy of attempting to strike terror by indiscriminate cruelty and executions. It was believed that Lord Spencer had in his possession documents which would show his guilt in the matter; if, on the contrary, they would show his innocence, let him produce them. The Government had had the meanness to declare that the documents could not be produced, because to produce them would be contrary to precedent. But if there was anything in the world that was in accordance with immemorial precedent, it was that dying declarations of criminals should be made public. The impression, however, would be left upon the minds of the Irish people that Lord Spencer was afraid to produce these documents. He was, therefore, justified in saying that this inquiry ought to be granted in the interests of Lord Spencer himself, and of his own personal repute and his own mental tranquillity. It was one of the highest attributes of the law that all men should be equal before it; and in this case he demanded that the poor peasant, Myles Joyce, and the wealthy, distinguished, and eminent Peer, Lord Spencer, should be placed upon an equality. In the name of the majesty of the law he demanded that the life of the poor peasant should be deemed of equal value with the official career of Lord Spencer. The Prime Minister had said that no Irish policy could be complete unless it won over the hearts of the Irish people; but it seemed to be the favourite theory of successive Administrations that to solve the Irish problem they had only to put sufficient Irishmen in prison, and to put enough Irish bodies under ground. That was not true statesmanship. By refusing this inquiry the Ministry might retain the services of Lord Spencer, but they would lose what was of far greater importance to them

—they would lose the sympathy of Ireland. They might obtain a momentary advantage for their policy; but they would deprive law and order in Ireland of its surest, highest, and safest guarantee—the confidence and respect of the people.

MR. HOPWOOD, in opposing the Amendment, said, that such a demand as that put forward by hon. Members opposite would not for a moment be listened to if it related to some case in England. He (Mr. Hopwood) contended that it was absurd to say there was any difference in the administration of justice in Ireland and England. He was surprised that two of his hon. and learned Friends opposite thought fit to reprove the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland for having shown a little warmth in defending the conduct of his colleagues at the Bar in Ireland acting for the Crown in this case. When he heard the spouting declamation that the poorest peasant should be secured the same justice as the Peer, his (Mr. Hopwood's) answer was that it was secured. They were not accustomed to that sort of bravado in the administration of justice in England. The same course was pursued in the two countries with regard to the treatment of criminals, and he could call to mind several cases in England in which the same course had been pursued as had been pursued in this case. It was now desired to establish, for the purposes of this case, a Court of Criminal Appeal in the House of Commons itself; but he would remind the House that when his hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General, with the support of himself (Mr. Hopwood) and other hon. Friends, was doing his best the Session before last to obtain a Court of Criminal Appeal, hon. Members opposite gave him little assistance at any stage of the Bill? And it was the same with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who, in this case, it appeared, had now taken the Irish Party under his patronage. Had the noble Lord in any way assisted them? Nothing of the kind.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: The hon. and learned Member, I am sure, does not wish to misrepresent me. He will not deny me the same justice he is claiming for himself. I supported the Attorney General in every Division on his Motion.

MR. HOPWOOD: I should say that that was a ready answer in the extent of its audacity.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It is quite true.

MR. HOPWOOD said, it was not for him to bandy words with the noble Lord. His impression was rather different to that of the noble Lord. A reference to the proceedings of the Committee would not bear out the noble Lord's statement. A trial had taken place in this case, and the most sweeping accusations had been made against the Judge and jurors who had tried the case. Hon. Gentlemen opposite from Ireland seemed to think that the Judge had acted wickedly, that the jury had acted wickedly, and that everybody had acted wickedly. ["No, no!"] Then, who had? [Mr. HEALY: George Bolton.] Why, on their own showing, George Bolton had nothing to do with keeping back the two depositions. It was further said that there were singular circumstances connected with the case; but did hon. Gentlemen think that they were more capable of dealing with the case now than the jurors who had given so much attention to it? It was desired now to retry the case; but if their real wish was to inflame the hatred of the people of Ireland for this country, that was the way to do it. They had heard a great deal about the alleged suppression of the depositions; but he thought that their production or non-production was altogether a matter of discretion. He, himself, would have shown them to the defending counsel, and left it to him if he thought fit to comment on them; but the Crown counsel, no doubt, considered that they did full justice by producing the surviving boy for examination. The boy, however, turned out to be ineligible as a witness, owing to his not understanding the nature of an oath. Some suggestion had been made that the case should have been postponed, and the boy in the meantime educated. But such an application, when made in a well-known English case, had very rightly been scouted by the Judge. After careful consideration, he had come to the conclusion that what were called the dying declarations did not in the least affect the soundness of the verdict of the jury, and the best proof was that the men most concerned showed their own appreciation of their guilt by pleading guilty. Yet, a new investigation into their case was demanded. Well, he was in favour of inquiry; but there had been an inquiry already, and if any further evidence was forthcoming, he felt sure that Lord Spencer would hold a further inquiry. The present outcry was, he believed, due to a political motive. ["Oh, oh!"] It was simply a handle on which to hang an amount of cruel denunciation of Lord Spencer, that Gentlemen who used it would be ashamed, apart from politics, to apply to any fishwife, or anybody in any other situation in life. Remonstrance, however, seemed to be useless; and he therefore hoped that those who sat on his side of the House, and who were determined to maintain the honour and character of Lord Spencer, would never submit to the present demands made upon them for the passing of this Resolution as a test of political triumph.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he was strongly interested in the preservation of law and order in Ireland, and he would rather thrust his hand into the fire and burn it off, than stand up and defend men whom he believed to be guilty. He thought this was a very similar case to that of Kilmartin, who had recently been released. He wished particularly to call the attention of the House to the fact that the case now awaited revision in circumstances wholly different from those which were presented to the jury. When these men were found guilty, he believed in their guilt, and that belief was never shaken until the two fellow-prisoners of Myles Joyce, on the eve of their parting from this world, spent some of the short time left for them to make their peace with God in inculpating themselves, and exculpating Myles Joyce. These men who made that declaration might have been as abandoned as the thieves on the Cross; but they should recollect that one of those thieves was, in his last moments, deemed worthy of acceptance. He also considered that Myles Joyce, in his denial of the crime, was worthy of all credence. The evidence of the independent witnesses would not of itself have compelled any jury to convict the prisoners, and the testimony of the informers, which made their statements good evidence, did not now stand in confirmation of it. Although he admitted that the three independent witnesses were honest, yet he thought they had jumped too readily to conclusions, and had described the men from a distance which seemed to him to be too great for the purposes of recognition. If they could have supposed the exculpation made by these two informers who admitted their own guilt, to reach Dublin Castle at the same time as the communication which subsequently came from the Archbishop of Tuam, he did not believe that it would have been possible for Lord Spencer to have sent Myles Joyce to his death. If Lord Spencer, at the eleventh hour, now ordered this inquiry, and placed the case in the hands of some Queen's Counsel to carry on an independent inquiry, as in the case of Kilmartin, he believed a just conclusion would be arrived at with respect to those men now in prison. The Prime Minister had asked, who could be examined at the proposed inquiry? Were they to examine the informers? And he (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) had interrupted by asking "Why not?" Was not their evidence as good and as trustworthy now as when they were purchasing their lives by their evidence, and as when the Crown accepted it for the conviction of the men who had been hanged and those sent to penal servitude? What was there to tempt them to come forward now but the workings of their own conscience? Was it to be believed that those men had been so crafty and deceitful as to succeed in imposing upon the Archbishop of Tuam? He maintained that this was a case for such an inquiry as had been given in Kilmartin's case, and if that were granted he should be satisfied. There was no legal difficulty in the way of a further inquiry in the case, and therefore he would strongly support the demand that was made upon the Government.

Mr. T. C. THOMPSON said, that no vote he had ever recorded had caused him more anxiety than that which he would be called upon to give that night. During the last few days he had been considering very seriously the course he should take, and he must say that the exciting language that had been used on both sides of the question made it very difficult to form a calm judgment upon. He had, however, endeavoured to eliminate from his mind everything but what bore strictly on the legal view of the question; and when he said it was his intention to vote in favour of the Amendment, which was couched in very simple and plain language, not in any way calculated to excite their passions, he hoped he should not be looked upon as being a lukewarm supporter of the Ministry. It must be remembered that a grave responsibility rested on the prosecution in calling upon men as witnesses who would otherwise have been found guilty. It was only to be done when absolutely necessary, and in 99 cases out of 100 such witnesses were the principal witnesses. Here, on the other hand, they had been called to confirm the principal witnesses. They had been told that this was an attack on the Government in Ireland. He could not see that it was in any way a question affecting the Government; but he would ask the House to eliminate from their minds any such question. He did not see that granting such an inquiry as was demanded would involve any degradation to Lord Spencer. He exonerated Lord Spencer from all blame; but there had been, in his opinion, a slight miscarriage of justice. On the other hand, he did not blame very much the conduct which had been pursued on the other side. The prosecution evidently felt that no jury would convict on the evidence alone of men who swore that they identified the murderers on that dark night, and to back up that story it was necessary that approvers should appear. Since these had appeared—and their evidence doubtless contributed to the finding of the jury—one of these approvers went to his Bishop, admitted that he had done wrong, prayed to withdraw his former statements, and asked for inquiry. It must be borne in mind that if the Bill which the Government brought forward last year had been passed, then these men whose guilt was now in question would have been entitled by law to that which they now asked for as a favour. How, then, could the granting of an inquiry be a degradation of justice? He thought they were entitled to further inquiry. The testimony on which the whole case rested had been shaken in consequence of the confession of one of the approvers. He did not know—for no explanation had been given—why the Judge had not asked for the declaration of the dying boy, or why it had not been used by the counsel. If that declaration had been admitted, it would have thrown a doubt on the approver's evidence; it was not offered by the Crown; and now the approver's evidence was contradicted by the approver himself. The evidence for the Crown might have been sufficient without calling the approver; but if the Crown thought it necessary to call an approver, and after the trial there had arisen cause to discredit his evidence, should further inquiry be refused? He would ask any fair Englishman could he say that that was just? What did the existence of the best Government they had ever seen matter when compared with the importance of a question such as this, and with their solemn duty as regarded it? The noblest Administration that ever sat in this land would weigh but as a feather in the balance in comparison with the lives of these poor peasants in Galway. Had this case been so critically examined that there was no flaw in it whatever? If there was a flaw, then let them have a further examination. It was said also that to grant a fresh inquiry would be contrary to the Constitution. Was it really so? Was there no instance of that? Many of them must remember, as he did, the case of a man who was supposed to have committed a fraud upon the Bank of England. In that case an inquiry was refused again and again; but after the man had been transported for several years, he was brought back again by the judgment of the country, and compensated for the wrong that had been done to him. He maintained that it was not contrary to the Constitution to grant such an inquiry, as there was no time in a man's life when restitution could not be made to him under the law of England if it was found wron had been done. He therefore earnestly trusted that the Government would grant an inquiry in the case, for, in his opinion, there had certainly been a clear and evident case made out for it.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT, in supporting the Amendment, said, that having been for 20 years Recorder of the borough of which the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair was the Representative in that House, and having, therefore, had a long experience in the Criminal Law and in the conducting of criminal cases, he had had ample opportunity of considering subjects such as those which were involved in the present case, and he had, therefore, endeavoured to come to a just conclusion concerning it. Before going any further, however, he wished to have a matter cleared up as to what took place at the end of last Session, when the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), having been appealed to on the matter, had given a promise that it should be further inquired into. He (Sir Eardley Wilmot) understood that that promise had been redeemed; but in what manner had it been done? Why, the matter was referred back to the Lord Lieutenant, who referred it back to Messrs. Bolton and Brady, whose conduct to a certain extent was impeached.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, no. The only thing that Bolton or Brady had to say in the matter was to answer the charges made against them by this particular informer. The inquiry by the Lord Lieutenant was by the advice and with the aid of all the highest legal authorities he had around him.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT said, he simply wanted to know, was it in consequence of the representations of the Irish Members that the noble Marquess did refer it to the Lord Lieutenant; and whether the Lord Lieutenant held the inquiry; and that the result was that he determined that any further steps were inexpedient? He was, therefore, glad to hear the explanation that the inquiry had been conducted by the proper authorities. For his own part, he had listened carefully, and he hoped with impartiality, to most of the speeches which had been delivered, and especially to that of the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker), and the one proceeding from the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department; he had waited in the House night after night with the most patient attention; and, bringing to bear his judicial experience of many years upon the matter, he had come to the conclusion that there had been a great wrong done to men, one of whom underwent the sentence of death, and others of whom were now in prison. But, while saying that, and that the wrong done was of such a character as to demand inquiry, he entirely repudiated the charges that had been made against the Lord Lieutenant, who, he thought, had done his duty most fairly and ably as far as his lights went. The noble Lord, however, had not sufficient light to enable him to judge of such a case; and he (Sir Eardley Wilmot) considered—without for a moment blaming him—that he had made a mistake. If, indeed, he could conceive that the charges made by hon. Members below the Gangway were true—that the Lord Lieutenant had entered into a conspiracy to defeat the administration of justice—all he could say was that the just indignation of the people of Ireland should sweep the Castle of Dublin and the whole of those connected with it off the face of the earth. But he did not attach the slightest credit to the suggestion that there was any foundation for such a charge, and he did not believe it for a moment. His own experience of the Legal Profession enabled him to know that there was not unfrequently a desire and a wish on the part of prosecuting counsel to press home a conviction, and to make that their chief and leading object. He had seen that himself in small cases, at the Sessions and on Circuit. A consideration of the two preeminent facts of the case had led him to the conclusion that the case was one for further inquiry. The first was to be found in the declarations made by two of the condemned men before their execution. Here they had two of the men on their way to execution, and almost in sight of eternity, declaring before two magistrates the justice of their own punishment, the innocence of the third man, Myles Joyce, and the innocence also of the four men who were now undergoing penal servitude for life. He confessed he was struck with the utmost astonishment that the confession, made at such a time and under such circumstances, had not been made the subject of immediate inquiry. He would remind hon. Members of the case of Edmund Galley, condemned to death at Exeter many years ago, but reprieved on inquiry induced by the statement of the man condemned with him that he had nothing to do with the crime, although the reprieve was followed by a transportation of 40 years, at the end of which Galley was freed, and granted £1,000 compensation on a Vote passed by that House. He also remembered the case of the Winchester pirates who were condemned to death, one of their number being a boy of 15. They were to be executed on a Monday, and on the previous Saturday, the convicted men sent for the chaplain of the gaol in which they were, and said that the boy was innocent of the crime with which he had been charged, as he had only acted under duress, having been threatened with death if he would not join with the others. This confession of the prisoners was not suppressed. The chaplain at once proceeded with it to London to show to the Home Secretary; but unfortunately that official was away at Balmoral, and as he could not be communicated with in time, there being neither railway nor telegraph at that time to that part of the country, the prisoners were all executed. He had never felt convinced of the justice of the execution in the case of that boy, and consequently, since the trial of the Winchester pirates, he had always advocated the establishment of a Court of Criminal Appeal. In fact, he was so convinced of the necessity of a reform in our criminal system that it had led him, although unsuccessfully, on three occasions to bring in a Bill for that purpose. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in his speech the other night, had pointed out that, in the absence of such a tribunal, this case could not now be reopened; but whose fault was it that there was not a Court of Criminal Appeal? It was the fault of the Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was a Member, seeing that it was promised in the Queen's Speech two years ago. He dismissed from his consideration of the case the whole of the secondary evidence of Thomas Casey. With his antecedents, no jury would for a moment credit it. But he repudiated altogether the doctrine which had been raised in the course of the debate, and which had surprised him very much—namely, that the prosecuting counsel had it in their discretion to say whether depositions might be withheld from counsel for the defence which might or might not affect the evidence against a prisoner on trial. In investigations which had for their object the elucidation of truth, that doctrine could not be admitted. It was also well worthy of consideration that if the young Joyces did not recognize their own cousin among the murderers, there was little chance of the independent witnesses being able to identify the whole of the 10 men. The hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) had presented the case very ably in his book, and he (Sir Eardley Wilmot) had studied the matter carefully. After 30 years' experience of Criminal Law, he should say that he had never heard of such a thing as depositions being suppressed, as appeared to have been done in that case. In his opinion, the suppression of the confessions made by the men before execution, and the withholding of the depositions of the boys from the knowledge of counsel at the time of the trial, were quite sufficient to justify a call for inquiry. He would, therefore, cheerfully support the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department had spoken of the inconvenience which a reopening of the question would involve; but he (Sir Eardley Wilmot) had never heard that if a wrong was done to any one of our fellow-countrymen it could possibly be without a remedy. He could not help thinking that the present case was an illustration of the evils arising from a system of double Administration. He would remind them of the saying of that eminent patriot and statesman, Grattan, that with a united Legislature a separate Government would never succeed or prosper. With a united Legislature there ought to be united Government, and he believed that the time had come when a thorough alteration should take place in the administration of justice in Ireland. They should have equal laws for both nations—*Paribus se légıbus ambo ætema in federa jurisgant*—and if they wanted turbulence and discontent to be discontinued, he believed that this was a very good opportunity for the Government to devise and consider whether they could not place the Administration in Ireland upon a better footing and in such a manner as to tranquillize the country and give satisfaction and contentment to the Irish people.

Mr. BULWER said, that, like his hon. and learned Friend who had just spoken (Sir Eardley Wilmot), he (Mr. Bulwer) had been connected for more than 30 years with the administration of the Criminal Law, and having some little acquaintance with the mode in which that law was administered in this country, he wished to make a few observations. He should not in the least be influenced by the intemperate and unbecoming language used in that debate by hon. Members below the Gangway, though that might be an inducement to some men of impulsive temperament to vote against them. Neither, on the other hand, should he be inclined to support the Government on the ground of the rubbish which had been uttered both in and out of the House to the effect that if the Amendment were carried Lord Spencer, and probably the Home Secretary, would have to retire. That would not influence him in the least in the consideration of the question before the House, which was whether four or five men should be left in penal servitude for the remainder of their lives. He would also pass over all the talk in and out of the House about the conversion of Casey, and would make only one or two remarks on the points urged by his hon. Friend below him (Sir Eardley Wilmot). As to the observation that the Government had not given due consideration to the statements made by the culprits on the scaffold, everybody who had any acquaintance with Courts of Justice, or criminals, knew that it was far from unusual for guilty men on the scaffold to declare their innocence, or, where four or five men had been engaged in the commission of a crime, for some of them who had no hope of escape to try to do something for the others. The other point, which he confessed had impressed him to some extent, was that the counsel for the prosecution were said to have withheld from the counsel for the defence some evidence which ought to have been made known to them. On the night of the murder the two young Joyces were wounded; they were expected to die; it was said that they were sworn; and if that was the case it gave their declarations some additional solemnity. But then they were not cross-examined. It seemed to have been entirely forgotten in this discussion that a dying declaration could only be given in evidence, if it was evidence at all, in a case where the death of the person making the declaration was the subject of inquiry. Every lawyer knew that the declaration of the boy who died could not have been put before the jury on these trials by any regular process; and, in the case of the boy who survived, he was tendered as a witness; but it turned out that he was incompetent to give evidence, because of his want of that education which the law required that a witness should possess. It was suggested that the counsel for the Crown ought to have handed to the counsel for the defence documents—miscalled depositions—which he himself could not have made use of on behalf of the Crown, and which the prisoners' counsel could not have used if he had had them in his possession. The documents could not have been used before the jury by any regular process; and it was, therefore, absurd to say that the counsel for the Crown ought to have handed to the counsel for the defence documents which neither of them could have made use of.

Mr. HARRINGTON: It could have been made use of in cross-examination.

Mr. BULWER said, the hon. Member who interrupted him knew nothing about the matter. Did the hon. Member mean to tell lawyers in that House, or out of it, that a counsel could cross-examine about the contents of a written document which was not admissible in evidence? [Mr. E. Clarke: He could.] He maintained that the declarations could not have been brought before the jury, except in an irregular way. [“Oh, oh!”] He must protest against the indecorous and personal observations made by those indecent Irishmen sitting below the Gangway. [*Cries of* “Order!”]

Mr. KENNY rose to Order. He wished to ask whether the hon. and learned Member was in Order in alluding to Irish Members sitting below the Gangway as indecent Irishmen?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member complained, as I understood, of indecorous conduct on the part of some Irish Members; but he himself is quite out of Order in speaking of hon. Members as indecent Irishmen.

Mr. BULWER said, he begged hon. Members' pardon if he had applied the word “indecent” in too wide a sense. He had merely intended it to apply to the repeated indecent interruptions he had met with from some Irish Members. He considered them to be indecent at the time, and he thought so still. He wished to point out that the constable who said he had heard one of the boys say that the men had blackened faces could have been questioned upon the point, and in that way the boy's statement might have been brought before the jury; but he repeated that neither of the so-called dying declarations could, by any regular means, have been given to the jury, and he had yet to learn it was the duty of counsel for the prosecution to place documents, which he could make no use of himself, in the hands of counsel for the prisoner, when he knew that he could make no use of them either.

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL said, that if the Amendment had remained in its original form he should have taken no part in the discussion; and he desired at the outset emphatically to say that he did not intend to support any of the general charges which had been advanced on the other side of the House. He declined to believe in the justice of the wholesale accusations which had been launched against several distinguished persons connected with the administration of the law in Ireland. He had not ever constituted, and did not then, constitute himself an apologist for the Irish Executive. He had again and again found fault with acts of their administration; but he declined to believe that Lord Spencer, or the Lord Chancellor, or the ex-Chief Secretary, could any one of them knowingly be parties to any dishonourable act. It was said that although the Amendment did not in words convey this, that in substance it was a condemnation of those official persons. What the Amendment asserted, and what he, after painful and anxious consideration, had come to the conclusion was true, was merely this—that it would insure greater confidence in the administration of the law if an inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce, and into the case of the prisoners who were still incarcerated. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, after whom he had been anxious but was unable to speak, laid great stress on a "public" inquiry; but the pith and substance of the Amendment was that further inquiry was needed. If the Amendment did involve blame on Lord Spencer, the Lord Chancellor, and the ex-Chief Secretary, he could not help it, because he believed it contained a statement which was emphatically true. He began the consideration of this case with the very strongest feeling that an unanswerable case had been made out on the part of the Crown, proving the guilt of the men convicted and of the men who had pleaded guilty. He had that feeling in his mind so strongly that he expressed it in conversation with distinguished persons in Ireland. It was only by slow and painful steps that he had come to the conclusion that there did exist very grave doubt, to put it no higher, of the guilt of the man, Myles Joyce, who had gone to his last account, and the guilt of four of the men who remained in prison. He begged to point out that it was not necessary for those who were supporting the Amendment to make it clear that Myles Joyce was innocent, or that the four men now suffering penal servitude were innocent. If a serious doubt were raised, as, in fact, it had been, as to the character of the evidence, those who entertained that honest conviction were bound to make every legitimate effort until the matter had been thoroughly investigated, even though Administration after Administration, Chief Secretary after Chief Secretary, and Lord Lieutenant after Lord Lieutenant, were supposed to be involved in the case. The opinion he originally formed was decidedly against those as to whom it was now alleged that there were grave doubts of their guilt. He should like to be allowed to point out what struck him as being the strength of the case for the Crown, and the circumstances which, to his mind, seemed to sap and to undermine a great part of that case. The first thing which struck one was that the guilt of the three men executed was proved by three witnesses who had been called "independent witnesses." Now, it was a remarkable circumstance that in the course of the trial, with the exception of a passing question, no serious attempt seemed to have been made on the part of the counsel for the prisoners to disprove the apparent independence of those witnesses. He severed himself entirely from the suggestion which had been made by the hon. Member for Galway, and which he was sorry to hear—that the learned counsel who appeared for the prisoners were wilfully neglectful of their duty, or else were in a conspiracy. [MR. HARRINGTON: No, no.] He dissociated himself entirely from expressions of that kind.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he certainly did make use of the word "conspiracy." But what he meant to say was that there was a conspiracy on the part of those who were engaged in the prosecution, and he was led by the jeering cheers of the Prime Minister and the Home Secretary to add that that was combined with incompetence on the part of the counsel for the defence, and that the trial was conducted with indecent haste.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL went on to remark that, as the men were brought from different parts of the country, and as few of them could speak English, it was difficult to get up the defence of the prisoners. But who were those so-called independent witnesses? It turned out that they were only Anthony Joyce, John Joyce, his brother, and Patrick Joyce, his nephew. Were these persons independent witnesses against any of the prisoners? He referred to a statement which was vouched for as having been made by the informer Thomas Casey to the hon. Member for Westmeath. He placed no reliance on a statement of an informer as such; but he did place reliance on it in so far as it was capable of corroboration, and in so far as it suggested further means of inquiry. Thomas Casey said that Myles Joyce was in constant quarrel with Anthony Joyce and with Anthony Joyce's friends and family, and he mentioned a fact which was capable of instant contradiction if untrue—namely, that a comparatively short time before the occurrence of the 17th of August, 1882, Myles Joyce had been sent to Galway Gaol for a month for an assault upon this so-called independent witness. It was asked, however, how it happened, if the story of the independent witnesses was untrue, that they hit upon some of the right men? That was an observation of great weight, and he would try to answer it. First of all, it should be remembered that they were dealing with a sparsely-populated district, where everybody knew all about everybody else. One little bit of the informer's evidence was significant as to how he, not having had any quarrel with Anthony Joyce or Anthony Joyce's family, came to be included among the persons incriminated. Thomas Casey stated that at the examination before the magistrates he asked Anthony Joyce in Irish why he made a charge against him, and the reply was—"You hold your tongue. I saw Pat Casey going over for you in the evening." Pat Casey admitted his guilt on the scaffold. That notorious character went across to see Thomas Casey, and thereupon Anthony Joyce came to the conclusion that they were both implicated. A great point on the part of the Crown was that some of the prisoners pleaded guilty. But how did they come to plead guilty? The circumstances were these. A batch of men were awaiting their trial for the same murders upon the same evidence as had been given in the first, second, and third trials. They knew that three men had been found guilty on the same evidence which would be forthcoming in order to fix criminality upon them. In these circumstances he could understand the advice given by the priest, although he quite concurred in the remarks of the Home Secretary with regard to it. Could those who were still in suspense doubt that, however innocent they might be, the same evidence must inevitably send them also to the scaffold? No doubt that was the consideration which influenced the mind of the priest when he advised them to plead guilty. He (Mr. C. Russell) had tried to examine all the evidence in this case in as judicial and as calm a spirit as he could assume; and he found that his original opinion was gradually slipping from him, and that he was haunted with doubts from which he could not free himself. He would now look at the other side of the question. He believed that if anyone read the description of the country where this murder occurred, he must come to the conclusion that a more extraordinary account than that given by the so-called three independent witnesses of their identification of the accused men had never been given before in a Court of Justice. The Attorney General (now Mr. Justice Johnson), in opening the case to the jury, stated that the murders were committed on the 17th of August, and the fourth day of the moon, and that, therefore, there was very little light. Anthony Joyce said that he was disturbed by the barking of a dog; he opened the door, and he went out; and it was a curious point what became of the dog, which would hardly stop barking when his master went out, and which would certainly attract attention to Anthony Joyce's house. He went out, he said, and joined the three men, and went along the road at such a distance from the party they were following that he could identify them, and, therefore, within such a distance that they could have identified him. Could he go for two miles or more so near to these men in an open country on murderous errand bent, and they, naturally looking round to see whether they were watched, not observe him? It was strange that he should do so without being seen or heard. There was a police station about a mile distant; and yet these men, who followed the murderers and heard the murder being committed, went home to their beds without going to the police station. If it was said it was the last place an Irish peasant would go to, the answer was that the next day, after the man now charged with being the primary offender was arrested—namely, "Big" Casey, information was given by these men, who had probably some idea of a reward being offered. The Prime Minister made a point of the discrimination of the independent witness who identified only nine men; but that point told with great force as regarded the statement of the informer Casey; he discriminated, too, in his declaration as to the men who were guilty and the men who were not guilty, because it was admitted by him that guilt attached to two of the men executed, and to one of the men in penal servitude. The counsel for the defence would have increased difficulty in meeting the case of Myles Joyce after the other two men had been tried and condemned, and application was made for a postponement of the trial; but the Judge did not think the grounds stated were sufficient. After the second trial, it came to the knowledge of the defending counsel for the first time that Philbin and Casey had turned approvers; but up to that time no intimation of the fact had been given. He did not understand it to be alleged that any statement either by Philbin or by Casey was furnished to the counsel for the prisoners. The English practice was that the defending counsel should be furnished with the statement of every witness. An examination of the statements made by the approvers on the 9th and the 10th August showed considerable differences, which would attract the attention of anyone who had carefully read the evidence of the independent witnesses. The changes in the second statements brought them more closely into accord with the evidence of the independent witnesses. These statements ought to have been at once handed to the counsel for the prisoners. As to the declarations of the dying men, he understood the principle to be that a dying declaration was admissible if, in the opinion of the Judge, it was made by a person under the apprehension of death, and bore on the question of the death then being inquired into of the person making it. There was a decision in a case in which A and B were poisoned on the same occasion, though not by one act; and the Judges held that, the transaction being one, as the murders were in this case, the declarations of A and B were admissible in each other's cases. In this case the charges took the murdered persons *seriatim*, beginning with the head of the family, and the accused *seriatim*, each prisoner being charged with a different murder; and, therefore, if a declaration were not admissible in one trial it would be in another. Wholly apart from such a question of admissibility, it was incumbent on the counsel for the prosecution, whether they intended to use the declarations or not, whether strictly admissible or there was a doubt about it, to communicate such documents to the counsel for the prisoners. He challenged his hon. and learned Friends in that House to say whether, as prosecuting counsel, they would not have communicated such dying declarations? He knew that no one had done more to maintain the honour of the Bar and the good character of the Criminal Judicature than the Attorney General (Sir Henry James); and he was perfectly confident that if the Attorney General asked himself the question whether, if he had been the prosecuting counsel in the case, he would have withheld this evidence, he would feel that he would not have done so. Prosecuting counsel were not bound to make as part of their own case a piece of evidence which they had strong reasons to believe was unreliable; but there was no manner of justification for setting up their own judgment as to the character of those documents and withholding them from the opposing counsel; they were bound to hand them to the counsel for the defence. Then the Home Secretary asked what was the effect of this omission. But he carefully expressed no opinion as to what he himself would have done in that case. But he had asked what harm was done, as a statement had been made by two police-constables that the boys had told them in the one case that the men's faces were dirty, and in the other that they were black. But, as had been shown by his hon. and learned Friend opposite (Mr. Bulwer), who had just sat down, that would have been a case of indirect evidence upon which the cross-examination must have been necessarily lame. Could anyone say—could any lawyer say—that the value of such an indirect piece of evidence was to be compared with the solemn declaration of these boys? Of course, it was said that it would not have made any difference. But who could tell, who could judge of that? Who knew how far the solemn fact that such a dying declaration had been made might have suggested to the prisoners' counsel questions as to the locality, distance, and circumstances which might have thrown doubts upon the apparently coherent evidence of these so-called independent witnesses? With respect to the other boy who made a dying declaration, but happily survived, he made an accusation against those who conducted the trial to this extent—that they failed to give that information to the prisoners' counsel. Next, as to this boy, if the prosecution was anxious to examine him, the objection to his examination ought not to be made by those who tendered him for examination. The objection ought to be taken by the Judge. But it was remarkable that the objection in this case came from the interpreter. But by whom was it suggested to the interpreter? If the boy imperfectly understood the nature of an oath, he ought to have been instructed, as he had no possible motive to say anything but the simple truth. It seemed to him, therefore, incumbent on the Government as regarded the trial of Myles Joyce, though it was too late to do anything except to clear his reputation, to leave no stone unturned in order to exhaust all possible information. Then it was asked what value could be attached to the next set of declarations, the declarations of the two men who suffered death, and of Myles Joyce himself, whose last breath was a declaration of his innocence? It was not as if they had concerted a statement to relieve others from a fate similar to their own. Each of them, from his separate cell, sent for the magistrate, and before the magistrate each made his separate statement. Now, the Prime Minister had observed that if the declaration had been one that not only exculpated Myles Joyce, but pointed out the true criminals, the case would have been widely different. But what right had the Prime Minister to speculate on what was or was not contained in the declarations? Why were they not produced? He agreed that, according to the circumstances of the declarations, they might attach greater or less weight to them; but in this case each of the declarations was the independent and spontaneous act of each man.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I have not done so. What I said was, that I took the statements of hon. Gentlemen opposite, and my answer was good as against their plea.

Mr. CHARLES RUSSELL said, that hon. Members opposite had dealt with the admission only so far as it affected the guilt or the innocence of Myles Joyce. They had assumed that it contained nothing else. No one had a right to speculate as to what was or was not in that document if the inexorable rule of the Home Secretary was to prevail. But the argument of Lord Spencer in the famous Memorandum of August, 1884, was not that of the Prime Minister. Lord Spencer's argument was that when these men said they were guilty and Myles Joyce was innocent, all they meant was that it was not Joyce's hand that did the deed. How did Lord Spencer know what they meant? But if there was a doubt upon his mind as to the nature of these declarations, surely that was a matter of sufficient solemnity and importance to demand a further inquiry then and there. He attached much greater importance to those declarations than the Home Secretary. The law allowed dying declarations to be admitted as evidence without oath and without cross-examination, because it was believed that human nature was so constituted that the solemn approach of death, with its awful sensations, was at least as powerful as binding the conscience than any formal oath taken in a Court of Law. If that influence was powerful upon any minds, he claimed that it was exceptionally powerful upon the mind of the Irish peasant, who, however debased he might be, however low his moral standard, however imperfect his education, did believe earnestly in a future state. He believed in an awful Judge, and in future rewards and punishments. Such men were not likely to have a damning lie on their lips when they were about to be launched into eternity. If that was true in the case of Myles Joyce, how much more likely was it to be true in the case of the two men who, while exculpating Myles Joyce, admitted their own guilt? What motive could be suggested save that they were desirous of saving the life of an innocent man? These were the reasons why he thought that a further inquiry into this matter ought to be granted. He then came to the difficulties which had been stated by the Prime Minister to render it impossible to grant the inquiry asked for. The Prime Minister had said that there was no analogy between the present case and that of Kilmartin. Why not? The Prime Minister had said that the inquiry in the Kilmartin case was what he termed a spontaneous act proceeding from the Executive authority. So it had been undoubtedly in one sense, and the fact that it had been instituted was highly creditable to Lord Spencer; but it was only spontaneous after the matter had been discussed over and over again, and after the late Chief Secretary, acting perfectly *bonâ fide* upon information furnished him by others, had declined to institute the inquiry. He trusted that in that sense there would be another spontaneous inquiry in the present case. There would be no more difficulty in this case than in the other. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] He saw that the Prime Minister shook his head; but he was at a loss to understand what insuperable difficulties were in the way of an inquiry in the present case which did not exist in the other. He entirely agreed with the Home Secretary that there existed in law no machinery by which either he or the House of Commons could be constituted a legal tribunal that could take fresh evidence and could review the former trial. The law was curious upon this, for all that the Chief Secretary could do in case he was satisfied that a man was undergoing punishment for an offence of which he was not guilty would be to advise the Queen graciously to forgive the man for the offence which he had not committed. Was it not the fact, however, that the records of the Home Office furnished numbers of examples of inquiries such as that now asked for? He would recall to the mind of the Home Secretary Smethurst's case, in which Sir George C. Lewis, acting upon the advice of Sir Benjamin Brodie, in effect reversed the judgment of the jury finding Smethurst guilty. In other words, where there was a will there was always a way. He was not concerned in this matter with what hon. Members below the Gangway opposite thought of his remarks; what he was concerned with was what would quiet the conscience of the country. Hon. Members opposite, by the course they had taken, had rendered it very difficult for him to meddle in this matter and to explain why he was speaking as he was doing, and why he should vote in favour of this inquiry being granted. He could tell the House that it was not only among hon. Members opposite that the opinion was held—it was an opinion that was growing and was gathering strength day by day throughout the country—that Myles Joyce was innocent, and that four of the men who were now in prison for these murders were innocent. He said that there should be no limits to the way of inquiry, although whether or not it would satisfy the country or satisfy hon. Members below the Gangway he did not know. An inquiry conducted somewhat on the lines of the Kilmartin inquiry would go a long way towards quieting the minds of the Irish people in reference to this matter. And let him point out one means of testing the truth of the story now told by the informer Casey. The informer Casey, in his evidence, made a statement as to the persons whom he joined and accompanied to the scene of the murders. Among those persons was a man named Michael Casey, who had pleaded guilty, and who was now undergoing penal servitude, and whose guilt was admitted. That man had, therefore, no means of communicating with the informer Casey, and he would have no motive for speaking other than the truth. Let him be asked as to the truth of the story now told by the informer. He was afraid, however, from the course this debate had taken, that for the Government to grant this inquiry would be regarded as a triumph for hon. Members opposite, and that, that would increase the difficulty in the way of the Government making this concession. He appealed to the Government, however, to let no such fear stand in the way of an act of justice being done. He admitted that the demand had been made in intemperate, rash, and offensive language; but he contended that if there was a doubt in the matter, the Government were bound to grant an inquiry, no matter what Party or what section would triumph thereby. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had said that to grant this inquiry would be to shake the foundations of justice in Ireland; but those foundations must indeed be rotten if they could be shaken by an act of justice being done. If there were truth in the suggestions which had been made, an inquiry would strengthen them; if there were no truth in them, an inquiry would make them disappear; and in either case justice would be satisfied. He would even at this eleventh hour suggest to the Government, whatever might be the fate of the Amendment before the House—and it could not be doubted that it would be rejected by a large majority—that they should prosecute with earnestness and zeal an inquiry by means which he, at any rate, believed were still open to them in this matter.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): Sir, I most entirely agree with my hon. and learned Friend when he says there are many difficulties in taking part in this debate—to me there are even some terrors. I will take hon. Members below the Gangway opposite into my confidence, and tell them frankly that, knowing the way in which other speakers from this Bench have been treated, I fear I may not be permitted to state the details I desire to place before the House with the sequence necessary to make them intelligible. But I appeal to those hon. Members. I have often said, and still oftener thought, that whilst there is no matter which can press upon the conscience of a man so heavily as that of having taken part in the conviction of an innocent man, so is there no cause more noble than that of his deliverance. And the cause for which hon. Members opposite are striving cannot be served by constant interjaculation and interruption. Now, Sir, the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), who introduced this subject with great ability, and whose speech has shown great earnestness, has circulated a pamphlet on the subject among hon. Members. The hon. Member, however, must forgive me when I say that that pamphlet is one of advocacy rather than of judicial impartiality. I would ask hon. Members to consider whether they think that to read or to listen to one side only—to the statement of an able advocate—is the way in which they ought to consider the case? My hon. and learned Friend who has just sat down has said that if this Amendment had not been altered in its terms he could not have voted for it. But to us that Amendment now stands as it did when it was first made. It raises the same questions; it has been supported by the same speeches since its alteration as before. I do not know whether those who listen to me now were in the House when the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) made his speech in reply to that of the Prime Minister; but I would ask whether that alteration in the form of this Amendment affected his views? Did it cause him to withdraw in the slightest degree the charge made by the hon. Member for Westmeath—that Earl Spencer, the Crown counsel, and the Crown officials had entered into a felonious conspiracy to do to death men whom they knew to be innocent?

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I did not say that, nor did I mean to say it.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I think that the hon. Member's observation was made in similar terms to those of the hon. Member for Westmeath before the Amendment was altered. When I listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Galway, who termed Earl Spencer a judicial murderer, I thought the charge very much the same.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I said that Earl Spencer was regarded by the vast majority of the Irish people as having been guilty of a judicial murder, and that in order to relieve him from that stigma it was desirable there should be an inquiry.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The hon. Member states that that is the view of the vast majority of the Irish people, and I presume that the hon. Member and the great majority of the Irish people are of the same opinion. But I do not think the alteration in the terms of the Amendment lessens the responsibility of any hon. Member who supports it. It amounts to the same thing; it is supported by the same arguments; it proceeds upon the same lines, and it will arrive at the same results. What were the facts before Earl Spencer was charged with having done to death innocent men, and with having refused to inquire into their innocence? It has been stated over and over again that what was placed before Earl Spencer in substance was the same that was placed before the three juries, all of whom are now admitted to have fulfilled their duty, directed by a Judge, who has, by his conduct, exacted from hon. Members opposite the testimony that he is a just and a fair Judge. The trial was one in the open conduct of which, at least, no evidence of undue harshness can possibly be found. Those juries and that Judge came to the conclusion that the three men were guilty, and they came to that conclusion mainly upon the evidence of three men who have been termed in this debate "independent witnesses." They came on to the table in open Court to give their testimony after every opportuity had been afforded of gauging their position towards the men whom they accused. Under the Prevention of Crime Act, every witness whose presence is deemed necessary is provided to the prisoners at the expense of the Crown. In this case, a solicitor of experience in criminal cases was allotted to the prisoners, and counsel, of whom I shall have to say a word by-and-bye, of their own selection, was allotted for their defence. Three months elapsed between the commission of the offence and the trial, and these three witnesses, who are now alleged in the pamphlet of the hon. Member for Westmeath to have been prejudiced witnesses, and to have had cause of anger and cause of hatred sufficient to have induced them to give false testimony, had been subjected to every test in reference to the truth of their story. If any hon. Member will take the trouble to read the shorthand writers' notes of the trial; if my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. Charles Russell), who, with the great powers of his advocacy, has dealt with certain facts, will do so, it will be found that the evidence of these witnesses was subjected to the test of a Judge and a jury, many of whom individually asked questions in order that they might arrive at a right conclusion as to the truth of the evidence, and, further, that the prisoners had the aid of counsel whose ability was most conspicuous. The case having passed through all that ordeal, the result was that three juries came to the same conclusion—namely, that the evidence established the guilt of these men. The Lord Lieutenant had this full admission, that the learned counsel intrusted by the solicitor of the prisoners with their defence, had shown great devotion to the case of their clients, had visited the spot, and had traversed every portion of the journey of that night between the 17th and 18th of August, and had tested by their own observation whether the statement of the three independent witnesses was probable or improbable. Yet these two counsel, whose qualifications were so great, in terms which I can read to the House if it be necessary to enter into detail, gave these witnesses the same credit the prosecuting counsel did of having been present, of having tracked the murderers, of having dogged their footsteps, and of having witnessed what took place. These able counsel could only present to the jury that the witnesses had been mistaken in their identification, and in the conclusion they had arrived at. The Lord Lieutenant, charged as he is by the majority of the Irish people with judicial murder, had these facts before him, and he had one additional fact, which I cannot conceive any just man in the House would hold to be insufficient to exculpate Earl Spencer from this grave charge. It is said now that the Lord Lieutenant knew, or ought to have known, that these men who confessed gave their evidence—for their plea is the strongest evidence—falsely. Where is the evidence against the Lord Lieutenant? The testimony of these three men was confirmed by that of the two approvers—that there were 10 men present at the murder—and on the day when the Lord Lieutenant had to determine whether these three men were witnesses on whom he could place reliance, nine out of the 10 accused men had, with their own lips, affirmed their guilt. My right hon. and learned Friend the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson), with greater force than I can command, brought this subject before the House last night, although the House was not then constituted as it is now. I may, however, be allowed to add this one fact to what the right hon. and learned Gentleman then stated—namely, that when the Lord Lieutenant knew that nine out of the 10 men had confessed their guilt, when he knew that the counsel for the defence admitted that the three men who gave their testimony had been present at the scene of the murder, the fact must be taken into consideration that the only man about whom the Lord Lieutenant could now have any doubt was a relative of the three witnesses. How, then, could the Lord Lieutenant disbelieve the statement of these witnesses, confirmed as it was by a confession of guilt by nine out of the 10 men, and when it was only suggested that a mistake had been made as to a man whom these witnesses would know better than anyone else? There is one other general observation which I would like to make. It is said that the confessions of these men had been obtained by the improper action of the Crown officials, and I hope the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) will forgive me for saying I wondered when I heard his speech whether at the moment he was bearing in mind the great responsibility which fell on him in adding the great weight of his authority to the charges which were made against the administration of justice. The hon. and learned Member stated that much depended upon whether these men were or were not induced by the officials of the Crown to plead guilty, and the senior Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) has stated as a fact that the men had been visited in prison for the purpose.

Mr. HARRINGTON: With the permission of the Home Office.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I can only say on authority that there is not the slightest foundation for that statement. The charge does not appear even in the pamphlet of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), and I give the hon. Member full credit for having done the best for the cause he has undertaken; but even he does not suggest that any Crown official ever saw one of these men.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman allow me to interrupt him? I may not have, stated the fact; but I have it on the authority of their own solicitor, that on the day of the trial they were all visited in gaol by the Crown Solicitor, Mr. Bolton.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I have to say that I am informed that is not the fact, and it has not been stated before. I say distinctly, on the part of those who were intrusted with the prosecution, that they held out no hope whatever to any of the prisoners; but they told their counsel that whatever might be done would depend upon the judgment of the Lord Lieutenant. But it is said that these men knew that the same evidence which had been given against the three men who had been tried and convicted would be repeated against them. According to the case now put forward, these men knew that they were innocent, that they had not been near the spot of the murder in question, and that they had peacably slept in their own homes. Will hon. Members endeavour to realize what this means? We have to deal with the fact that those who knew these men knew that they were not only innocent, but they had not been near the scene of the murder—that they had passed their hours elsewhere; that they had slept, it might be, in their own homes; or that they had been, during some period of the night, elsewhere, and that they had never been near the spot at all. Is it credible, I would ask any person of common sense, whether anyone, be he priest or anyone else, knowing this, could have said—"Tell your own tale of guilt, although it may lead you to the scaffold, or to the mitigated sentence of penal servitude for life?" Would none of these men have said at once—"I know where I was on that night, and there are others who know where I was too"—others who would be the witnesses of truth, who would be able to give that evidence which is known as an *alibi;* who would at once have been forthcoming, for some of these men, at least, would have had that evidence, which every honest man is likely to have at his command, of proving where he was? I admit it is said that in the case of Myles Joyce his only evidence was that of his own wife, and, unfortunately, a wife's evidence being excluded, a difficulty might have been experienced in proving an *alibi.* But there were five men with different *alibis* living under different roofs. Each case must have been upon a different footing to the rest; but was there one among them advised by priest or no priest, with wife or no wife, who attempted to establish his innocence? Not a single one. It must have been difficult for the Lord Lieutenant to believe that by some process or other five men had been induced to state falsely that they were guilty of murder, when, as a matter of fact, they had never been near the scene of the murder, and when it was in the power of every one of them to raise his voice and say—"I was elsewhere at the time." Is it conceivable that not one man among them to save his liberty, his life, or his character, had the courage to say—"I will stake my all on calling witnesses who can prove where I was." None of these men did that; and yet we are asked to come to the conclusion that five men consented to record a plea of "Guilty," and undertook to bear a sentence of penal servitude for life, and that they did so without one of them making an effort to establish his innocence.

Under these circumstances, I must appeal to the feeling that must actuate Irish Gentlemen, and ask them whether, if they had to bear the responsibility of administering justice, and if they had to bear the responsibility of so administering it as to save the peasantry of the country from being murdered in their homes, whether, with all this combination of circumstances—the evidence given before a just Judge, verdicts given by three separate juries, and nine out of the 10 prisoners admitting their guilt—is it possible to conceive that any man with all these facts before him could come to any other conclusion than Earl Spencer did—namely, that the verdict of the jury was correct, and that the pleas of guilty were true admissions of guilt? As to the conduct of the rev. gentleman who advised these men to plead guilty, I will not criticize it. I know how cruel it is to judge others whose manner of thought we may not be able to follow. As the Home Secretary said, let us give credit to him for having acted from the best motives; but I must say this—that if there ever was a person who did an act unintentionally, which sealed the fate of Myles Joyce, and made him suffer the extreme penalty of the law, it was the course pursued by this rev. gentleman. [*Laughter from the Irish Members.*] Let hon. Gentlemen laugh as they may; they cannot help reflecting upon what I say. I do not know what the motive of the rev. gentleman was. I give him full credit for acting as he thought for the best; but he caused these five persons to plead guilty, and that fact made them corroborative witnesses to the truth of the evidence against Myles Joyce, who had been previously convicted. In all this combination of circumstances, and knowing that the guidance likely to be given to men in this condition by their priest would be directed to obtaining the acquittal of innocent men, the Lord Lieutenant could not have supposed that any act on the part of the priest could have the effect of bringing an undue penalty of guilt upon innocent men. Under all the circumstances of the case, I cannot conceive the most liberal and humane man coming to any conclusion but that arrived at by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Having dealt with these general subjects, and traversed the ground which others have traversed much more ably than I have, I will now, with the permission of the House, turn to other matters. I have been subjected to categorical appeals from many hon. Gentlemen opposite in the course of the debate. I have been asked what is the rule of conduct which ought to affect prosecuting counsel in criminal cases, and I have been asked whether I approve of all that has been done by the counsel who conducted this prosecution. I have also been warned in almost minatory language by the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) to be careful what I say, and I have been warned by the junior Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Deasy) that whatever view I express there are those in reserve who will answer them. With these appeals before me, my attention has been directed principally to the consideration of the conduct of counsel prosecuting in criminal cases. In much which has been stated in principle I entirely concur. The counsel who conducts the prosecution in a criminal case stands in a very different position from he who is conducting a civil suit. The counsel who conducts a criminal case has but one client, and that is the public interest. He represents the Crown, and when he represents the Crown he must take care that the fountain of justice is purely represented. He should never seek to win a verdict. These are general rules in which I am certain everyone will concur; but it is useless for me to state those general rules without applying them to the particular circumstances which have occurred in this case. As a deduction from the general rule, it is said that it is the duty of a counsel prosecuting in a criminal case to place in the possession of the advocate of the accused every fact which is in the possession of the counsel who prosecutes. I do not quite agree with that view stated so broadly as it is here stated; but I agree with the substance of it. I agree with the substance to the extent of saying that the counsel who is prosecuting ought to take care that all substantial facts in the opinion of the prosecuting counsel necessary to elicit the truth should in some way be called to the attention of the prisoner's advocate. The prosecuting counsel is bound to lay before the jury what, in his judgment, represents the case against the prisoner, and he is also bound to bring out those things which, in his judgment, will elicit the truth. But it is impossible, when you are laying down a rule to affect the action of an advocate, or speaking of one who is absent and is not able to speak for himself—it is impossible to speak too guardedly when we are applying our judgment to the conduct of such a man. I must confess that if, in this case, I thought there had been conduct which had not been guided by such rules in substance, I believe I should have the courage to say so. But, Sir, admitting as I do the difference between the advocate who represents the Crown, and the position of the advocate who represents the civil suitor, I once more depart from the general statement of opinion I have given to apply that more general view to the particular incidents which occurred in this case, and I think when I have so done I shall have mainly discharged the duty I owe to the House. The charge which is made of the improper conduct of the evidence in this case is, if I understand it rightly, applied to a statement of facts relating to the two statements made by the lads, Michael Joyce and Patrick Joyce, and it is stated that it was the duty of the Crown counsel to have placed in the possession of the counsel for the prisoners the two statements made by those boys. Now, let me at once say on whom I think the responsibility, for good or for evil, in this matter rested. Charges have been made over and over again against Mr. Bolton and against the other Crown officials. I know nothing of Mr. Bolton except what I have read. I have nothing to say of Mr. Bolton, or his conduct in any circumstances in his general relation towards the Irish Executive; but let no man bear a burden he ought not to bear. This is not a question in which the responsibility falls on Mr. Bolton or on any solicitor. The responsibility must fall on the counsel. I know, and the experience of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) will tell him, that it is not the custom for solicitors at an early stage to make any such communication without the sanction of counsel, and if, later on in the trial, it appears that such information ought to have been communicated, the responsibility for withholding it must fall on the counsel. I hope, therefore, that hon. Members, in considering what is right or wrong in this matter, will regard it as a matter affecting the conduct of the Bar, and not the conduct of the Crown officials. It is a matter worthy of consideration that, from the first to the last in this trial, great moderation was exercised by the counsel for the Crown, and I might read an eloquent tribute to that fact which was paid in the course of the trial by the counsel for the prisoners. Therefore, from first to last, the whole charge of what is said to have been an undue exercise of responsibility in the conduct of the case on the part of the Crown is simplified and reduced to this one fact—the treatment of those depositions. I have said that, to my mind, what was material to elicit the truth, if unknown to the prisoners' advocate, should be communicated to him in substance. But my view is that it was so communicated in this case, and I think I shall be able to convince the House that it was. The matter affects the statement of the two boys—one Michael Joyce and the other Patrick Joyce. I think that some misapprehension prevails in the minds of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) and the hon. and learned Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) in reference to the statement of Michael Joyce. On the 28th of August, Michael Joyce made what was apparently a dying deposition; but, as my hon. and learned Friends know, a deposition is a statement made on oath in the presence of the accused. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell), in the eloquent speech he has just delivered, appeared to be under the impression that the statement of Michael Joyce was made on oath.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL: I do not recollect that I said it was taken on oath; but to my mind that was not at all essential.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I have no doubt my hon. and learned Friend said what was in his mind; but, at any rate, it was so stated by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke).

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: No; I did not say so.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): My hon. and learned Friend has been so reported. I do not, however, care who stated it. The fact is, that on the morning of the 28th of August, at 9 o'clock, Collins went to the cottage where the murder had been committed, and at about 10 o'clock Constable Johnson arrived there. At 3 o'clock on that day Michael Joyce was dead. It is, therefore, apparent that all these statements of this boy were made between 10 o'clock and 3 o'clock. He made a statement to Constable Johnson, from which, with the permission of the House, I will read a few words, and I propose to go later on to the statement afterwards made to Mr. Brady; but there is no more legal effect in the statement made to Mr. Brady, and put in writing, than in the statement made to Constable Johnson. Do not let us quibble about words—whether they were declarations or depositions—they were statements—statements made, no doubt, in the belief that Michael Joyce was dying. I assume all that, and any statement made by a person in the belief that he is dying is evidence, no doubt—a dying declaration or a statement relating to the case.

MR. HARRINGTON: In one case the statement was in writing, and in the other it was only verbal.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): The statement was made verbally to Constable Johnson at 10 o'clock in the morning, and later on it was taken down in writing by Mr. Brady; but the legal effect of both is the same. Now, let me read to the House what it was the boy stated, both to Mr. Brady and Constable Johnson—

> "We then saw Pat Joyce and Michael Joyce. They were in bed. We spoke to them. We asked them what happened then. Michael Joyce then told us that he saw three men in the house. We then asked Michael Joyce if he knew the men. He said he did not know them, as they had their faces dirty. I did not speak to Pat Joyce."

This is the evidence of Constable Johnson—

> "I asked Michael Joyce how many men did he see, and if he knew them. He said 'No; that their faces were black, and that there were three or four men.' I then asked Pat Joyce what happened to him last night, but got no reply. I then asked him did he know them, and he said 'No; that their faces were black.'"

The only statement that he made to Mr. Brady, who took it down in writing, in relation to this point, was—

> "Two or three men came in; they had blacked their faces."

Not one word more was stated to Mr. Brady, and it was the identical statement which had been made to Collins and Constable Johnson—in the one case that the men's faces were dirty, and in the other that he did not know them because their faces were black. I admit that you have the statement made to Mr. Brady in writing; but Johnson and Collins went before the Coroner, by whom their statement was put into writing, and they signed their depositions. Those depositions contained what I have above read. Consequently, the statement of Johnson and Collins, identical as it is with that taken down by Mr. Brady as to what the boy said, was in writing before the Coroner, and was signed both by Johnson and Collins, and one day in the month of September the prisoners' attorney obtained those depositions of Johnson and Collins before the Coroner from the Crown Office. They were obtained from the Crown Office for the special purpose of being placed in the hands of the prisoners' counsel, and the prisoners' counsel, with the full knowledge of the Attorney General for Ireland and the prosecuting counsel, had the statements of Collins and Johnson signed by them in their possession. They, therefore, knew that these two witnesses had heard, as Mr. Brady had heard, from the boy exactly the same statement. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) says there were depositions which were never put in. There were no such depositions.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: I never said there were depositions which could have been put in evidence.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): My hon. and learned Friend has been so reported.

MR. EDWARD CLARKE: Where have I been so reported?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): My hon. and learned Friend denies the statement. I, of course, accept his denial; and I am glad to find that my hon. and learned Friend did not make that point. I have pointed out that the statement made to Johnson and Collins was exactly the same statement as that afterwards taken down in writing by Mr. Brady, and that that statement to Johnson and Collins was given before the Coroner, who put down in writing what it was the boy had said.

An hon. MEMBER: White jackets.

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): An hon. Member says "white jackets." This boy never said anything about white jackets. I am going to point out that my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) distinctly spoke of the term "white jackets" being mentioned in the depositions.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE: I can assure my hon. and learned Friend that I did not do so. What I said was that only the younger boy mentioned the "bawneens."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): This boy I am speaking about is the dead boy, who never mentioned the "bawneens." He was altogether silent upon that. He simply said they were men with their faces black. The Attorney General for Ireland called both Johnson and Collins into the witness-box, so as to give the counsel for the prisoners, who had knowledge that they had heard this boy's evidence, an opportunity of putting questions to them. Not only did the Attorney General for Ireland put both of those men into the witness-box, but I can, if necessary, give from a shorthand writer's notes the exact questions he put to each of them, and their answers. He put these questions—

> "Did you see young Michael Joyce? Did you speak to Michael Joyce? Did Michael Joyce make a statement to you?"

So he led up to this very point, apparently purposely, and he gave every opportunity to the counsel for the prisoners to ask what that statement was; and the counsel for the prisoners, being so invited by the prosecuting counsel to ask what the statement was, and knowing what the statement was, for he had a copy of the evidence signed by Collins and Johnson at the inquest in his possession, nevertheless thought it right not to ask that question.

Mr. HARRINGTON: The Judge stopped him.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): If I am asked why the prisoners' counsel did not put the question, the answer is clear and distinct—this poor boy had sustained severe injuries, and his statement was made only a short time before his death. He had already passed that stage which might have enabled him to give an intelligible story. He was lightheaded at the time, and when he made his statement to Mr. Brady there was no doubt that he was wandering and incoherent, if not raving. He said—

> "I was at Mass yesterday at Finney. John O'Brien told me not to tell, and Michael Malley. It was last night when they told me not to tell. They swore me on the Book not to tell. It is John O'Brien of the Wood; I am sure of it."

Some comment has been made upon the fact that Mr. Brady would not have taken the deposition of a witness who was raving. Now, it was Mr. Brady's duty not to take a deposition which he could not produce in Court, but to take any statement; and that is what he did. There is no proof whatever in the statement that the boy went to Mass on the day before, and the fact that it was untrue was known to the Attorney General for Ireland.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Who says it was not true? His priest does not say so.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): An inquiry was made, and it was found that there had been no Mass at all.

Mr. HARRINGTON: May I remind the hon. and learned Gentleman that the statement marked on the brief, intimating that that statement was not true, was put in by the same gentleman, George Bolton, whose conduct we object to.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I have good authority for stating that the boy was found not to have been at Mass. The boy further said—

> "John O'Brien told me not to tell, and Michael Malley. They swore me on a book not to tell."

Now, John O'Brien was never near the place; Michael Malley was never near the place; and all this was entirely imaginative. Therefore, we have the fact that these incoherent statements were tested and found not to be true; and yet it is contended that the statements themselves ought to have been put in evidence. But the matter does not rest there; there is other important evidence on this point. The surgeon who arrived on the scene early on the morning of the 18th examined the boy. He was called before the jury with a view of showing how far the statement of the boy could be relied upon, and what did he say? He said—

> "He appeared to me at some moments to be rational, but taking it all in all I think he was irrational. He appeared to have lucid moments, but on the whole he appeared to be wandering."

Three statements out of the four made by the boy proved to be untrue; he gave the names of persons who had never been present at all, and his statements were so unreliable that the medical man said he was wandering and irrational, and only seemed to have lucid intervals. And that was the document which it is said was to be put in evidence, for good or for evil, to convict or acquit men charged with murder. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke) talked about depositions that ought to be put in in evidence.

Mr. EDWARD CLARKE: Will my hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General allow me for the second time to deny having stated that these depositions ought to have been put in in evidence?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James): I am sorry if I misunderstood my hon. and learned Friend. Would anybody have thought that this was the document charged to be held back, and upon which so much reliance has been placed by hon. Members opposite? I ask, in justice to my right hon. and learned Friend the late Attorney General for Ireland, who was conducting the case, whether he was not entitled to arrive at the conclusion that the evidence was altogether worthless? After hearing the medical testimony, no doubt the Judge intervened and said—"Why, the boy was wandering and raving." Under such circumstances, is it fair that counsel should have imputations cast upon them for withholding this evidence, or that my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General for Ireland should be laughed at for having said the boy was raving? There is one other matter I ought to deal with, and that is the facts affecting the other statement — namely, that of Patrick Joyce. The statement of Patrick Joyce was, up to a certain point, identically the same as that made to Collins and Johnson by Michael Joyce. He had told Johnson that he did not know the men, but that their faces were black, and there is a slight difference in this witness's statement, which was referred to by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), because in the statement Patrick Joyce made to Mr. Brady, which was taken down in writing, he stated—"I think they had no coats, but bawneens." I have endeavoured to discover on what ground the hon. and learned Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) had for the strange charge he made against the Attorney General for Ireland of conduct no English barrister would have been guilty of, and which only an Irish barrister would have resorted to. The charge is now narrowed down to this one fact—that in this statement of Patrick Joyce to Mr. Brady this statement is made—"I think they had no coats, but bawneens." That was added to the statement that they had also blackened faces. It has been said that the boy ought to have been taught the nature of an oath. It must be remembered that this poor boy had been recovering slowly from his wounds during the autumn months, and if there had been any teaching of that boy for any purpose—if he had been educated in order to enable him to understand the nature of an oath, or for any other purpose, I fancy that we should have heard some strong statements made about it before this. Knowing that the counsel for the prisoners were aware that the boy could repeat what he had stated to Johnson and Collins—evidence of which had been given by those men and signed by them and was in the possession of the prisoners' counsel—the counsel for the Crown put that boy upon the table, affording every opportunity for converting him into a credible witness. With these facts before him, I must confess that I listened with regret to the speech of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Plymouth (Mr. E. Clarke). I needed no warning from him. I know that I have received from my Predecessors a great inheritance—a legacy which represents the duty of conducting criminal prosecutions with humanity, and of aiding in the pure administration of justice. I will say nothing of what has occurred during the last four years; but I will say this—that, appealed to, as I have been, bearing in mind the rules I have laid down as to the duties of counsel, I really cannot believe in my conscience—and I am not induced to say so from any feeling that I am supporting the action of a Colleague—I cannot bring myself to think that my right hon. and learned Friend the Attorney General for Ireland acted in any way unworthy of the high character enjoyed by the members of the Irish Bar. I may go further and say that, while it is difficult indeed for one man to place himself in the position of another, and to invest himself with all the minute incidents of the trial, to weigh in his mind what would be effective in their results, and what was material for the jury to know—while I hesitate to judge for one moment of the conduct of another, I cannot bring myself to say that in this instance I should have acted otherwise than the Attorney General for Ireland acted. I hope that hon. Members on both sides of the House will not think that I have spoken hastily. I have not done so. I have spoken with a sense of responsibility, after having carefully read the shorthand writer's notes of the trial, and have gone carefully through them, with a desire to come to a right conclusion as to what answer I should give to the appeal which has been made to me. There is one other testimony I must bear during the course of this discussion. Many names have been mentioned, and many persons have been accused, from Earl Spencer himself down to the Police Magistrate, the Crown counsel, and the Crown officials. To-night two other names have been added to the indictment. No doubt, as the Prime Minister has pointed out, much of the responsibility in this case rested upon the counsel for the prisoners. A reply had to be made to that argument, so it was left for the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), bringing his judgment to bear upon these facts, to declare, in language by no means doubtful, but clear and definite, that the counsel for the prisoners were grossly incompetent to conduct the trial. It must be remembered that these gentlemen were not counsel selected by the Crown. The view taken by the Government and by the House was that it would be a mitigation of the power of the Prevention of Crime Act, which placed prisoners in such an exceptional position, if witnesses, solicitors, and counsel were found for them at the expense of the Crown. But they do not select the counsel. On the contrary, the prisoners' solicitor, Mr. Concannon, selected the two men whom he believed to be the best for the purpose he could find in the Irish Bar. Is it suggested that the selective power of the solicitor was deficient? Well, it is not only on the bare and *primâ facie* fact that the solicitor found the prisoners' counsel that I would put the case; but let any man take the record of the trial in his hand, and let him read the defence—the searching cross-examination of the witnesses, and the eloquent appeal to the jury; let him read that trial from beginning to end, and he will soon see whether there is one word of truth in the assertion that these gentlemen misconducted the trial. On the contrary, it will at once be said that the efforts of the prisoners' counsel were worthy of the high reputation which the Irish Bar enjoys. I very much regret that it has been thought necessary to make such a charge, and I am satisfied that those who read the cross-examination of the witnesses, and the speeches delivered by the prisoners' counsel at the trial will at once say that in their opinion there is no trace to be found in the conduct of the trial of the action of incompetent men. I will go further, and I will say that the case appears to have been conducted in a manner that reflected great credit upon the administration of justice. My right hon. Friend the Home Secretary has defended the action of the Executive in the matter, and my right hon. Friend is able to speak from great experience. Let me further remind hon. Members that no suggestion even now is made that the trial was an unfair one. Then, what has occurred since that such a demand for inquiry is made? My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) says that it would quiet the public mind in Ireland. If that is to be the principle upon which an inquiry is to be conceded into every case of a criminal trial, I can only say that it would greatly disturb public opinion in relation to the administration of justice, instead of tending to quiet it. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) said that they could put aside all that has happened since the trial, and yet still be entitled to the inquiry now demanded. The hon. Member said that he need not rely on the subsequent statement of Casey published in the pamphlet of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), and all that has been brought to light since. The hon. Member said that, putting aside all that, Earl Spencer might fairly concede an inquiry into the circumstances of the case as they were laid before the Court. But what does that represent but a new trial, and a new trial against the judgment of three verdicts given by three different juries? What is to be the nature of the inquiry? Is it to be an irresponsible examination of the evidence? Any tribunal that could be selected must be one with very great responsibility as to its methods and as to its results. Is it proposed to examine the five men who are now, in consequence of their own confession of guilt, suffering penal servitude? Do I understand that that is what is asked for? [Mr. HARRINGTON: Yes.] Will the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), if he is in the House, give me his attention for one moment? I would ask him whether, in the interests of Ireland, he considers that would be a right course to take?—because I must remind the hon. Member that he strenuously resisted a Bill the object of which was to enable men upon their trial to establish their innocence upon their own statement. We thought that, under proper conditions, the Judge who tried a criminal case might be allowed to administer an oath to a prisoner upon his trial; but that Bill met with great resistance from hon. Members from Ireland, and the view entertained by the hon. Member for Monaghan was that such testimony could not be trusted, and that it would be detrimental to the interests of justice, especially in Ireland. In that way the sincere effort, which was made to prevent an innocent man from being convicted, was frustrated. Yet the very men who frustrated it, and who said that a prisoner should not be allowed to give evidence on his own trial, who would not allow those nearest to him to give evidence, or permit him any examination and cross-examination, or to tell his own story, are now urging that men who have been convicted upon their own admission of guilt, who cannot be cross-examined, against whom there would be no consequences if they failed to tell the truth, should be invited to make statements in their own behalf, which are in effect to upset the deliberate and solemn verdict of an impartial jury as well as to discredit their own pleas. I owe much to the indulgence of the House in listening to the very inefficient statement I have made. [*Cries of* "Hear, hear!" *from the Irish Members.*] Notwithstanding that rebuke, I will say that I have made that statement from no desire to screen facts or men who ought not to be screened. I felt that those who were intrusted with the protection of life and property, which can be protected alone by the due administration of justice, would be acting unworthily and disloyally if they allowed the administration of justice to be shaken by granting this inquiry, and allowing a trial already adjudicated upon to be superseded by a mere popular demand for a fresh investigation. I therefore trust that the House will not listen to the insidious advice of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who tells the Government that they will incur the loss of the Irish vote by refusing to agree to the Amendment. I believe it would be far better to lose that vote than for us to allow political considerations to interfere with the due administration of justice.

THE O'GORMAN MAHON said, that he was by no means insensible to the disadvantages under which he laboured at that hour of the night, especially after the address they had heard from the eloquent Gentleman who had preceded him—a learned Gentleman connected with the law, of which he professed to have very little knowledge—but, above all, after having heard the address of the Prime Minister, from whose mind he wished at once to dissever the idea that there was any intention on his part, in the few observations he proposed to submit to the House—and they should be very few, in order that he might obtain something like a patient hearing—the idea that he felt in the slightest degree anything like prejudice against the noble Earl who filled the high Office of Viceroy of Ireland. The very reverse was the case. In fact, when first Earl Spencer went over to Ireland, a ray of hope—which, unfortunately, had vanished since—glanced across his mind; for he had a distinct recollection of the father of the noble Earl, and from his father's son he had anticipated that something like good would result to Ireland. He remembered that, 54 years ago, the father of Earl Spencer, as a Minister of the Crown, stated in his place in Parliament that if the Irish Party at that period were capable of demonstrating to him, as Minister of the Crown, that the great majority of the Irish people were desirous of dissolving the infamous Union which had been forced upon them, in direct opposition to the will of the people, and by bribery and corruption of the worst type, he would consider it his duty to make a favourable representation of their case to his King. Such a statement, emanating from a man filling so important a position, necessarily prepossessed him (The O'Gorman Mahon) in favour of the son; and he rejoiced when Earl Spencer arrived in Ireland, being convinced that at last something like justice would be accorded to the Irish people. Therefore, he begged Earl Spencer, and those immediately connected with him, to be satisfied that there was nothing like prejudice in his mind excited against the noble Earl, but that, on the contrary, there was a strong prepossession in his favour. Necessarily, at that late hour of the night, he was obliged to be precise in his observations; and he would only mention one or two circumstances, the first of which bore a species of analogy to the case now under consideration. It related to a man in his county, who was condemned to an ignominious death after the most suspicious evidence had been recorded against him. The statements were very interesting. An unfortunate man was shot in the head, some pellets of lead had penetrated his skull; and while he lay on the ground, gasping for life, the clergyman of the parish—his own clergyman—found himself unable to administer the Sacrament to him. Now, this Last Sacrament was one of the most sacred rites connected with the Roman Catholic Church; and in this case the priest declined to administer it, because of the man's utter incapacity to comprehend what was taking place. The clergyman, who was ever desirous to strain a point in favour of a dying penitent, found him quite unfit to receive the Sacrament; but, nevertheless, after the clergyman had refused to administer it, in his sight and his presence a stipendiary magistrate, or some such animal as that, stepped forward. ["Oh!"] If he had made use of an unfortunate phrase he regretted it. Stipendiary magistrates in Ireland were an invention which he believed English Members knew very little about; but they were a class whose very existence depended on the detection of what they conceived to be crime, and their efforts were invariably directed towards the obtaining of a conviction, whether the person accused was innocent or guilty. He asked the House to listen to the sequel. In the presence of that clergyman so restrained—he would not use an offensive word again, and when he did make use of the term "animal" he had merely meant it in a kindly sense—but this person insisted upon extracting information from the dying man. Stooping down, he put his ear to his mouth, and said—"Was it Francis Hynes who shot you?" And the unfortunate man repeated the words "Francis Hynes." To a question of who made the sun, moon, and stars, he would, doubtless, have given a similar answer. Upon that kind of evidence the accused was hanged. He saw that the Secretary of State listened with astonishment to such a statement; but these facts were duly brought before the Lord Lieutenant. The Members for the county, the clergy of the county—clergymen of all persuasions — Grand Jurors, magistrates, Deputy Lieutenants, and many others, signed a Memorial, which was presented to His Excellency, and after considerable consideration and delay the prayer of that Memorial was refused, and the man was hanged—hanged notwithstanding the conviction of thousands of persons in the county in which the crime was committed, and millions of Irishmen generally, who believed Francis Hynes to be perfectly innocent. It might be asked, what had this to do with the present case? It had this analogy in connection with it—it proved the existence of a deep-rooted objection and reluctance on the part of the Viceroy to hear anything like a remonstrance from anybody except the paid officers of the Crown. Notwithstanding the Memorial of the clergy, the gentry, and the people generally, Francis Hynes was executed; and up to this moment he was believed by the united voice of Ireland to have been innocently executed. How many Irishmen believed that Myles Joyce, who was executed the other day, was also innocent? How many believed that the four or five men now suffering the penalty of penal servitude were innocent? He might here mention that he was indebted to his hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) for information to the effect that a distinct *alibi* could have been established for those poor men, but that the evidence of their wives would not be permitted, and their children were too young to afford any. There were millions of Irishmen who, having investigated the case dispassionately, and examined it in every particular, believed in the innocence of Myles Joyce; and, far from attempting or wishing to go into anything like a fresh recital of the circumstances of the case, which had been canvassed by so many legal Gentlemen, he would only say that there was no intention on the part of the Irish Party to offer any insult to the Lord Lieutenant. All that they asked for was a simple investigation, but not a mock investigation. When they spoke of investigation, they meant a fair, an open, and a public one—such a one as Englishmen would require for their own countrymen if Englishmen happened to be similarly circumstanced; and any Minister of the Crown who attempted to refuse an investigation would have shame cried upon him. The honour of a House which they all respected seemed to him to be implicated in the matter. It was alleged, and capable of proof, that a member of the house of Cavendish, holding a high position in Her Majesty's Government, had pledged his word that, under certain circumstances, an investigation into the case should be granted. All who had taken the trouble to read Irish history were fully aware that English faith had often been broken by English Ministers; but he had yet to learn that the house of Cavendish was so lost and degraded as to condescend to resort to the measures of the trader, who would substitute a miserable partial inquiry for the one which the public demanded, and for which he had pledged his word. He believed the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) was absent at that moment; but he would put it to the noble Marquess, and he would put it to his Colleagues, whether it was fitting or proper to expose an English gentleman to the imputation of having trifled with the House of Commons, of having trifled with his own good faith, and of having trifled with the people of Ireland, by holding out the hope of a free, a fair, and a just investigation, and now turning round and saying that one had been given, because there had been something like an inquiry by persons who were themselves implicated in the matter? That he trusted was not what the noble house of Cavendish would ever lend itself to; and, until he received better proof than now existed, he would not believe that that was the course which Her Majesty's Government proposed to adopt.

MR. CALLAN said, that to-morrow the speech of the Attorney General would be read, and it would be universally felt that it was one of the ablest speeches he had ever made since the memorable occasion on which he first made his mark in that House when he delivered an address upon Judge Keogh. The present speech was even still more remarkable than that in which the hon. and learned Gentleman defended Judge Keogh. He had been engaged in a similar task of defending a learned Judge, but a Judge whose conduct was not impugned, and who did not require any eulogy at the hands of the hon. and learned Gentleman; but not one word had been uttered by the hon. and learned Gentleman to defend or explain the conduct of His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant. It was as difficult to ask the House to listen calmly to argument after the impassioned speech of the Attorney General, as it was for a jury to calmly try Myles Joyce after the declaration made by the Judge in sentencing the prisoner who had just previously been convicted. What were the facts which had been laid before the House? A fearful murder—indeed a massacre—was committed in the month of August, 1882, in a remote part of the county of Galway. It was well known that a thrill of horror pervaded the country on the announcement of the fact. He had been present in Dublin during the trial, and he had mixed with the jurors who tried the case; and he was able to say that no stronger feeling was excited anywhere than among the jurors of that City. No one had impugned the verdict, and not a word had been said against its impartiality. It was not until the execution had taken place, on the 15th of December, that any doubt appeared to be entertained in regard to the case. No effort had been made by anybody to secure a commutation of the sentence; there was no effort of that kind by any gentleman in the City of Dublin; but when it was announced that two of the prisoners on the day but one before, and on the day before the execution, had made what were called "dying declarations," intense feeling, no doubt, was invoked as to what were the grounds upon which those declarations had been made. The interest, however, died away until last summer, when the Crown informers made their confessions, and the case was brought before the House of Commons. Then, again, the subject of the suppressed declarations was mooted. He would ask what were the circumstances under which the matter was brought before the House? On the 11th of August his hon. Friend—he thought the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)—brought the case forward. He would not discuss the circumstances under which the conditional promise of an inquiry was made on the part of the Government; but the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), who was not generally accused of being a very moderate or an extremely timid Member, and himself (Mr. Callan) both recommended the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) to be content with the satisfactory pledge then given by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War. In compliance with the wish then expressed by the noble Marquess for information, one of the highest and most respected dignitaries of the Catholic Church of Ireland wrote a letter to the Lord Lieutenant, which he regretted had not been included in the pamphlet published by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington). He presumed it had not been so included by accident. What was it that His Grace the Archbishop of Tuam wrote? Now, the Archbishop of Tuam was not an extreme politician—if, indeed, he was a politician at all. He had never given any assistance to the National movement in Ireland, and but for the honesty of his character, and his well-known fearlessness and independence of judgment, he would have been reckoned what was called a Whig official; but the honesty of his character and his independence had saved His Grace from that obloquy. What did the Archbishop of Tuam say in his letter of the 13th of August, from Ballinrobe to the Lord Lieutenant? After recapitulating the circumstances that had arisen, Dr. M'Evilly went on to say—

"Taking all the circumstances into account, my own conviction is that this latter statement of the wretched man is truthful and sincere—that is, that as an evidence of his sincerity he declared that he was ready, in the interests of justice, to suffer any pain, even death itself, if necessary, on account of having been instrumental in taking away the life of an innocent man. And I may add that since then I am reliably informed that this statement has been fully corroborated by another man named Philbin—one of the leading approvers in the case—and who is, I am informed, prepared to make a similar public declaration. In conclusion, I would ask Your Excellency, in order to allay public feeling, so much excited in this neighbourhood, to direct a sworn inquiry into the case."

That letter was addressed to the Lord Lieutenant by the Archbishop of Tuam, and on the 28th of August the Archbishop addressed a further letter to the Lord Lieutenant, pressing for an inquiry, and giving his reasons for pressing it. His Grace said—

"I have the honour to acknowledge Your Excellency's letter with accompanying Memorandum of the 24th instant. Notwithstanding the statements and the arguments so ably and so powerfully put forward in the Memorandum, I still feel that nothing short of a public inquiry can satisfy a discerning and expectant public, for they feel that the circumstances of the case are very much altered since the trial; and they, therefore, naturally expect that the Government would take advantage of those circumstances to arrive at an exact knowledge of the actual condition of things. The absence of any conceivably adequate motive on the latter occasion, while he had obviously the most powerful motive on the former—namely, the saving of his own neck from the halter, deeply impressed all who were present as to the truthful sincerity of his statement. Add to this, apart from the strong universal feeling then, as well as now, prevailing throughout Joyce's country respecting Myles Joyce's innocence, the dying declaration of the two men executed with him as to his innocence, as reported in the public Press at the time, it is hardly conceivable how, in the very jaws of death, they would allow themselves to be launched into eternity with a lie on their lips, or an equivocation amounting to a lie, for there are very few—far fewer than seems to be supposed—who are ignorant of this obvious point of Christian morality—namely, that the abettor of, and participator in, murder, are morally just as guilty as the man who strikes the blow or fires the fatal bullet. The exceptional nature of the case as it now stands, with all its circumstances, would seem to call for exceptional consideration on the part of the Government by instituting a public inquiry. As regards the official incriminated, towards whom I can have no feeling one way or the other, being neither advocate nor accuser in the case, but simply laying before Your Excellency the statements publicly made to me, and my impressions, not lightly entertained—one could not help thinking that at the inquiry referred to in the Memorandum, he (the solicitor, Bolton) was witness in his own case; and it might seem more satisfactory, if not necessary in order to satisfy reasonable public expectations if, at a public inquiry, where there could be an opportunity afforded of questioning all parties connected with the prison, it was fully proved that he had not seen Casey on any other occasions than those referred to in the Memorandum."

To that moderate letter an insolent reply was sent. The first letter in reply to the Archbishop, and sent from Dublin Castle, contained nine paragraphs, in which 10 times over the Archbishop was spoken of as "Your Grace." It might have been thought that the Assistant Under Secretary must have been animated at the time by a spirit of flunkyism when that letter was addressed to "His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. M'Evilly, Archbishop of Tuam." But when the Archbishop would not accept the Lord Lieutenant's Memorandum as conclusive, and it became necessary to write to him again, he was curtly addressed as "you," and his territorial title was thrown on one side, the letter being simply directed to "Archbishop M'Evilly." He (Mr. Callan) had now to refer to another matter —namely, the speech of the Attorney General. The hon. and learned Gentleman had made no reference whatever to the charge against Mr. Bolton of visiting the prisoners in gaol. It had not been denied by the Solicitor General for Ireland, by the Attorney General for England, by the Home Secretary, or by the Prime Minister; but not one single word of explanation had been given, notwithstanding that no one ventured to deny the visits of Bolton to the prisoners while they were in confinement. He would not refer to those visits in any other language than that of Judge Barry at the Belfast Assizes, when that learned Judge held that if Mr. Bolton had been in the habit of gliding from cell to cell, he had acted far in excess of his duty, and had been doing that which was not only beneath the position he occupied, but most censurable. Fair play ought to characterize all criminal prosecutions in a free country. Earl Spencer had referred to the Home Secretary as to what should guide him in this matter; but had he referred to Mr. Justice Barry as in the Kilmartin case he had referred to Judge Lawson? Why had he not followed the precedent he had established himself in the Kilmartin case? In the Kilmartin case Earl Spencer well knew that he had a Judge who would back him up in anything; but that in Judge Barry he had a Judge who would carefully weigh all the circumstances which had arisen, and give his conscientious advice upon them. Then, why did not the noble Earl consult Judge Barry when the dying declarations first came before him? The impression existed in Ireland that something in the nature of a judicial murder had been perpetrated, and that the dying declarations, which conclusively established the innocence of Myles Joyce, had been carefully suppressed. He believed that if the declarations of the two men on the eve of execution were published, it would be found they confirmed the innocence of Myles Joyce, and that they contained the admission of their own guilt. They would, therefore, have the effect of relieving the memory of Myles Joyce from the stigma of guilt, and also the character of the men now in prison. Moreover, the declarations would, he believed, be found to agree with the statement of the informer with whom these men had no possible means of communication; and, further, that they would name Casey amongst the murderers. He did not attach so much importance as was attached by some hon. Members to the depositions of the boys which were suppressed. With regard to the boy of nine years of age who survived, and who had been for months in the custody of the Government, he thought it would have been much better had the Government, through some Christian Brother, Catholic priest, or other religious person, instructed him in the rudiments of the Catechism, so that he might have known the penalty that would accrue to the perjurer, rather than have confided him to the tender mercies of Mr. George Bolton. With reference to Patrick Casey, he had made a remark, in the course of the Prime Minister's speech that day, with regard to which he wished to remark that it had been misapprehended, inasmuch as he had made it in answer to what he believed at the time to have been a question asked by the right hon. Gentleman. He wished to make this observation, because the reply he gave at the time had the effect of bringing down upon him the wrath of almost the entire House. Finally, he would ask whether the Government would afford pecuniary aid, as they had done in the case of Mr. Bolton and French, when they thought to immolate the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien)—would they afford material assistance to Casey against the hon. Member for Mallow, who had charged Casey with murder? Would the Attorney General give his *fiat* to a criminal prosecution against that hon. Member, who, he undertook to say, would prove the charge he had made? If that were done, Irish Members would be able to get the depositions out of the desk of Earl Spencer. Before resuming his seat, he would say that the elevation of Sir Samuel Anderson would be regarded by the Irish public as an endorsement by Earl Spencer of the system of jury packing which for years had been going on in Ireland.

Mr. HARRINGTON: Sir, before the House proceeds to divide on the Amendment——

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to reply, but will doubtless be permitted, by the indulgence of the House, to make an explanation.

Mr. HARRINGTON said, he rose to make a correction which he believed would be acceptable to the Attorney General. The hon. and learned Gentleman had stated that John O'Brien was never near the place in question; but he would find, on reference to the statement of Johnson, that that was incorrect. He thought the Prime Minister was entitled to apologies from hon. Members on those Benches for the interruptions that came from them during his speech, which, on his own part, he would ask the right hon. Gentleman to accept.

Question put.

The House *divided:*—Ayes 48; Noes 219: Majority 171.—(Div. List, No. 1.)

Main Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir Henry Holland.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

## *MOTION.*

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### PUBLIC PETITIONS.

*Ordered,* That a Select Committee be appointed, to whom shall be referred all Petitions presented to the House, with the exception of such as relate to Private Bills; and that such Committee do classify and prepare abstracts of the same, in such form and manner as shall appear to them best suited to convey to the House all requisite information respecting their contents, and do report the same from time to time to the House; and that the reports of the Committee do set forth the number of signatures to each Petition only in respect to those signatures to which addresses are affixed:—And that such Committee have power to direct the printing *in extenso* of such Petitions, or of such parts of Petitions, as shall appear to require it:—And that such Committee have power to report their opinion and observations thereupon to the House:—The Committee was accordingly *nominated* of,—Sir Charles Forster, Mr. Richard Power, Mr. M'Lagan, Mr. Cavendish Bentinck, Mr. Reginald Yorke, Mr. Charles Dalrymple, Viscount Newport, Mr. Mulholland, Marquess of Tavistock, Mr. Charles Tennant, Marquess of Stafford, Mr. Hanbury-Tracy, Mr. William Lowther, Colonel Digby, and Colonel Colthurst.

*Ordered,* That Three be the quorum.—(*Sir Charles Forster.*)

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

## *Wednesday,* 29*th October,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Ordered — First Reading*—Income Tax Administration Amendment * [20]; Access to Mountains (Scotland) * [21]; Pluralities * [22].

*Withdrawn*—Shop Hours Regulation * [18.]

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### AFRICA (SOUTH)—BECHUANALAND.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can state to the House the contents of telegrams sent by the Transvaal Government to the High Commissioner, or to Her Majesty's Government, on September 16th and 19th, 1884; and whether Her Majesty's Government telegraphed any reply; and, if so, on what date and to what effect? In putting the Question, the right hon. Gentleman said—I wish to say a few words in explanation of this Question. On the 10th of October a telegram from South Africa appeared, I think, in *The Times* newspaper, purporting to give the text of a message sent by Mr. Krüger to Lord Derby in these words—"No reply received to urgent telegrams of September 16 and 19, sent in the interest of humanity," and then referring to the reasons which had induced President Krüger to issue his Proclamation of annexation of Bechuanaland. These are the two telegrams to which my Question relates.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: I am very happy to give the right hon. Gentleman an abstract of the telegrams to which his Question refers. On the 6th of September we received at the Colonial Office a telegram from the State Secretary of the South African Republic, in which he said that their Commander, Joubert, had brought about peace on the Western Border, and that all parties had laid down their arms on the Transvaal Government taking them under their protection and jurisdiction. He said—

> "If Her Majesty's responsibility be handed over to us, effective measures will promptly be taken to restore and maintain permanent peace, subject to Her Majesty's approval, and the rights of all Native Chiefs being respected. Matter urgent."

On the 8th of September the Secretary of State sent the contents of that telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson, and begged him to make his observations, in reply, by telegram. This was the first information we had of the action of the Transvaal Government on that Border. Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphed back on the 9th of September, saying he was still without information from Mr. Rhodes as to his negotiations with Commander Joubert and Commander Nicholas Gey, and also as to the results of the meeting of Stellalanders which was to have taken place on the 5th, and he said—"As soon as I have ascertained the position in Bechuanaland I will telegraph my observation." On the 12th we had a long telegram from Sir Hercules Robinson, in which he gave an account of the state of affairs there from what he had gathered from Mr. Rhodes's Report, and concluded by saying—

> "Mr. Rhodes is now on his way to Cape Town to place the whole position before me. He will arrive on Sunday. Meanwhile, I would suggest that your answer to the Pretoria telegram should be delayed."

That was on the 12th. On the 17th of September the State Secretary of the South African Republic telegraphed to the Colonial Office—"Being implored by Montsioa, the Government have taken him under their protection." We then telegraphed on the 21st to Sir Hercules Robinson, saying—

> "Having carefully considered his communications on this subject, Her Majesty's Government considered it desirable that they should have a clear expression of the Cape Minister's recommendation, and should understand, before coming to a decision in the matter, as to the extent of co-operation to be given to the Colony on account of the trade route and otherwise if active measures are taken."

Then Sir Hercules Robinson sent on the 24th of September a reply to that, conveying the opinions and the Minutes of the Cape Ministry. On the 7th of October the Cabinet, having come to a decision, sent an answer first of all to the South African Republic, saying—"You will receive a communication from the High Commissioner;" and on the same day telegraphing to the High Commissioner, saying that the Government desired him, on receiving the concurrence of his Ministry, to call upon the Government of the South African Republic to disallow the recent Acts by which the South African Republic assumed jurisdiction over Montsioa and the violation of the Convention of 1884, and asking him to advise as to the means to be taken to maintain the Protectorate. This is the tenour of the telegrams that passed between the Government and the South African Republic. With reference to the answer which I gave the other day, the House will allow me to explain to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) that I was in error in saying, in answer to a Question whether we received any other official communication about Mr. Bethell's mode of death, that none had been received except the document I referred to as having been received last Thursday. I was correct in my memory in saying that we had received no communication except from Mr. Wright; but it appears, on looking at the Papers carefully, that a few days previously, on the 15th of October, we had received a document from Sir Hercules Robinson, forwarding a long document from Mr. Wright, giving a statement of a long series of outrages that had been committed on Montsioa by the freebooters. In the eighth paragraph of that Report the names of the murderers of Mr. Bethell were given; but we did not act on it for this reason, because in the covering despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson, which arrived the same day, he said—

> "I have forwarded a copy of your Lordship's despatch to Mr. Wright, and asking for a full account of the circumstances attending the death of Mr. Bethell;"

so we were waiting until the answer came from Mr. Wright to the despatch, and that arrived only on Thursday.

**Mr. W. E. FORSTER:** I have to thank my hon. Friend for his explanation. I think he also must have received a despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson containing Mr. Bower's despatch to him. I wish to ask whether the despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson on the 24th of September, I think it was, to which that answer was given on the 7th of October, came by telegraph or post?

**Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY:** It came by telegraph. It was received on the 24th of September. With reference to what the right hon. Gentleman says about Commander Bower's Report, I have to say that his Report was received by us on the 15th of October, forwarded by Sir Hercules Robinson. What I want to point out to my right hon. Friend is that Mr. Bower's Report merely gave a general account of the murder of Mr. Bethell, and did not give us what is an important matter—namely, the fact that the names of the murderers were known, and that there was an eye-witness who could depose to the identity of the criminals.

**Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH:** With reference to the answer of the hon. Gentleman, I should like to ask whether I am right in understanding that the despatch sent to Sir Hercules Robinson by Her Majesty's Government on the 21st of September is to be taken as having intimated that the Government were not prepared to carry out their direct engagements to those Bechuana Chiefs whom they had undertaken to protect, and to repudiate this Proclamation of the Transvaal, unless they received the co-operation of the Cape Government?

**Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY:** No, Sir; I hope the right hon. Gentleman will not make any inference of that sort. If he recalls what took place last year, or in the early part of this year, between Sir Thomas Scanlen and the delegates of the Transvaal, he will recollect that it was pointed out that Her Majesty's Government would take a very different view of what the ultimate settlement of Bechuanaland might be according as the Cape Government made it a point that the trade route should be kept open or not. Accordingly, if the Cape Government made it an important point, as they did, that the trade route was to be kept open, a much larger measure of extension of jurisdiction would have to be taken than if merely the interests of Montsioa and Mankoroane were to be considered; but if the Cape Government desired to have measures taken in order to save the trade route, it was right that they should also take part of the responsibility and expense.

**Mr. W. E. FORSTER:** I observe that my hon. Friend is quoting from the late despatches. I beg to ask him, as they are printed, how soon they can be in the hands of Members? It is impossible to exaggerate the inconvenience in which the House is placed by the fact that the most important Papers are, although printed, not in our hands. Can we be informed when they will be in the possession of Members? I also wish to ask whether pressure could not be put on the printers to take on extra workpeople in such a case as this? The House and the Government are immensely inconvenienced, and probably a great deal of time will be lost in debate, in consequence of no one being able really to go into the question as it ought to be gone into.

**Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY:** Considering who it is who asks me the Question, I cannot resist the temptation to give the answer which came to me from the printers, that they employed a large number of women and children in the work, and that they were checked by the operation of the Factory Acts. I can only say that I have done my best to press the printing forward; but I must, at the same time, point out that the difficulties are great when you carry the Papers down to the last day. The last despatch only came to the Colonial Office on Thursday, and I hope the Papers will be in the hands of Members on Friday or Saturday morning.

**Mr. W. E. FORSTER:** I wish to ask my hon. Friend whether, on receiving this information with regard to the Factory Acts, he did not state to the printers that in a matter of this kind they ought to employ extra men, so as to get the work done more rapidly. If the bargain which the country has made does not yield a price sufficient for that purpose, surely it is a case in which we might fairly say another bargain should be made. The time of the House is wasted, the Government is inconvenienced, the question comes badly before the public, and the public interest is injured simply because by our bargain with the printers we are unable to get done what any private firm would undertake to do.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

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### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [FIFTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [23rd October,] "That, &c."—[See page. 69.]

Original Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

### AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, that, after the very full and frank explanation of the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) as to the reasons for the delay in the production of the Bechuanaland Papers, he should not do more than reiterate his expression of regret that the Papers promised so long ago as the 7th of July last were only distributed that morning. He must, however, express his regret and unbounded astonishment—a regret and an astonishment which would be felt on both sides of the House by hon. Members who had interested themselves in this question—that the Papers now presented only came down to the 14th of August. Nothing could be more inconvenient, as had been just pointed out by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), because the discussion must now be incomplete owing to that fact. The House had no information about the recall of Mr. Mackenzie; none about the mission of Mr. Rhodes; none as to the murder of Mr. Bethell; none as to the steps which had been taken by Her Majesty's Government to bring to justice the perpetrators of that murder; they had no information as to the outrages that had been committed by the Boers on Montsioa, or as to the sham Treaty that had been wrung out of him after he had been reduced to extremities. He could not understand, nor would the country be able to understand, why, although some of the Correspondence might be incomplete, some further Papers could not have been published, some despatches, or some telegrams, bringing the matter down to a later date. But even upon the Papers presented, however incomplete, there was quite sufficient evidence, in his opinion, to show that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been most unsatisfactory; and he must add that the words which had been put in the Speech from the Throne did not tend to throw any clear light on the question what their policy would be in the future. He could not help entertaining serious doubts whether, even now, Her Majesty's Government realized the gravity of the position, and whether they were even now prepared to fulfil the obligations which they had incurred. Before dealing with the Papers which had been presented, he desired, however, to clear the ground for discussion by a few preliminary observations. In the first place, it should not be understood that he, or anyone who criticized the action of the Government, underrated in any way the difficulties of the case. No one who had studied the affairs of South Africa, and the proceedings that had taken place there, could doubt the gravity and importance of those difficulties; but he must observe that those difficulties had, in the present case, been enormously increased and aggravated by the policy of drift and concession pursued by Her Majesty's Government. What was the main difficulty with which they had had to contend? It had been the Boer element—how to deal with the freebooting Boers, as well as with the Transvaal Government. Now, it appeared to him that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been such as to justify the Boers in believing that, if we were not actually afraid of them, at all events Her Majesty's Government were afraid of incurring the expense and trouble which must be incurred in holding our own against the Boers, and that we were ready to make any concession rather than incur that expense and trouble. If they were to believe all that appeared in the Colonial papers, and there was no reason to disbelieve such statements, the Boers openly avowed that they had conquered this country, and could conquer it again; they advised the Native Chiefs to put no trust in the honour and protection of this country, or in our fulfilment of pledges of protection; they had not hesitated to attack our protected Ally, and to wring from him a sham Treaty; they had not hesitated to murder a British officer in the execution of his duty, and to insult the British flag. He regretted to say that the speeches of Members of Her Majesty's Government had strongly tended, in his opinion, to confirm the Boers in their view. He would refer to one of those speeches now, and he would deal with another speech later on. On the 6th of February, last Session, he had put a plain Question to the Government, and asked for a plain answer. He asked them to assure the House and the country that, if the Convention then under discussion was broken by the Transvaal Government, they would be prepared to enforce the observance of it. It surely was not too much to assume that there was a probability, a strong probability, that those who had with impunity and profit to themselves broken the former Convention would break the new Convention also, unless assured that the Government meant to act firmly and insist upon an observance of it. Indeed, as was said in the course of that debate by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster)—

> "Judging from the past, they would be perfectly blind and perfectly foolish if they were satisfied that the Convention would maintain itself."—(3 *Hansard*, [284] 142.)

Now, what answer did the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) give to that plain Question? He said it was a most unusual request; that it would hardly be becoming to anticipate a breach of the Convention by the other contracting party, and to say what the Government would do in that event. That, he (Sir Henry Holland) ventured to think, was a most evasive and unsatisfactory answer. He had not asked the Government to assume, or express their belief, that the Boers would break the new Convention; but it was most reasonable and important to know what the Government would do in such a case. The speeches of Members of the Government were perfectly well known to, and noted by, the Transvaal Government, and the Boers; and an evasive answer like that given by the President of the Board of Trade would confirm the Boers in their belief that the Government did not intend to depart from the policy of inaction, which, much to the benefit of the Boers, they had hitherto maintained. Another point to which he desired to call the attention of the House was this. The present state of affairs in Bechuanaland, and our responsibilities there now, even from the Government point of view, differed materially from the former state of things in Bechuanaland or in Zululand. He said from the Government point of view, because the view of himself and of many hon. Members on both sides of the House had always been that, as by the policy of the Government we had incurred grave responsibilities to the people and Chiefs in Zululand, amongst whom we had partitioned that country, so we had in Bechuanaland incurred responsibilities to our "Native Allies," Montsioa and Mankoroane. The Government, on the other hand, as the House was aware, had disputed the extent of that responsibility, and had dissented from the term "Native Allies," as applied to these Bechuana Chiefs. Upon this latter point, he would only observe that he thought no one who had carefully read the former debates, the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford and other hon. Members, and the despatches of Sir Hercules Robinson, could doubt that those Chiefs were fairly ranked as our Allies. He would venture to quote a few words from one of the despatches of Sir Hercules Robinson in support of this view—

> "Montsioa and Mankoroane are now on the point of being exterminated, in consequence of their fidelity to the British Government, and because of the assistance they gave to British subjects in the Transvaal War."

But whether the Government were then right or wrong, whatever their responsibility was on former occasions, there could be no question now as to our obligations to Montsioa and Mankoroane, and as to our engagements to protect them and their territory against the Boers. The last point he desired to notice was as follows:—Hitherto a distinction had always been attempted to be drawn between the action of the freebooting Boers, though subjects of the Transvaal Government, and the action of the Transvaal Government itself. But without holding the Transvaal Government directly liable for all the outrages committed by their subjects in Bechuanaland, there could be no doubt now, upon the facts stated in the Papers which had been presented—and further Papers, he believed, would only confirm this view—that that Government had connived at these outrages; that they had not *bonâ fide* endeavoured to restrain them, and that they had attempted to profit by them. It was clear, from the Papers and the telegrams of Sir Hercules Robinson, that recruiting for this *commando* was carried on at and near Pretoria, and that the Proclamation of Nicholas Gey, declaring war against Montsioa, and promising booty, by a distribution of that Chief's land, to those who would fight against him, was openly published in *The Volksstem* newspaper in Pretoria. It is true that, after pressure put upon them by Mr. Rutherford, the Resident, under orders from Sir Hercules Robinson, the Transvaal Government did publish a Proclamation forbidding their subjects to cross the frontier. But the true value of that Proclamation was well understood; and it was not worth the paper it was printed on, as it was not followed up, so far as they could judge from the Papers, by any restraining action on the part of that Government. But that was not all the case against that Government, though it was all they could learn from the Papers presented by the Colonial Office. Unless they had been misinformed, they learnt from the Colonial newspapers and letters that after all the outrages had been committed, after Montsioa, owing to our neglect of duty and inaction, had been reduced to the last extremity, there appeared upon the scene a deputation from the Transvaal Government, who offered to Montsioa, if he would submit and make a Treaty with them, to clear his territory of Boers, and withdraw the *commando*. Those who could withdraw could have prevented, had they been so inclined, the invasion. The mention of this Treaty brought him to the other speech of a Member of the Government to which he had before referred, and which he thought as unfortunate as the speech of the President of the Board of Trade. He confessed he was astonished at the defence of the Transvaal Government put forward by the hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney). Unless his speech to his constituents was wrongly reported, he appeared to have argued that the Transvaal Government had shown that they were sensible of their obligations under the Convention, and their desire to act up to it, by their proposal to submit this so-called Treaty to Her Majesty for her sanction or disapproval. In other words, after having connived at these outrages committed by their own subjects; after our protected Ally, Montsioa, had been reduced to the last extremity; and after they had wrung this shameful Treaty out of him, they proposed, forsooth, to satisfy the letter of the Convention of 1884, by submitting the Treaty to Her Majesty! Such a course appeared to him (Sir Henry Holland) to be simply adding insult to injury. The hon. Gentleman the Secretary to the Treasury was willing, in a true Christian-like spirit, to pocket both insult and injury; but even he must have doubted whether he had not been too hasty in doing this, when he learnt that even Mr. Joubert—a Boer of Boers and a Leader of the Transvaal Government—was so shocked at the action of that Government that he retired from Office. But here, again, a speech like this from an important Member of the Government could not but have had a very bad effect in the Transvaal. He (Sir Henry Holland) had begun by saying that the policy of Her Majesty's Government had been most unsatisfactory. Of course, there could not be now a full discussion upon this question, owing to the incompleteness of the Papers, and it must be deferred until the further Papers were presented, which he hoped might, in spite of the Factory Acts to which the Under Secretary of State had referred, be pressed forward with all speed. But, even upon the Papers before the House, there was sufficient to show that up to the 14th of August their policy had been most half-hearted and unsatisfactory. Their first step was to send out Mr. Mackenzie to Bechuanaland. He (Sir Henry Holland) had himself always doubted the fitness of Mr. Mackenzie for that post. Not that he doubted Mr. Mackenzie's zeal and energy; but Mr. Mackenzie was a missionary, and he had taken a very active part—he did not say wrongly—on behalf of Montsioa in the quarrels and disputes which had arisen in that country. His impartiality, therefore, might well be doubted, in a position in which it was above all things necessary that a man of absolute impartiality should be employed. But whether he was, or was not, the right man, one thing was clear—that whoever was sent out should have been backed up by a strong police force. He (Sir Henry Holland), and others, had constantly pressed upon the Government the necessity of employing a police force to guard the frontier of Bechuanaland; but the Government had always opposed the suggestion, and held that such a step, would lead, if not to annexation, at all events to increased danger of disturbances and, perhaps, war. He had always contended that the very reverse would be the result of such a step, if taken in time. He had always contended that if we provided, not a military, but a strong police force, on the frontier, we should not have to meet incursions of freebooting Boers. If the Boers had known that there was on our side of the frontier a strong body of men to keep them in check, they would have hesitated to advance. It had been because we had allowed the Boers to assemble in increasing numbers close to the frontier, and to cross over in small parties with impunity, that the extremely difficult and dangerous state of things had arisen, which might, after all, lead us into war, and which certainly would now entail upon us increased expenditure and possible loss of life. And the result had proved the correctness of his view. Well, the Government had, at a late hour, adopted his suggestion; but, unfortunately, they had done so in a half-hearted manner, and had not realized the increased difficulties of the case. What did they find? Why, as late as June 27, after full knowledge of what had passed, after full knowledge of what was threatened, Major Lowe had only 50 police under his command, and had earnestly to press for an increased force. Now, he contended that the Government, when they learned that fact in June last, should at once have telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson, and ordered him to recruit more police in the Cape, or elsewhere, at Imperial expense, and send them up to Bechuanaland. Anyone who studied the Papers would see that the difficulty under which Sir Hercules Robinson laboured was that he had no authority from the Government to incur any expense, and that he was not able to get the Cape Government to incur any expenditure or render any assistance. Her Majesty's Government should at once have authorized the expenditure necessary to increase the police force. But nothing had been done since June 26 by the Government, so far as they could judge by the Papers. On June 26 two telegrams were received by Lord Derby from Sir Hercules Robinson. In the first telegram, which would be found at page 33, Sir Hercules Robinson, after stating that a British Protectorate had been announced over Montsioa's territory, and that the Goshenites had been warned of this fact, and after stating the fact of Nicholas Gey's Proclamation of War having been published in *The Volksstem* newspaper and of the recruiting from near Pretoria, went on to say—

> "I at once telegraphed Acting Resident to warn Transvaal Government that Montsioa is now under British protection, and that if a publicly advertised expedition against that Chief is organized by persons living within the Transvaal, and the marauders with their plunder are allowed to return to the Transvaal, Her Majesty's Government will assuredly hold the Transvaal Government responsible for such proceedings."

And at the end of the telegram, after stating that he had authorized Mr. Mackenzie to organize, if necessary, a temporary force of burghers and police sufficient to expel the marauders, he says—

> "The invasion, if it takes place, will be an act of impudent defiance of British authority, and the invaders should, I think, be expelled and punished at any risk or cost. Do you concur?"

This was a most important and pressing question; but the House would be surprised to hear that no answer was given to that question until the 4th July, and then only in very ambiguous terms. They learnt from Lord Derby's despatch of the 4th July, which would be found at page 35 of the Papers, that he had on that day despatched a telegram approving the communication to the Transvaal Government, and the instructions given to Mr. Mackenzie on the subject, and in that telegram he had—

> "Observed that any attack upon the protected territory must, of course, be repelled, and that Her Majesty's Government were confident that you fully appreciated the importance of not risking a reverse in the absence of reinforcements."

That answer, he submitted to the House, was most unsatisfactory and uncertain. What had Sir Hercules Robinson asked? He had asked what was the policy of Her Majesty's Government with respect to the threatened invasion of Bechuanaland, and he was told that it was to be repelled if he had sufficient force, though the Government were perfectly aware, from his telegram, that he had not that force. It was, no doubt, difficult to give full instructions in a telegram; but they should have given him some orders about raising a force at once at Imperial expense, and that telegram should have been followed up by a despatch going fully into the case, and explaining their views of the position. But nothing further had been given—no orders, no directions, no intimation of their policy. What could Sir Hercules Robinson conclude from this but that Her Majesty's Government were prepared to abide by the same policy of inaction which they had hitherto maintained? He ventured to think that this reticence was not fair towards a Governor placed in so responsible and difficult a position as Sir Hercules Robinson was placed in. But the case against the Government was even stronger than that, because, on the 2nd July—that was, two days before the telegram of the 4th July was despatched—Lord Derby had received a third telegram of the 2nd July from Sir Hercules Robinson, which would be found at page 34. The first paragraph ran as follows:—

> "Rutherfoord telegraphs June 26, Transvaal Republic issuing strong Proclamation, forbidding burghers taking part in hostilities against Montsioa. I have directed him to urge that restraining steps be taken, as some stronger measure than mere paper proclamation necessary to relieve Transvaal from responsibility for raids publicly advertised and organized within Transvaal."

And then, after stating the increase of marauders, and the danger of allowing them to settle in Montsioa's country, he ends by saying—

> "Please authorize Treasury Chest to supply another five thousand pounds, if required."

Now, he (Sir Henry Holland) thought the House would be surprised to learn that the only answer sent to that pressing and important telegram was that Lord Derby "would reply to it as soon as possible," and that, in fact, so far as appeared from the Papers, no further answer was sent, at all events, up to the 14th August, when the Papers end. Here was a telegram, practically asking for an approval of the stronger message sent to the Transvaal Government, and asking for £5,000, and yet no answer was given to it, except the promise of a reply as soon as possible. So that the matter stands thus—that no answer, except the ambiguous answer given in the telegram of 4th July, had been sent to the question as to the policy of Her Majesty's Government; no approval or disapproval had been given as to the stronger message ordered to be pressed upon the Transvaal Government; and no answer as to the request to be allowed to expend £5,000. The only other despatch from Lord Derby was one dated 14th August, which merely approved the proceedings which had been approved by his Lordship's telegram of the 4th July. This despatch ended the Papers presented—a most lame and impotent, indeed, he thought a discreditable conclusion. So much for the Papers. But now let the House observe what had happened since the 14th August. Mr. Mackenzie had been recalled. Mr. Rhodes had been sent up to Bechuanaland, and returned; and he (Sir Henry Holland) would now venture to trouble the House with a few extracts from Mr. Rhodes's Report, of which he presumed the Colonial Office had a copy, as it was stated to have been sent to the High Commissioner, and appeared in *The Times* so long ago as the 23rd September, from which newspaper he had taken these extracts. It was stated that—

> "Messrs. Rhodes and Bower report to the High Commissioner that they are satisfied that the Transvaal has the power, but never will use it, to stop the violation of the Western border. That Goshen freebooters fell upon Montsioa, but an armistice of 14 hours was gained. The Boers demand compensation for the war, and the recognition of Goshen as an independent Republic, with right to the Queen to place a Resident there. The Commissioner would not accede to these terms, and warned them of the consequences of carrying on war against protected British subjects. Montsioa sent messages that he was reduced to the last extremity, but, having faith in the Queen, had refused all the Boer overtures to submit. He would only do so to save the lives of the women and children. Mr. Rhodes replied Montsioa

must not consider himself abandoned, for the Queen's Government would fulfil their obligations."

He would only say, in passing, that he should like to know when and how Her Majesty's Government intended to fulfil these obligations? The Report then goes on to state that—

> "When the Commissioner left, the Goshenites resumed the war on Montsioa, who had to succumb. Mr. Joubert was called in and concluded a Treaty on similar conditions to those rejected by Mr. Rhodes. Messrs. Bower and Rhodes warned Mr. Joubert of the serious responsibility of such proceedings."

The report in the paper adds that the Commissioner had inquired into the revolting circumstances of Mr. Bethell's death—

> "Mr. Bethell, an acting officer of police, was wounded in a conflict with the freebooters, and afterwards killed in cold blood, his body being subjected to indignity."

Now, he (Sir Henry Holland) could not doubt that Mr. Rhodes must have made a Report about Mr. Bethell's death to the Colonial Office, although no mention had been made of it. He did not propose to go into that painful case. He would leave it to be dealt with by those hon. Members who were more directly connected with Mr. Bethell. But he could not help expressing his astonishment that the Government had only really taken the matter in hand, and issued instructions, some three days ago. Even now the House did not know the contents of the telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson, whether he was to act and take steps at once to bring these murderers to justice, or whether he was only "to advise and report," which seemed to be the usual form of instructions given by the present Government. Before they considered what the Government were going to do, they had a right, and the country had a right, to ask—"Why has action been taken so late? Why has the Government waited till just before Parliament met?" Why had action been taken so late as to ruin our character in South Africa for an honourable performance of our engagements, and to lead Colonists and Natives to believe that we were unable or unwilling to act up to those engagements? Why so late as to call forth indignant protests at the Cape, for one could read between the lines, and see that, while offering us support, the Colonists were indignant at our inaction? Why so late as to cause greater expenditure of money, if not of life, than if we had acted firmly before these outrages had been committed? What was to be the action of the Government now? Looking at the past, it was only fair to ask whether it was to be real and effectual, whether the Government were really alive to the gravity of the case and prepared to deal with it, or whether the Micawber policy was to be continued of waiting to see what would turn up? The paragraph in Her Majesty's Gracious Speech was far from satisfactory. It began—

> "I have to regret that circumstances have occurred on the South-Western Frontier of the Transvaal which demand my vigilant attention."

If the Government had acted with proper vigour, that sentence should have run somewhat as follows:—

> "Circumstances have occurred which have received my vigilant attention, and which have necessitated the adoption of active measures to secure peace and the due protection of the Native Chiefs, in accordance with my pledges to them."

The Speech went on—

> "In conjunction with the Government of the Cape Colony I am engaged in considering the means which may be required to secure the faithful observance of the Convention of the present year."

He, for one, heartily hailed the co-operation of the Cape Government and Colonists. He had never doubted their readiness to assist us, if they saw we were determined to act; but our inaction had encouraged those Colonists, and there was a considerable number of them, who were in their hearts favourable to the Boers and to the Africander policy, while it had discouraged our friends, who viewed the Boer proceedings with distrust and alarm. He would, therefore, seek the co-operation of the Cape Government, and would press for it. But it must be remembered that the Imperial Government had duties and obligations of its own, which the Cape Government had not; and we were bound to meet those responsibilities, and to act up to them at once, without waste of time or delay in negotiating and making arrangements with the Cape Government as to the exact amount and mode of assistance they would give. Our duty in this respect was well stated by the hon. Member who moved the Address with so much eloquence and ability—

"If peace is ever to reign in South Africa, if respect for the British name is to continue there, and if South Africa is to remain an integral portion of Her Majesty's Dominions, we shall have to deal with the matters arising there with a firm and steady hand."

The Speech from the Throne was not comforting; but he could not but think that since that Speech was composed, Her Majesty's Government had had to reconsider their position, in face of the feeling in the country, and had seen the necessity of more decided action. He was glad to learn that Sir Charles Warren was to be supported by a strong force. He had feared lest Sir Charles Warren should be sent out as General Gordon was sent out, alone, as a scapegoat into the wilderness, to bear the sins of the Government upon him, or, as Lord Northbrook had been sent out, "to advise and report." He trusted that the force would be a sufficient force. He trusted, moreover, that if, as was not unlikely, upon the report of this force going up into Bechuanaland, some kind of peace was established there, the Government would not be satisfied with this, and adopt a retrograde policy. Such a peace could only be temporary, and would be broken again if the Government resumed their former policy. Some exhibition of force must be shown in Bechuanaland; and, peace or no peace, Sir Charles Warren, backed up by some force, should go up and endeavour to establish a firm and lasting peace there, and once for all impose some lasting check upon the Boers. Without some such show of power, the Transvaal Government would soon renew their policy of aggression. He thanked the House for having listened to him with such patience, and he felt that an apology for the length of his speech was the more necessary, because it was clear that the discussion must be renewed at some later date when further Papers had been presented.

MR. WODEHOUSE said, it would be unnecessary for him to follow the hon. Member who had just sat down over the whole ground traversed in his speech; but he would make a few observations on some of the topics to which it referred. They were obviously at a disadvantage in discussing these events which had taken place on the South-Western Frontier of the Transvaal without Papers up to a recent date; and he had no desire to prejudge questions or proceedings on which further Papers would give authentic information. But the House knew, from Papers already in their hands, that, after concluding a Convention with the South African Republic, Her Majesty's Government decided to establish a British Protectorate in Bechuanaland, the expenses of which were to be jointly borne by the Imperial and Cape Governments. They accordingly appointed Mr. Mackenzie to be the Agent and Representative of British authority in the new Protectorate, and, as was pointed out by the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), that appointment was a peculiar one. He did not condemn it; it was made on the strong recommendation of Sir Hercules Robinson. He only said that it was peculiar, and that Mr. Mackenzie's personality alone had a marked significance, because, from the time of the Anti-Slavery movement down to the present hour, the Missionary had been the type and incarnation of principles as to the treatment of Natives which irritated the Dutch Boers of South Africa. Moreover, this particular Missionary, Mr. Mackenzie, was known to be the eager advocate of a far-reaching policy of Native administration by European officers, and the central idea of his policy was the expansion of such a Native administration under Imperial, and not under Colonial control. Mr. Mackenzie, however, soon vacated office, apparently in deference to the suspicions and ill-will of our partner in the Protectorate, the Cape Government, and his place was taken by Mr. Rhodes, a Cape politician. Now, Mr. Rhodes was also a man with a policy; but the central idea of his policy was to exclude what he called the Imperial factor from Bechuanaland. If, then, the very divergent policies of the two Imperial Agents afforded any clue to the aims and intentions of Her Majesty's Government, there would seem to have been some change of view on their part, when Mr. Mackenzie gave way to Mr. Rhodes. To judge from the Papers distributed that morning, Mr. Mackenzie did not appear to have had a very clear insight into the situation with which he had to deal; but in estimating his success, every allowance should be made for the miserably inadequate resources at his command to vindicate authority amidst bands of reckless and desperate men. An officer sent up to establish a Protectorate in the name of a great Power should at least be armed with the means of rendering the protection which he offered a reality and not a mockery. All our world-wide experience taught us that a great Power in contact with turbulent and barbarous communities could seldom, if ever, conduct affairs with credit and success on a rigid adherence to the limited liability principle. The House knew so little at present about the circumstances in which Sir Charles Warren was being despatched to South Africa, that he would only express a hope that that officer would not be denied a sufficiency either of men or of money to insure the success of his mission. At the present moment an attempt was being made to settle matters in Bechuanaland by the combined action of the Imperial and Cape Governments; and he (Mr. Wodehouse) must own that this partnership with the Cape Government filled him with misgivings. The observance of the Convention by the Transvaal Government, the execution of justice on the murderers of Mr. Bethell, the expulsion of freebooters from Montsioa's territory, and our general obligations towards the Natives were Imperial matters; and, while admitting the advantages of Colonial co-operation, he would decline to confide Imperial obligations towards the Natives or Imperial honour to the keeping of a Cape Government. He would explain why he said so. The late Cape Ministry—the Ministry of Sir Thomas Scanlan—lent cannon to the Transvaal Government for the subjugation of Mapoch and his tribe, but would never give facilities for the Natives to obtain arms and ammunition for their own defence, and when they were asked by Her Majesty's Government to lend a few policemen for service in Bechuanaland, they refused to do so. But matters were worse now under the auspices of the present Cape Ministry, whose very existence depended upon the support of that extreme Africander Party, whose scarcely veiled object was to thrust British Sovereignty out of South Africa, or at least to reduce it to a mere empty name. He hoped, therefore, that Her Majesty's Government and that House, as guardians of British interests and the national honour, would narrowly examine all proposals for the settlement of Bechuanaland issuing from such a source; and he would beg Her Majesty's Government not to feel too confident that, after all, the Cape Government would take Bechuanaland off their hands. He was aware that both Houses of the Cape Legislature had passed Resolutions favourable to the annexation of Bechuanaland to the Colony; but Cape politicians were seldom hampered in their movements by any austere and pedantic consistency, and he believed that the extreme Africander Party would rather have Bechuanaland annexed to the Transvaal than to their own Colony. No doubt, if everything were smooth and peaceful in Bechuanaland, the Cape Government and Parliament might be willing to annex it; but while there were any risks to be run, while there was any occasion for the forcible assertion of authority, we should look altogether in vain for substantial help from that quarter. Now, turning to the opposite border of the Transvaal, he must express the regret with which he read the despatch of the Secretary of State of the 19th of August with regard to the Zulu Chief, Usibepu. That Chief was described by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, only a few weeks ago, as a brave man and a good friend of England; and now his overthrow had been shamefully accomplished by filibustering Boers without a finger being lifted to save him. The Secretary of State said that whatever risk or inconvenience there might have been in rendering him assistance, it would have been rendered, had there been any obligation on the part of the Government to aid him. But was there no obligation? To his (Mr. Wodehouse's) mind, nothing could efface the obligations imposed on us towards the Zulu people by the cruel wrong of the Zulu War. Moreover, we knew, on the authority of Lord Wolseley himself, that none of the 13 Chiefs appointed by the Imperial Government would have accepted their positions, had they had the slightest expectation of the restoration of Cetewayo, and it was the acceptance of this position which especially drew upon Usibepu the implacable animosity of the Usutus. Most emphatic testimony had been repeatedly borne by Sir Henry Bulwer to the loyalty of this Chief, and his habitual deference to the advice of Sir Henry Bulwer and the Resident Commissioner, and, considering that his one or two so-called offensive operations were really defensive, in spirit and purpose, it seemed hardly generous to fling them in his face as excuses for leaving him a victim to Boers whom he had never wronged. He was at least entitled to something more than a bare refuge in the Reserve, coupled with a lecture and a warning that if he did not behave himself there, he would be turned out. Lord Derby said that opinion was hopelessly divided as to the degree of blame to be assigned to each Chief and Party; but as regards Usibepu, the witnesses in his favour were Sir Henry Bulwer and Mr. Osborn, while the only witnesses against him were entirely irresponsible persons. Surely, then, Her Majesty's Government might attach the most weight to the testimony of their own officers, especially when one of them was a gentleman of such high character and so much experience as Sir Henry Bulwer. Next, as to the question of appointing Commissioners on the Eastern border of the Transvaal, the 2nd Article of the new Convention stipulated that the South African Republic should appoint Commissioners, whose duties should be to guard against trespassing over the border. Whether such Commissioners had been appointed he did not know, nor did it matter much, for the Boer Commissioners would be pretty certain to ignore their duties. But the 2nd Article of the Convention also provided that, if necessary, Commissioners were to be appointed by Her Majesty's Government, to maintain order and prevent encroachments. If, then, disorder and anarchy constituted necessity, surely there had been more than enough of both to justify the appointment of Commissioners. Again, the 12th Article of the Convention recognized the independence of the Swazis; and he believed their territory to be in imminent danger of absorption by the Boers. In the spring of the present year, Sir Hercules Robinson and the Resident at Pretoria had pressed on the Secretary of State the need and advantages of a British Agency among the Swazis. Lord Derby admitted that there might be advantages in such an Agency, and directed that the King of the Swazis should be asked whether he would defray the cost of it. If the Secretary of State meant to do nothing, why did he put that question to the Swazi King? Why raise false hopes? On the other hand, if the establishment of a British Agency in the Swazi territory was a good thing, why was it not done? What were they waiting for? Waiting till it was too late? With regard to the consequences of postponing action, he would remind the House that in the middle of last July the Under Secretary stated, in reply to a Question, that such an event as the establishment of a new Boer Republic in Zululand was a thing of the future. That was a reason for doing nothing. But the sequel proved it to be a thing of an exceedingly near future, and it was now a thing of the past—an accomplished fact. That, he supposed, was an equally cogent reason for doing nothing. The creation of this new Republic in Zululand raised considerations of vital importance for the future of South Africa. He understood it to be the view of Her Majesty's Government that this Republic was set up, as it were, at the invitation of the Zulus; that the Boer adventurers were invited to come and were given a vast tract of country as the price of Usibepu's destruction. We might be sure, however, that if the establishment of this Boer Republic in Zululand were contemplated by us with tacit acquiescence, other Republics of similar character would spring into life, with the open or secret encouragement of the Transvaal authorities. No one could cling any longer to the belief that the Transvaal Government would ever take honest measures to prevent trespassing; and Boer marauders had never had the slightest difficulty in trumping up these so-called invitations, because, if the actual Chief of a district objected to their presence, they set up a rival and pretender, from whom they professed to have received grants of land in return for their recognition of him as paramount Chief. The Boers created a disturbance, and then they announced that the disturbance demanded their intervention in the interests of humanity and peace. Let us realize that acquiesence in the establishment of these Republics was virtually the surrender of South Africa to the Boers. They wanted to get down to the sea, and they would soon seize the Amatonga country as well as the Swazi country. With the Boers on the sea in the East, and the German Settlement at Angra Pequena in the West, he apprehended that, difficult as had been the management of South African affairs in the past, it would be a good deal more difficult in the future. There were some in this country, he knew, who looked upon the expansion of the Boers in South Africa with indifference, if not with positive satisfaction, and who seemed to think that their rule was beneficial rather than otherwise to the Natives. Those views, he, for one, could not share, and he still leaned to the hope that the policy of Her Majesty's Government in South Africa would be inspired by a desire to maintain there the Sovereign authority and supremacy of the British Power.

Sir FREDERICK MILNER said, it seemed to him that Her Majesty's Government were to be subjected to a very severe cross-fire from both sides of the House. It was difficult for an Englishman to speak of South African affairs without a feeling of intense bitterness and contempt for those who were responsible for their present unsatisfactory condition. It would be his object, in dealing with this question, to avoid all bitterness and partizanship. His object in rising was to draw the attention of the House to the murder of Mr. Bethell; but, before doing so, he desired to allude to what the Prime Minister the other night, in reply to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, said with regard to South Africa. He said—

> "The right hon. Gentleman has referred with a just reserve to the subject of South Africa. My hon. Friend the Mover of the Address aimed, I think, at depicting what he deemed to be a just position on this subject—namely, that we ought to make up our own minds as to that which we deem to be necessary, either for the honour or for the just interests of the country; and, having made up our minds, to adhere firmly to the intention so formed. That is, I believe, a perfectly accurate description of the present position. In framing the Convention of 1884, we certainly endeavoured to proceed on the lines of moderation; but that was with the view that, having proceeded on those lines, the stipulations contained in that Convention must be respected, and it would be our duty both ourselves to adhere to them, and likewise to expect, and if necessary require, that they should be adhered to by others."

He thought the House would agree with him that these were noble sentiments, and, if strictly acted up to, he had no doubt that they might speedily anticipate a satisfactory settlement of the present chaos in South Africa. But he ventured, with all due deference, to assert that the Prime Minister had enunciated many noble sentiments in his time which had, alas! remained sentiments only to the present day, and they could only hope most sincerely that he really did mean business this time. It seemed to him that if the Government had only made up their minds in 1881, after the disgraceful truce following the defeat of our troops at Majuba Hill—if they had only made up their minds as to what they deemed necessary for the honour and just interests of the country, and having done so, if they had adhered to the intention so formed, the Convention of 1884 would never have been required; but, on the contrary, the original Convention would have been enforced to the letter, the rights of the loyal Natives would have been respected, and South Africa would have been spared the horrors of the past three years. He trusted he was right in thinking that the Government had at length realized the necessity for prompt and vigorous action; but he confessed he, like the hon. Member who introduced the debate, had read with regret the paragraph in Her Majesty's Speech dealing with the affairs in the Transvaal, and instead of reading that Her Majesty was engaged in considering the means which might be required to secure the faithful observance of the Convention of the present year, he wished they could have read that Her Majesty had decided to send out Sir Charles Warren as High Commissioner to insure that the terms of the Convention of 1884 were rigorously carried out. He was sick of hearing what the Government were going to do; he longed to see the time when they would act with promptitude and vigour. It seemed to him a great pity that Her Majesty's Government, having once decided the line to be taken, should not have left it more to competent men on the spot to carry out, in the best possible way, what they had decided to be necessary for the honour and just interests of the country. He was very much struck by an extract he read in a Radical paper the other day, which bore him out strongly in this view by saying—

> "Three-fourths of our difficulties all the world over arise from our ignoring the self-evident fact that any sensible man on the spot, in a position of responsibility, is much more likely to be right than a dozen gentlemen sitting round a green table in Downing Street, who are preoccupied with other affairs, and know next to nothing about the local conditions of the case with which they are called upon to deal."

Turning to the object for which he rose, and about which he put a Question in the House on Monday last—the murder of Mr. Bethell—as a representative of his family, he had been requested to bring the subject to the notice of Parliament, and place before the House and the Government what he hoped they would consider the most reasonable demands of his family. He had got the facts supplied from a letter by Mr. Bethell's brother. Mr. Christopher Bethell went to South Africa in the early part of 1878, and soon after his arrival joined the Diamond Field Force under Sir Charles, then Colonel, Warren. He served through the operations in Griqualand West and Bechuanaland, and was then sent by Sir Charles Warren to Bechuanaland, as Intelligence Officer, to reside with Montsioa, Chief of the Baralongs, and Sir Charles Warren had borne testimony to his services and his abilities. Early in 1880 the post of Intelligence Officer was abolished; but Mr. Bethell remained with Montsioa, and became his agent and adviser. It was hardly necessary for him to remind the House that Montsioa had long been a faithful ally of ours. Before 1880 he was actually protected by us. In our Transvaal troubles in 1881 he not only protected our friends who escaped from the Boers, but offered Sir George Colley material assistance. The Convention of 1881 made him an immediate neighbour of the Transvaal Republic; but he was assured by our Government that the boundary should be respected, and that we should not forget the rights of our faithful allies. Mr. Bethell remained with Montsioa, as he had said, to the interest of Montsioa and the welfare of the Native tribes. As Montsioa's agent, it became his duty to report to the authorities that the Boers were not observing the Convention, but raiding across the borders and stealing cattle. The aggressions went on unceasingly, and it was mainly owing to his support that Montsioa and his people were enabled in some degree to keep off his robber neighbours. This was no exaggerated statement, as was known to anyone who was conversant with the affairs of Bechuanaland. They knew that Montsioa, immediately after Mr. Bethell's death, succumbed in despair to his foes. The Boer filibusters had an intense dread of Mr. Bethell, and regarded him with almost superstitious awe in consequence of his miraculous escapes. He knew for a fact that for some 12 months before Mr. Bethell's death a price of 5,000 dollars was set on his head by the Boers. Towards the end of last July the filibusters crossed the boundary in force, and collected a quantity of cattle. On July 31, anxious to bring on a battle, they drove their capture in sight of Montsioa's kraal. Mr. Bethell led the Natives, who went out to recapture the cattle. In the fight that took place he was badly wounded, and left lying on the ground, the Natives being defeated with great loss. He was found by two or more Boers, who taunted him with having at last fallen into their hands, and presently shot him dead—murdered him as he lay. Shortly before his death Mr. Bethell was appointed by Mr. Mackenzie Acting Chief of the Frontier Police, and was recommended to the proper authorities for the regular appointment. He was thus a Government officer in the execution of his duty when he was murdered. He was also an Englishman, who fought to uphold British faith—who fought, in short, as most of his countrymen would admit, for the honour of our Flag. From another account supplied him by Bethell's brother, now at the Cape, it appeared that he was wounded while herocially endeavouring to rescue Montsioa's son, who was left wounded on the ground. Such was a short account of this brave man's career in South Africa, and he thought the House would agree with him when he said they had lost as gallant a hero as ever bore the name of Englishman. There was something to him inexpressibly touching in this brave man's death. In the fulness of his youth and vigour of his manhood, he gave up his friends, his prospects, the comforts of civilization, and made his lot with these half-savage tribes. And what for? Simply because he recognized the duty that was due from England to them, and, like the gallant Gordon in the Soudan, he determined to do his duty by these Native tribes, and leave to the English Government the indelible disgrace of having deserted them. Bethell was absolutely worshipped by every Native in Bechuanaland. They looked upon him as their saviour and only friend, and among the Colonists he was universally liked. In a notice which appeared in a Cape Town paper in a deep mourning border, it was said—

> "The late Mr. Bethell was a courteous gentleman and of great promise. He made friends wherever he went, and it filled the hearts of many here with deep sorrow when they heard that one they loved so well had been sent to his grave thus early in his life in this cruel way. His relatives at home have the deepest sympathies from the people here, and knowing as we do how strong Colonel Warren's affection for his late nephew was, we tender to him our sincere condolence."

He submitted to the House what he trusted the Government would consider the reasonable demands of his family. In the first place, they demanded the arresc and trial of his murderers. They did this in no vindictive feeling, but simply in the interest of justice and humanity. The only piece of recrimination in which he would indulge was in saying it seemed to him a most extraordinary thing that Her Majesty's Government should have allowed all this time to elapse without taking any steps which would have appeared palpably necessary to take in order to avenge the death of this noble man. The whole circumstances of the case were well known to his family before the end of August, and had he known the Government had not the same power of obtaining information as the family had, they would have been only too glad to have supplied them with the full facts which would have justified them in taking immediate and prompt action. This was no ordinary crime—not a murder committed in the heat of passion or under the influence of drink—but a deliberate, cold-blooded, brutal murder of a brave man, lying wounded and helpless on the field of battle; and he thought the House would agree with him that a more atrocious crime could not possibly have been committed, and that the common interests of justice demand that the murderers should be delivered up. In the second place, they asked that the death of Mr. Bethell might accomplish that for which he gave his life. They asked that the Government even now at the eleventh hour might do their duty to those Natives who had been loyal and true to them in their hour of need. They asked that the Government would insist upon the restoration of their land and compensation, as far as possible, for the cattle that had been taken away from them, and that the Government should make preparations for defending them in future from the incursions of their rapacious neighbours. It had been urged that to do this would involve an enormous amount of expenditure, and probably a great loss of human life. Even if it were so, he maintained that it was England's duty to do it. But he thought the Government had altogether mistaken the character of the Boers. Certain enthusiasts had described them as most devotional, God-fearing, psalm-singing, pastoral people, who cared for nothing but living peacefully and quietly on their farms. As a matter of fact, from information he had received from residents there, the opinion he had formed of them was that they were the most bloodthirsty, treacherous race that ever disgraced the civilized world. He could give authentic accounts of barbarities and acts of cruelty they had practised which would shock hon. Members, and he never respected more the discernment of his hon. Friend the Lord Mayor of London—one of the most hospitable Lord Mayors that ever did the honours at the Mansion House—than when he refused to receive at his table the delegates of this blood-stained race. But in addition to this, he had it on the best authority—namely, that of Mr. Bethell himself — that the Boers, when once tackled, were the most arrant cowards, as bullies were generally known to be; and he was perfectly certain of this, that if once England were to show a firm front and to let them know we were not going to stand any nonsense, they would knuckle down and give very little further trouble. It was the position of irresolution which Her Majesty's Government had taken up since they had been in Office that had induced those men to treat us as so much dirt. However, he did not wish to enter now into a general discussion of our policy in the Transvaal. Our Colonies were now thoroughly aroused, and there was no doubt that the Government had at last realized that proper action must be taken. God knew that he had not brought this matter forward in any way from Party feeling, and no one would rejoice more than himself if the Government would now at the eleventh hour recognize their duties and win back the respect they had lost. He had endeavoured to place before the House an absolutely accurate account of the life and death of this brave English officer, who sacrificed his life in vindication of English honour, and he trusted the Government would not think him unreasonable in what he had asked. He had demanded that, in common justice, those devils in human shape who perpetrated this atrocious and abominable crime should at once be given up to justice; and, for the rest, he could assure the House that nothing could help more to soothe the grief of the relations and friends of brave Christopher Bethell, than if they knew that by his death he had been the means of obtaining that for which he so cheerfully sacrificed his prospects, his comforts, and his life—namely, the recognition by England of the rights, services, and claims of those loyal Native tribes among whom he lived, and for whose sake he died.

MR. CROPPER said, that, in common with all Members on his side of the House, he sympathized with the last speaker in what he had said, as a public man and as a relative, of the sad death of Mr. Christopher Bethell, of which the country had heard with feelings of regret and indignation, and whose career seemed to have been distinguished by so much bravery and so much devotion to the Native tribes. We were accustomed to find brave men in the Public Service; but it was not common to find men so devoted, not only to their duty, but also to the rights of men whose skins were dark, and whose circumstances were so different from ours, and in whose cause they were willing to live and to die. He should be supported by both sides of the House in expressing sympathy with his relatives, the two Members for York. It was, perhaps, useless to echo the complaint that the Blue Book had been delivered that morning, and that there had not been time to study it. With respect to Mr. Mackenzie, he confessed he had not heard with any great feelings of hope of the appointment of that gentleman as Military Superintendent in Bechuanaland, for he thought it always well that Missionaries should not rise, or, he would say, fall, from their true position as teachers of religion to offices that required the use of force and involved the possibilities of bloodshed. It was to be regretted, however, that when Mr. Mackenzie did accept that position there was but slight attention paid by Her Majesty's Government to his absolute necessities. On the 26th of June he applied to Sir Hercules Robinson that his small force should be raised to 100 men, and that £5,000 should be sent to him. [MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: It was sent.] The statement of the hon. Gentleman was the best answer that could be made to his observation, but it was unfortunate that the fact was not mentioned in the Blue Book; and it did not appear, at all events, that Mr. Mackenzie had received the 100 men whom he required. It did not appear in what circumstances or under what compulsion Mr. Mackenzie had resigned, and it was to be hoped something would be done for him by the Government he had tried to serve. He trusted they would hear what the Government intended to do with regard to the protection of the line between the boundary of Montsioa and that of the Boers. Unless there was a show of force the Convention with the Boers would not be sufficient to protect us and the Natives from constant encroachment. Having entered into the Convention, and made a determined demand for a trade route and a delimitation of territory, we must not shrink back from the position we had taken on account of an expense which would be insignificant compared with what we were incurring in the North of Africa. If Sir Charles Warren was sent out, he ought to be assured that he should not be deserted, but that he should be upheld in the demands he was expected to make on the Boers. He knew nothing personally of the Boers; but he had heard from many eye-witnesses what manner of men they were. From conversation with the learned Missionary, Dr. Moffat, and others, he was assured that the Boers were inveterate slave-holders, and that they acted with intolerable arrogance to any whom they could in any way tyrannize over. It was said the Boers had a great respect for the Bible; but he was afraid it was the respect of the South American slave-owner, whose favourite text was—"Cursed be Canaan." In the ultimate result all these questions must be dealt with by the Cape Colony. He did not think we should suffer because the Germans took an adjacent strip of territory; but if the Cape Colony joined with us in preventing any tyranny over the Black races, or the aggression of the Boers upon territories which we had said belonged to others, we must encourage and support the Cape Colony. He trusted to hear from the Front Bench that we could not go on temporizing, and would act decisively. Let it not be said that they entered into Conventions and made demands, but that the moment anyone was bold enough to violate the Convention and refuse the demands, they shrunk into their shell and feared to enforce their rights. As to the delay in producing the Correspondence, it was idle to say there was any difficulty in finding the labour required to print and issue a few sheets of paper.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he had listened with great pleasure to the speech of the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse). The hon. Member not only expressed the views entertained by the Opposition, but he hoped by many hon. Members on the Ministerial side. He (Mr. R. N. Fowler) could scarcely pretend that he had mastered the Papers issued only that morning; but he wished to call the attention of the Under Secretary for the Colonies to the despatch in page 1, from which it appeared that the Transvaal Government had demanded that their affairs should be transferred from the hands of the Colonial to those of the Foreign Office. A similar demand was made by them in 1872 or 1873, and refused by Lord Granville and Lord Kimberley, who were then Foreign and Colonial Secretaries of State; and he hoped Her Majesty's Government would pursue the same course on the present occasion. But this demand was an illustration of the impertinence of these Boers, who wanted us to deal with them as if they were a great European Power. They originally crept Northward, because 50 years ago they were angered by the abolition of slavery. They were essentially a slave-holding Republic, and they did not seem to have made any advance in 50 years, but were just as cruel and bloodthirsty as ever they were. He did not doubt but that up and down in the Transvaal State there were many excellent people who wished to live peacefully with the Natives around them; but the misfortune was that these were not the class of people who had the control of the State. The Government of the Transvaal and its most active supporters were men who thought it was their right to treat the Natives like cattle as long as they were useful, and when they ceased to be useful considered themselves at liberty to murder them if they pleased. He had received a letter that morning suggesting that as the Government were sufficiently restored to a sense of their duty, to direct steps to be taken for the punishment of the murderers of Mr. Bethell, it would be desirable also to press for the punishment of the murderers of Captain Elliot, who were acquitted by a jury of Boers and went about the country boasting of it. The truth was the Boers did not think it a crime to murder Natives, and they had scarcely more regard for the lives of White men. The great mistake which this country made was the surrender of Pretoria. It might not have mattered under other circumstances; but the great misfortune was that we gave it up after a defeat. It was all very well for the Prime Minister to talk in an election address of "blood-guiltiness," and for other Members of the Government to speak of their magnanimity; but the Boers did not believe in their magnanimity. They believed simply that the British Government had given way because they were defeated. Nothing went more to his heart when travelling across the Free State than to hear the conversation of the Boers on that point. They said—"It is all very well for the English to say that they could have gone on. They made peace because they were thoroughly beaten." No doubt, that impression was stronger in the Transvaal For his own part, he deplored the fact that when we were actually prepared to have given the Boers a lesson, and had 10,000 men on the spot, we drew back and made peace. After that great and fatal error, it was hopeless to expect to do anything with these people until we had impressed them with the conviction that we were not to be tampered with. As it was, they believed we were beaten, that we were afraid of them, and that they could set us at defiance; and unless we sent out troops we should not dispossess them of that idea. He had as great horror of war as anyone, but if ever there was a righteous war it was that in which we were engaged with the Transvaal. We were carrying on a war against one of the most wicked and degraded races under the sun. One of the most pathetic events that ever occurred was the demonstration of the Natives on hearing that they were to be transferred from the Sovereignty of the Queen to the tender mercies of the Boers. He was thankful that the Opposition side of the House had no responsibility for that. They supported the Motion of his right hon. Friend the Member for Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), and thus entered their protest against this disgraceful surrender. He would also acknowledge that it was owing to the stand made by Lord Derby in the cause of humanity that the Boer delegates went back without attaining all they had expected. Still, the Boers thought that the British Government would not enforce Treaties, and, therefore, they were determined to put an end to their obligations. The time had now come when it was the duty of the House to insist that Her Majesty's Government should adopt a firm and decided policy on this subject. It was of no use sending out Sir Charles Warren unless we supplied him with a force of police, and, if necessary, with troops, and placed funds at his disposal. The Boers not only believed we were afraid of them, but they trusted to the support they knew they would receive from certain Members of Her Majesty's Government. He saw present on the Treasury Bench a right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Chamberlain) who had been a defender of the Boer Republic. He was sorry not to see there the Secretary to the Treasury, the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), who recently took occasion in addressing his constituents to throw doubts upon the stories that reflected on the Boers, and did the best he could for his old clients. He apprehended that the hon. Gentleman did not think it would be pleasant to be in his place on that occasion. Although he was sure the Prime Minister would have heard with pleasure the able speech of the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse), it would have been anything but a good quarter of an hour to the Secretary to the Treasury.

MR. GLADSTONE observed, that it needed no ingenious hypothesis to explain the absence of the Secretary to the Treasury, who worked very hard all day in his Office.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he quite admitted the industry of the hon. Gentleman, but thought he might have spared time for this debate. However, the point was that the support which the Boers received in high quarters induced them to set at defiance what was said in the House of Commons or by Sir Hercules Robinson. He could only say that he hoped, now the public were becoming alive to the course which had been taken by the Boer Republic, and to the class of men that the Boers were, they would demand of the House of Commons and of the Government that they should pursue a bold and fearless policy, which would restrain any further atrocities of the Boers in South Africa.

SIR DONALD CURRIE said, he was glad the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was present at that debate, because he (Sir Donald Currie) was convinced that when facts were brought to the right hon. Gentleman's knowledge, he would give his own special care and attention to the subject. It was well known to the country that after the Transvaal War the argument of the Prime Minister was that the Ministry had been misled in the information conveyed to them by their agents, but upon being correctly informed as to the position of affairs in South Africa, the Government at once took action. The position in South Africa at the present moment was critical, and he would even say perilous. All that we had heard from that country was of the most serious import; and he did not speak too seriously when he affirmed that, in view of the weak condition of our Navy, at no time in the history of this country had our position in South Africa as a Maritime Power required more earnest and careful consideration, and it was to this he ventured to bring the consideration of this House, apart altogether from Party considerations. The condition of affairs in South Africa was grave, excessively grave, commercially, socially, and politically, owing to the Imperial course of proceeding towards South Africa for 30 years past, and notably in the last 10 years—nay, since we gave responsible government to the Cape in 1872—had been of the most serious and embarrassing character. With regard to responsible government, we had pressed it on the Cape, and it was only accepted by a majority of 1. He would confine himself to the national interests involved in the policy which the House was to affirm, or the Government were to adopt and carry out. If he had policy in his business, he carried it out; and if the Government decided upon a policy, they ought to carry it out. The policy of this country should be consistent with our obligations; and he would confine himself specially to Zululand, for with regard to Bechuanaland quite enough had been said. We were so inconsistent! We were now imperilling Swaziland, to which country the Boers claimed to have a right. The Amaswazis had been always friendly to this country, and they had supplied the men who had enabled Sir Garnet, now Lord, Wolseley to gain the battle against Secocoeni. They were now likely to be absorbed by the Boers—in the first instance attacked by freebooters from Natal, the Free State, and the Transvaal. The late Government—he would not provoke Party dispute—thought it wise to throw over Cetewayo's friendship, although the Zulus never once had attacked us, but looked to us as their protectors and friends. He remembered the late President of the Transvaal, Mr. Burgers, when he was in this country, living with him (Sir Donald Currie), showing him a letter, which he could find in no Blue Book, sent to that gentleman by the Colonial Minister of the day containing Cetewayo's proposal to Sir Garnet Wolseley to allow him to attack the Boers. He also saw the letter which Sir Garnet Wolseley then wrote, and which also he could not find in any Blue Book, advising him to do nothing of the sort, and Cetewayo refrained; and yet, afterwards, our Government declared war against the Zulus, after arbitration with respect to disputed border grazing lands claimed by the Boers. War broke out, and Cetewayo was beaten; and then what did the Zulus do? Had they ever once since the war turned upon us? With the bravery which characterized them as a nation, they acknowledged they were beaten, and asked us to govern them, and we refused. But that was not all. Not only did we not take care of them, but we handed them over to be ruled by a dozen Chiefs—a policy which had proved an utter failure, as might have been foreseen. Over and over again the Zulus had asked us—both the late and the present Governments—for fair play; but were told by the Colonial Office that we could not interfere, although they had proved to demonstration how unjustly they had been treated, particularly by John Dunn, who it was stated in the Blue Books just published had 1,700 odd Royal cattle as his prize, a short time after the battle of Ulundi. Was that justice to these people? They had asked us to govern them, and Sir Henry Bulwer, it now appeared, had urged upon Lord Derby to arrange for the government of Central Zululand. Three months ago, he (Sir Donald Currie) had asked the Prime Minister in that House whether the Government would take measures to secure good government in Zululand, and to prevent further bloodshed and robbery, out of regard to our credit and honour, for we were largely responsible for the unhappy condition of that country. Talk about Afghanistan and the break up of that country through our interference! The people in Zululand were starving, and many thousands of them had died through starvation and internecine war. This was typical of this phase of our policy—that we interfered in foreign lands, and then left the people to settle their own affairs. That was a cruel policy, and he claimed now, on behalf of the Zulus, that they were entitled to our protection. Sir Henry Bulwer had warned the Government that unless firmness was shown, now that the Boers had joined the Zulus, in a short time most serious dangers would arise to English interests in South Africa. What was to be the effect on the Reserve, now that we had decided to restrict our power there? The population of Natal was some 20,000 Whites, men, women, and children, with 400,000 Natives and refugee Zulus; and if there were to be some 300,000 more thrust in, without any unoccupied land to settle them on, they were going to have, as sure as they lived, in the future, in Zululand much more serious complications than they had in Bechuanaland. He would tell the House what had been said to him by the late President of the Transvaal, when he (Sir Donald Currie) disputed the right of the Boers to interfere with the Swazi tribe. The late President claimed that the Zulus had given a certain power and right to the Boers in the Transvaal in respect to St. Lucia Bay. Now, if the freebooters went to St. Lucia Bay, and if the Germans were to develop still further their claims to Angra Pequena and that district, we should be in this position, that the whole territory, East and West, might come under the influence of those who might be inimical to our interests in South Africa. That was a matter of serious import to us. Seven years ago it was proposed to Prince Bismarck that he should take the Protectorate of the Transvaal. With the French on the Eastern side of South Africa, and in some way or other influential in Madagascar, he wanted to know where was our security for the ocean route to India? And we should bear in mind that the White population in South Africa were estranged by our policy; the Natives would cease to have confidence in us; and the Germans, as well as the French, had interests different from ours. The Prime Minister wrote an article in *The Nineteenth Century* strongly in favour of the Cape route to India, and he (Sir Donald Currie) attached more importance to that than to the Suez Canal, which, at any moment, might be shut up in a state of war. He thought it would be most difficult for this country to maintain its communications through the Suez Canal if at war with a Naval Power such as France, possessing Tunis on the one side and Toulon on the other. In the event of a war, what was to be the position of this country if they were to be debarred from reaching India and Australia through the Canal, or of taking the Cape route in safety? He had no desire to aggravate our dangers by stimulating panic; but he had told his constituents, three years ago, that nothing but a grievous disaster would waken up this country to our naval and military position and the risks to our Colonial and Eastern Empire. Speaking on behalf of the Zulus and South Africans in general—both the Black races and the White—he claimed that the Government, for whom no one in that House would doubt his friendship, should frame and make up their minds to carry out a clear, a firm, and a distinct policy. That claim he made in the national interest. He did not hesitate in Perth, the other day, in closing the speeches which it was his duty to deliver to his constituency on the extension of the franchise, to urge that, by a calm consideration on the part of both Parties, the question of electoral reform might be settled, because there were large and important Imperial questions waiting to be dealt with by that House; and if Ministers, instead of being wearied to death by fatiguing Questions and unnecessary delays, were allowed time to attend to their business, the Government might then have an opportunity of carrying out a settled policy which would promote the interests of this great Empire.

MR. GUY DAWNAY said, he was well aware that owing to a recent and, as he hoped, culminating atrocity in Bechuanaland, that was the part of South Africa which especially engaged the attention of the country at this moment; but though he hoped later to make some comments on that subject himself, he wished first to touch briefly on matters relating to another portion of the country, which should not be lost sight of in any debate dealing with Boer aggression. He thought that the House must have noticed with some surprise that there was no mention in the Queen's Speech of Zulu matters, no reference to all the mess and muddling and murdering there, and the absence of such mention was emphasized by the special manner in which the South-Western Frontier of the Transvaal had been singled out, as though it was the only portion of South Africa which was to be favoured with that "vigilant attention" which had been so long and hitherto so vainly called for. Before, however, entering into the state of things which existed in that country, he should like to raise his protest against the unfortunate position in which the House was again placed owing to the absence of Papers and Blue Books on the subject. If, at the commencement of last Session, the Papers had been ready and the House had been able to take the discussion on the state of Zululand on the Address, instead of having to postpone it until a later period of the Session, a far more general and adequate interest would have been aroused in the subject, much of the deplorable condition of affairs which now existed might have been prevented; and, certainly, to take one point, Usibepu would never have been allowed to be driven—by the help of the Boers, and after the slaughter of a great portion of his tribe—from the territory which he ruled by our appointment, and in a manner which Sir Henry Bulwer allowed gave him claims on our assistance. It surely might be possible to distribute these Papers a week or more before the Session, in order that

Members might avail themselves of the opportunity—often the only opportunity, always the earliest and most legitimate opportunity—of bringing important questions before the House in the discussions on the Address. He had, for example, only been furnished with Blue Books on South Africa about two hours before the meeting of the House, and they only carried the story down to the 23rd of July. Failing other information, he must trust to the Under Secretary for the Colonies to answer some questions with regard to Zululand. In answer to one that he had addressed to the hon. Gentleman a few days ago, he had been told that the Reserve was in a most "satisfactory" condition. That was easily comprehended when they remembered that the previous "unsatisfactory" state had meant that our Resident Commissioner in the Reserve had had to fight for his life against the Usutus; that on another time a party of our Border Watch had been attacked by Usutus, and out of eight men, three had been killed and three wounded; and, finally, that these Usutus had actually crossed into Natal and had fought with Natal Kaffirs, and in another case had fired on and wounded a Natal Native on Natal soil. They could now hear that the state of the Reserve was more satisfactory, without having to strain their capacity for gratitude to the Government for the comparative order that might now prevail. It was, however, with regard to Usibepu, and the intentions of Her Majesty's Government towards him, that he especially wished now to inquire. No one could read Lord Derby's despatch, on the concluding page of the Blue Book, without an uncomfortable suspicion that we had behaved very meanly to that Chief, and the closer the perusal of the preceding pages, the more fully that suspicion would be converted into certainty. As far as he could see, the Colonial Office gathered all their information upon Zulu affairs from and through Sir Henry Bulwer. They accepted his promise, but invariably refused to act upon his conclusions. They refused to listen to him with regard to the restoration of Cetewayo. They refused to listen to his representations with regard to the danger of allowing the Boers to join the Usutu Party against Usibepu; and the consequence was that we had now a new Boer Republic to deal with, and we had lost the powerful and friendly Chief who would have maintained the balance of Zulu power. As Lord Derby—in order to excuse the meanness of his treatment—had thought fit to make very grave reflections on the conduct of Usibepu, he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) must ask the House to be allowed to call Sir Henry Bulwer to witness to the conduct and character of that Chief, and to the frequency with which the Government had been warned of the injustice and folly of abandoning him. On May 6, Sir Henry Bulwer wrote to Lord Derby in these words—

> "If the Boers do join the Usutu Party, it is certain he will not be able to hold his own against such a combination. He will be destroyed, and his destruction will involve that of his people, the finest and bravest in Zululand. His destruction will be wholly undeserved; for whatever may have been said by the Usutu Party, and by those who have so ill-advised that Party, Usibepu took up arms only in self-defence, and to hold the territory which was assigned to him, and with no object of conquest or self-aggrandisement, as has been plainly shown since his success at Ulundi, in July of last year. His destruction will be altogether unmerited, and I do not hesitate to say it will be the greatest misfortune to the Zulu country. A great portion of the country will pass away from the Zulu people, and the remainder, with the exception of the Reserve, will under the Usutu dynasty come sooner or later under the domination of the Boers. On these accounts, then, for the sake of the Reserve, for the sake of Usibepu, and I may say for the sake of the Zulu people themselves, I venture to submit that there should be some interposition on our part."

On May 8, Sir Henry Bulwer again wrote—

> "It will, indeed, be a cruel case, if the Usutus, with the aid of a Boer force, are able to defeat Usibepu. He will not deserve his fate, and his fate will be a reproach upon us in the Native mind which it will not be easy to remove. I would, therefore, trust that some interposition on our part may yet be in time to avert that fate, and the further consequences that will result from it, for there can be no doubt that we shall feel the effect, when once we have lost so brave and loyal a friend of the English Government."

Three weeks later, then, the Boer alliance was no longer a matter of doubt. Sir Henry Bulwer made a final appeal for action on the part of the Government—

> "The position in which Usibepu is placed by the alliance of the Boers with the Usutus, and by the declaration of their intention to attack him should he not recognize Dinuzulu, is

indeed deplorable. He appeals—and he has some claim to appeal—to us for our assistance, but we are unable to give him any."

Finally, after Usibepu had been routed by the Boers, and his tribe given up to slaughter at the hands of the Usutus, Sir Henry Bulwer made a final remonstrance to Lord Derby, on June 16—

> "It is impossible to regard without feelings of the greatest pain and concern the ruin that has thus been brought upon the Chief Usibepu. He was placed and left in the position of an independent Chief by us. He has always looked upon himself as belonging to the Government, and has always shown himself a loyal friend to the Government. Immediately after Cetewayo's restoration he became, because of his independence, the object of the fiercest hate of the Usutu leaders. His territory was invaded by a formidable Usutu force two months after Cetewayo's restoration. The invaders were driven back with prodigious loss. But the event was the beginning of a long series of conflicts which ended in the destruction of Ulundi and the flight of Cetewayo. That Usibepu punished and spoiled those who attacked him is unquestionable; but he never sought to take advantage of his successes or to extend his rule. His desire was to be left alone and in peace in the territory over which he had been placed, and when he was forced into action it was, with few exceptions, to resist the intrigues and attacks directed against him. Had we taken over Central Zululand for the benefit of the Zulu people, we should have found no more loyal neighbour or supporter than Usibepu. But we hesitated to do this; we left the country to take its chances. We left it in confusion and disorder, and the Usutus have made a bargain with the Boers which has brought about, on the plea of the restoration of order, this most undeserved fate on the head of a Chief who has proved himself to possess as chivalrous and gallant a nature as the history of the Zulu nation can show."

As he had said, no one could read these despatches without coming to the conclusion that we had behaved very meanly towards that Chief. What were Lord Derby's excuses for his refusal to listen to Sir Henry Bulwer? That—

> "Usibepu had often acted on his own responsibility. His recent defeat was the consequence of his victory in 1883, and of his ambitious projects of the present year, and Her Majesty's Government has never entered into any engagement to aid or to defend him."

He (Mr. Guy Dawnay) denied that the recent defeat was the result of the victory in 1883. It was the result of being forbidden to follow up that victory, and because the Reserve had been used against him, as it was not allowed to be used by him, as a "focus for intrigues and plans of future retaliation." Lord Derby next asserted that the position in which Usibepu found himself "was the consequence of his ambitious projects;" but he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) should like very much to ask the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, what were the "ambitious projects of the present year" to which Lord Derby referred? What proof was there of any such thing? All he (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had been able to find in the Blue Book was the statement that a few days after the death of Cetewayo, and after he had just defeated two attacks of Usutus, he asked to be allowed to hold the ground he was then occupying in consequence of his defensive victories. When he was told that he could not be allowed to hold it, he at once acquiesced in the refusal. Therefore, one thing was quite clear — namely, that however much Her Majesty's Government might repudiate all responsibility in reference to him, they had, when it suited their purpose, never shrunk from exercising control over him. He admitted that, as was said in the despatch, Her Majesty's Government had never entered into any formal agreement to defend him if he were attacked, or assist him, and he never required any aid to defend himself against the Zulu Chiefs; but it was an undisputed fact that Her Majesty's Government had entered into a solemn engagement with the Boers that the Eastern Frontier of the Transvaal should not be violated by an invasion of Zululand; and they were bound, under the exceptional nature of the agreement, to see that that paragraph of the Convention was kept, and it was to the fact of their having permitted that engagement to be violated with impunity, that Usibepu owed his defeat, and not to any inability to hold his position as a Zulu Chief amongst the Zulus. Unless Her Majesty's Government put forward some better form of argument than the bare and unsupported assertions contained in Lord Derby's despatch, he maintained that the refusal to grant Usibepu any assistance or moral support could only be classed with the refusal to help Montsioa, and could only be looked upon as most discreditable to this country; and he was afraid that eventually this cowardly conduct on our part would entail upon us the same punishment, and be revenged upon the British taxpayer. He should also like to know what the views of the Government were as to the Proclamation of Dinazulu and Mr. Grant, and the cession of land to the Boers; and whether they considered, as Sir Hercules Robinson did, it was a mere attempt on the part of the Boers to repeat the story of Stellaland in Zululand; and whether, in that case, it was to be treated with remonstrance alone, or whether they would have to wait another 18 months before they heard that the "vigilant attention" of Her Majesty's Government was directed at last to the Eastern borders of Boerland? He need not say that he had not changed the views which he expressed in the debate on this question three months ago; but he did not know whether the Government had or had not retreated from the position—the indefensible position, as he considered it—which they had then taken in regard to the amount of their responsibility to the Zulus. He would only say that his opinions had had since then the endorsement of Sir Henry Bulwer, had been confirmed by subsequent facts, and he was afraid would also be justified by future events. He now desired to say a few words about the South-Western borders of the Transvaal, to which public attention had been called in so special a manner, owing to the horrible and inhuman circumstances attending the brutal murder of a gallant gentleman and a British officer. The word "murder" did not, in any adequate manner, describe the atrocity of those who did Mr. Bethell to death. It was not an act committed under the influence of any of those evil passions which ordinarily led to crime. Even among some savage nations a wounded and unresisting enemy excited a natural pity and sympathy; but to those brutes in human form, whose vileness and lust of blood and pillage they had so long allowed to reign supreme in Bechuanaland, a wounded officer lying helpless before them was but an unresisting prey on whom, with the greater security to their own cowardly carcases, they could wreak their hatred of Englishmen, and the innate brutality of their nature. He agreed with his hon. Friend the Member for York in his belief that Mr. Bethell, gallant as he was, and eager as he was in the cause of the Bechuanas, would have thought his life well given, if his death could serve to win, as he thought it had served to win, public attention to this question. It would indeed, be matter for the very deepest satisfaction, if they could only believe that the Government did seriously intend now to put their foot down, and had made up their minds at last to stand at bay, and to show to these Boers that there was a limit even to the humiliation to which we would allow ourselves to be subjected, and a limit to the outrages which we would permit to be inflicted upon our helpless Bechuana allies. He said "if they could believe;" but they could not but remember that paragraph in the Queen's Speech in 1881, in which, with all the authority and solemnity of a Speech from the Throne, in the most distinct and unambiguous language, it was announced that the Queen's authority should be vindicated. And they also recollected that that vindication meant Majuba Hill and the Convention between a beaten country and the victorious Boers. He could not, in passing, help saying that it would have been better for his own reputation, for the credit of this country, as well as for the happiness of many a bereaved and ruined home, if, before penning that paragraph in 1881, the Prime Minister had recollected a passage which he had been ready enough to remember on a recent, and, as it seemed to him, less decent occasion—

> "Beware
> Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,
> Bear't that the opposed may beware of thee."

He wondered that the Prime Minister could, with the memory of Majuba in his mind, have dared to quote, and threaten with, those words. They could not but recollect also that, in the autumn of 1881, the Prime Minister, speaking at Leeds, speaking with all the authority of his position as Prime Minister, declared *urbi et orbi*—

> "Those men were mistaken, if such there were, who believed that because the Government had granted much to the Boers, it was to encourage them to ask for more."

And they must remember that that announcement but heralded by a certain number of months the surrender of our Suzerainty over the Transvaal, and the fresh farce of replacing by a new and equally worthless piece of paper the tattered shreds of the old Convention. When these facts were remembered, he thought that they might be acquitted of any very blameworthy want of trust in Her Majesty's Ministers, or in the value of the present announcement, if they read without any exaggerated confidence that after repeated insults, after repeated violations of the Convention, after repeated acts of murder and depredation committed by the Boers, Her Majesty's Government had at last been so far stung and goaded to action that they had promised to give these matters their "vigilant attention." It was not these repeated insults that had aroused the Government. They had borne them with somewhat monotonous humility, and with more than Christian forbearance. It had not been the repeated breaches of the Convention, which the Boers seemed to have considered was made to give them greater opportunities to defy this country. It was not repeated acts of outrage, pillage, and murder—it was not even the brutal murder of a British officer in cold blood that had aroused the Colonial Office. Those at the Colonial Office would be more than human if, by this time, they could help having grown callous to the reports of such chronic crime. It was not this that had awakened the Government from their dishonourable lethargy and inaction; it was the voice of the people of this country, and of our most distant and far-separated Colonies; it was that feeling of indignation which had been excited in every English-speaking, English-feeling breast; it was that feeling which had been evoked by the eloquence, the sincerity, and patriotism of his right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), and of others who had dared to be as patriotic and as manly as himself. That was the real motive power in this matter, as well as the perception that not only was our honour at stake, but—and it was a very serious, though he trusted a secondary consideration—that our trade interests were also involved, and very seriously threatened. It was a point absolutely beyond contradiction that if the Boers in any manner once gained a footing in Bechuanaland, they would gain an entire control of the whole of the interior trade of Africa south of the Zambesi. Let any Government which so wantonly threw over the interests of our trade in that country reckon with the depressed artizans in our manufacturing towns. There was an old saying which they had often heard, and which, he thought, there was no disposition to contradict, that "Trade follows the flag." The flag of this country, as they knew but too well, had lately been obliged to be buried and concealed in Bechuanaland to save it from insult from the Boers. Trade would but too surely follow—he feared he might say was but too surely following that flag, and had already shown signs of diminution and decay—dying of our dishonour. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford had shown a desire to raise this question from the narrow, low level of Party politics. He (Mr. Guy Dawnay) would be glad if that could be done; but, after our previous experience on this subject, he was afraid it would, at least, be very hard so to raise it. This policy of the Government in reference to the Transvaal afforded no isolated instance of the action of the Government which they condemned. It was merely the most notorious instance of that "squeezability" which had, in fact, led to the coining of the word to express so constant an element in the Government policy—to designate that yielding to pressure which had distinguished—he would say which had disfigured—the whole page of their history. They had never, as a Party, wearied of pointing out the fatal results of this policy of surrender; and the very action of the Government at present—their doing in the autumn of 1884 what they had been begged to do—what they had been warned against not doing in the spring of 1883—was a sufficient witness to the justice of their criticism. On the other hand, those who ordinarily ranked themselves as the supporters of the Government had, with one or two notable and most honourable exceptions, ranked themselves as readily on this Transvaal question as on other points under the flag of their Party Chief, and had identified themselves with, and made themselves responsible for, the South African scheme. If ever there was a question in which Party feeling should be sunk, and in which national feeling should alone prevail, it was a great Imperial question like the present. On this question he believed there was staked, not only the fate of South Africa, but the future of our whole Colonial Empire. By their past action the Government had not only degraded and humiliated the name of England in the eyes of the Natives, by what they considered tame submission to defeat, by what was cowardly repudiation of our alliances, and abandonment of our Allies. They had not only taught the Boers that the Convention which they won at the muzzle of the rifle was but a term intended to salve the conscience and soothe the ear of those hon. Members who supported the Government, and who preferred the idea of signing a Convention to that of suing for peace; they had not only further taught them, in the words of the President of the Board of Trade, that the "Convention would not prevent its provisions being reconsidered, if they should prove at any time offensive to the Boers;" that it would not prevent the granting of a new Convention, to be again, in its turn, whittled into nothingness. It was not only that; but their past action had tended to show to all our Colonies throughout the world that for them the tide of Empire had turned, that the ebb of Empire had commenced, that the honour of England had become a matter of Votes and Budgets, and that Colonial loyalty and love for the Mother Country was only prized when it could be had on easy terms of gratis affection, without the chance of responsibility accruing in return. In conclusion, he would only ask the House to allow him to read a few words of a letter from Mr. Mackenzie recording the words addressed to him by a Bechuana Native, as they contained the best and briefest advice that could be offered to the Government. The letter was written by Mr. Mackenzie from Vryburg in Stellaland on July 23 to a correspondent in England, and the paragraph he wished to bring to their notice was as follows:—

> "I assure you the name of the Queen is still prized in many a hamlet in Bechuanaland. (It is wonderful it should be so.) One Chief, who, it had been said by the Boers in England, wanted to live under the rule of the Transvaal, sent a letter to meet me many miles from his town, to declare that he, too, would be under the Queen. 'Yours is by far the best Government' said another gray-headed man; 'but you have one great fault—you always go away when we want you most—Do not go away again.'"

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that South African debates were apt to be discursive, and he did not think that this discussion had been an exception to the rule, as he had been quite overwhelmed by the different questions referring to all parts of the world which he was called upon to deal with. He was also confronted by a great deal of inconsistency on the part of various speakers, and in no speech more so than in the eloquent one they had just heard. In that speech they had been appealed to to treat this matter simply and solely from the national and patriotic point of view; and yet that appeal had been prefaced and followed by as bitter an attack upon the Government for what it had done as any Party attack that had ever been made. Hon. Members ought not to take credit for appealing to the House to make a question a national and patriotic one, at the same time that they themselves made it a Party question. A crumb of comfort, however, he had, and that was that in none of the speeches had any fault been found with the action of the Government at the present moment, or since the last discussion that had taken place on South African affairs, with the exception that it was said they had not given sufficient support to Mr. Mackenzie; and, therefore, he said the Government really and truly found themselves pretty well in accord with the House of Commons in the policy they were adopting. ["Oh, oh!"] In answer to the complaint of the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland), he would repeat that he was exceedingly sorry that the Papers were not before the House; but he would point out to the hon. Member—and though he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) was speaking as a comparatively young Member of the House, yet he was corroborated in what he was going to say by the authority of the Prime Minister—that it was a mistake to suppose that the occasion of the discussion on the Address in answer to the Speech from the Throne was to be looked upon as the opportunity for an exhaustive discussion on matters alluded to in the Speech. If it were to be so regarded, they must change the Rules and Regulations of the House with regard to printing. It had been said that the printing might have been done in the Recess; but no printing could be done in the House except by order of the officers of the House, and that could not be done when the House was not sitting. As far as the Colonial Office was concerned, they had done the best they could. If they were to consider in future that exhaustive debates were to take place on the Address upon Papers laid on the Table the day the House met, then they must alter the Rules which regulated the production of Papers. Before entering on the general question, he wished to say a few words about the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for York City (Sir Frederick Milner), who had spoken as to the death of Mr. Bethell. He should be very sorry to allude to that subject without saying that he considered that gentleman had shown a gallantry and pluck quite worthy of the admiration of everyone. It was clear that he had lost his life mainly by having waited behind to endeavour to save the life of a Native struck down by his side. Although it could not, of course, alter the brutal character of the treatment to which he was afterwards subjected by the filibusters, still it might be some consolation to the relatives of that gentleman to say that anyone who had read the account must say that his first wound must have been mortal, and that his life could not have been saved, even if the second shot had not been fired. He would now proceed to defend the Government against the charge of apathy and delay which had been brought againt them. He denied emphatically that the Colonial Office had shown any apathy in the matter, or that there had been unnecessary delay in taking steps to secure the apprehension of the murderers. What the hon. Baronet the Member for York City did not sufficiently realize was this—that if Her Majesty's Government were going to make a demand for the punishment or extradition of the murderers, they must know who they were, and be prepared with evidence to convict them, and to satisfy the Power to which they were making the request. Now, he asserted positively that, until this month, the Colonial Government did not know, and he did not believe that anyone in the country knew, that even the names of the murderers were known. Until that information was received, the mere knowledge that Mr. Bethell had been killed, and by unfair means, was not a ground on which they could approach any Government, and say—"We demand the extradition of the murderers." The answer, of course, would have been—"Who is it that you want?" They were now in a position to name the murderers, and prove who they were, and their guilt. It had been said, as an imputation against him, that he had talked about the legal difficulties that might arise. He would not enlarge upon that, because he did not wish to be told that he was puttings arguments in the mouth of the Transvaal Government. As a matter of fact, the question was not a simple one; it was very complicated, the territory on which Mr. Bethell was killed being neither British nor Transvaal territory. It was clear that the tribunals of the Transvaal would not be competent to try the case; and after the experience gained in the trial of Captain Elliot's murderers, he thought it just as well that the Transvaal tribunals should not try the case. There were similar difficulties in the way of extradition; and, in fact, the whole question was full of complications. His own opinion was that the best way to obtain justice would probably be to instruct the Commander of our Forces to get hold of them, and try them by court martial, for acts contrary to the usages of civilized warfare, when he should arrive in the locality. Whether that course should be taken or not was a question which other and different authorities must decide. Coming to the question of the Treaty, he had first to refer to two speakers that day, who had called upon the Government to account for the speeches of the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney), and the tentative opinions expressed therein. Well, he was not bound to answer for that hon. Member; but this he would say—that doubtless the Secretary to the Treasury was the only occupant of the Front Ministerial Bench who held the opinions which he had expressed. Now, as he had said, the great point that had been made by the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst, in the course of the debate, was that Her Majesty's Government had not sufficiently supported Mr. Mackenzie. He heard with pleasure the sentence in the speech of the hon. Baronet the Member for York City in which he said that they ought to trust to the advice of people on the spot. That was exactly what they had done on this occasion. Ever since Mr. Mackenzie had been sent out they had consistently acted on Sir Hercules Robinson's advice, and they had not refused any request which he had made. The maximum police force said by Sir Hercules Robinson to be necessary was 100 men, and he had never recommended an increase in that number. The hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst referred to the telegram received on July 2 from Sir Hercules Robinson, in which he said—"Please authorize Treasury Chest to supply another £5,000 when required." As a matter of fact, the answer to the hon. Member's strictures in connection with that request was that it was complied with at once—the £5,000 was sent to Sir Hercules Robinson 10 days afterwards—a period which only afforded time enough to set the Treasury in motion.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND: That does not appear from the Papers.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: No. Then the hon. Member stated that no answer was given to the question asked by Sir Hercules Robinson in his telegram of June 26, in which he said—

> "In this case the invasion, if it takes place, will be an act of impudent defiance of British authority, and the invaders should, I think, be expelled and punished at any risk or cost. Do you concur?"

The hon. Member said that the Government gave no answer to that.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND explained that he had said that an answer was given, but an unsatisfactory one.

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that the answer which was sent by Lord Derby was as follows:—

> "Her Majesty's Government approve your communication to the Government of the South African Republic, as well as the instructions which you have given to Mr. Mackenzie on the subject;"

the instructions given by Sir Hercules Robinson to Mr. Mackenzie being such as authorized him to form a Native Force sufficient to expel the marauders. The fact was that the break-down of the police arrangements was not owing to any neglect on the part of the Government to comply at once with the recommendations of Sir Hercules Robinson. It arose from a variety of difficulties, and among them was this—that the police force was not really established up to its proper strength until the early part of July. Why the delay occurred he could not quite ascertain; but, no doubt, there were difficulties in the way of the establishment, and, above all, of the mounting and transport of the force sufficient to account for it. If, however, Mr. Mackenzie could have brought that force up to Montsioa's territory before the attack took place, the result would probably have been very different. It was not the fault of the Government that the police were not at Montsioa's side at the time, and he dared say it was not Mr. Mackenzie's fault either. Although it was disagreeable in that House ever to say anything against a man who was dead, he could not help expressing the opinion that Mr. Bethell's excess of valour caused him to be precipitate, and to hurry on a fight which it would have been more politic to postpone. There was, in fact, a statement to the effect that Montsioa sent to Mr. Bethell and told him not to fight, but that he insisted on doing so. Mr. Bethell had no policemen with him at the time, his force being composed of Native levies only. The Rooi-Gronders were, of course, anxious to precipitate the fight before the police arrived; and with that view they paraded the stolen cattle in front of Montsioa's laager, in order to entice him out. If, as he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) wished, Mr. Bethell had been a little less brave, and if he had resisted the temptation put before him, and had waited until Mr. Mackenzie could have sent up the police force, the result would have been very different. There was really no other point for him to answer; but what he thought the House had a right to expect from him was that, as shortly as possible, he should give a statement of the line which the Government had taken in connection with the principal events since the House rose for the Recess, and what the present position of affairs was. Members would recollect that when the House rose Mr. Mackenzie had been out some time, and that the Government were receiving accounts daily of the threatened attack upon Montsioa by the freebooters; but no attack had absolutely taken place. The precipitate attack made by them upon Montsioa's forces and the death of Mr. Bethell happened on the 31st of July, after Mr. Mackenzie's visit to Montsioa, and the news reached this country just about the time the House rose for the Recess. Then the Transvaal Government came forward and sent Commander Joubert to the frontier. About that time also Mr. Rhodes had been sent up by Sir Hercules Robinson, the High Commissioner. Mr. Rhodes had been appointed at first temporarily, but afterwards permanently, to replace Mr. Mackenzie, who, about the beginning of August, had been called by Sir Hercules Robinson to Cape Town. With reference to the resignation of Mr. Mackenzie, he wished to say a word or two. Mr. Mackenzie had been selected by the Colonial Office, with the consent and advice of Sir Hercules Robinson, to go out there as a man who was, in their opinion, in many respects extremely well fitted for the task. Nothing Mr. Mackenzie had done, or which had been brought against him, altered the opinion that he was well fitted for the task. Of course, it was possible to find two or three errors that he might have committed; but this was incident to the career of everyone. He maintained, however, that anything Mr. Mackenzie had done, or anything which had been brought against him, had not shaken his (Mr. Evelyn Ashley's) belief that he was a man who might have done very valuable service, and that he was the best man they could have selected for the post. But Mr. Mackenzie had this one great defect, that he was not a *persona grata* to the Cape Ministry. As soon as the Cape Ministers officially declared by Minutes and communications to Sir Hercules Robinson that the permanence of Mr. Mackenzie as our Commissioner to Bechuanaland was an obstacle to their going forward, an obstacle to their action, Mr. Mackenzie, with the highest possible feeling, and with a sense of what was right and proper and for the good of the country, tendered his resignation of the office to Sir Hercules Robinson. What Mr. Mackenzie said was this. In his letter to Sir Hercules Robinson he denied being imbued with the prejudices imputed to him, and enlarged on the desire that he had shown to take a wide view of matters, to do justice to all parties and to all interests; but he said that, inasmuch as the Colonial Ministers regarded his continuance in office as a most serious obstacle, if not the only obsctacle, to the maintenance of the peace of the Protectorate, he desired to remove that barrier, and with that object he tendered his resignation of the office of Deputy Commissioner in Bechuanaland. Sir Hercules Robinson, in his despatch, said that he thought the reasons which influenced Mr. Mackenzie in taking this step were sound, and he complimented Mr. Mackenzie on the earnest and unselfish spirit which had induced him to undertake the difficulties of establishing the Protectorate in Bechuanaland. In these matters it was of the highest importance that they should work hand in hand, where they possibly could, with the authorities of one of the largest Colonies. Well, Mr. Rhodes had been sent up by Sir Hercules Robinson, on the resignation of Mr. Mackenzie, to meet Commander Joubert on the borders of Goshenland. Having come as Deputy Commissioner, Mr. Rhodes attempted to arrange terms with Montsioa and the freebooters; but having found that the demands of the Goshenite people were unreasonable, exorbitant, and contrary to justice and right, and that even while he was there as Ambassador for the High Commissioner an attack had been made on Montsioa's territory, he had been compelled to leave them with a warning that they were attacking people who were under the protection of Great Britain, and that he would not in any sense be a party to the making of an arrangement. He therefore left, warning them of the consequences. Mr. Rhodes came back and communicated with Sir Hercules Robinson, who had endeavoured to settle also, as far as he could, the hostilities in the Stellaland district. Next, they came to the action of the Transvaal Government, because it was there, for the first time, that the Transvaal Government came upon the scene. After the attack made on Montsioa by the freebooters, that Chief was reduced to a very bad state, having lost a large number of men. Then it was that the Transvaal Government came to his aid, and offered to relieve him from the attacks of those freebooters on condition that he came under the jurisdiction of the Transvaal. He needed not to take up the time of the House by giving any details as to what the condition of Montsioa was; but the House might take it that Montsioa was absolutely an unwilling agent — that he was absolutely commanded by his defenceless condition to come to an agreement with the Transvaal Government. Thereupon the Transvaal Government sent a telegram to Her Majesty's Government, saying that they had taken steps to restore and maintain peace by taking Montsioa under their protection. The Colonial Office put themselves in immediate communication with the Cape authorities, and with Sir Hercules Robinson, wishing to know what was the true state of matters, and what was the view of the Cape Government. In consequence of the communications they received and the information they obtained, they had desired Sir Hercules Robinson, as High Commissioner, to call upon the Government of the South African Republic to disallow their recent acts as being an entire and absolute violation of the Convention of 1884. That those acts were so was, to his (Mr. Evelyn Ashley's) mind, too clear for argument. The result of this communication was that the Transvaal Government at once withdrew the Proclamation establishing a Protectorate over this territory, and very shortly afterwards the Transvaal Volksraad was summoned to ratify the withdrawal of that Proclamation, so that they had not, therefore, any longer to do, ostensibly or openly, with the Transvaal Government. The freebooters, however, were still in possession of the territory; and Her Majesty's Government, remembering that this was the Protectorate which had been invaded by these men, considered only one settlement of this question possible—that force should be used to remove those men from that territory. Her Majesty's Government had been acting in accord with the Cape Government, and the Cape Government had asked their sanction, during the time the military preparations were being made, to go to the territory of Montsioa and see whether, by their personal influence, they could arrange terms without fighting and bloodshed. Of course, Her Majesty's Government would never like to leave any stone unturned to obtain the legitimate objects they had in view without fighting; and, therefore, they had signified to the Ministers at the Cape that, while they would not relax the preparations they were making, they would not oppose any obstacle to the Cape Ministers going to Bechuanaland, and seeing what they could do, provided it was thoroughly understood that no settlement could be made without the consent and approval of Her Majesty's Government, and that Her Majesty's Government would not give their consent and approval to any settlement which did not unreservedly imply that none of the freebooters should remain in possession of Montsioa's territory without the express sanction of the High Commissioner. The position, therefore, was this—the Transvaal Government having, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, broken the Convention, had been called upon to retrace their steps. On that call being received, they did retrace their steps; and the Government having, therefore, only to deal now with the irregular freebooters on the Border, were preparing to send a force to coerce them, and while that force was being prepared the Cape Ministers were trying their hand at peaceful negotiations. They knew that Sir Charles Warren, as he informed the House yesterday, was going out; indeed, they might count on his going out within a very short time—in about a fortnight. The details of the forces Sir Charles Warren would have at his disposal were being settled by the War Office; and the House might be certain they would be perfectly adequate to the object the Government had in view. He did not think there was any other information it was necessary he should give to the House; because it would be more fully and accurately given in the Papers which would shortly be in the hands of Members. He wished, however, to say a word or two in regard to the speech of the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse) and the speeches of the hon. Member for Perthshire (Sir Donald Currie) and other hon. Members on the question of Zululand. The fallacy upon which he ventured to submit so many speeches went, which found fault with the Government for not doing last year, or the year before, what they were doing now, was this—that last year and the year before not only was the case not by any means so clear, or the needs so great; but last year and the year before there were elements of danger in precipitate action which he ventured to say the patience and care of Her Majesty's Government had eliminated. The antagonism between the Dutch and English-speaking portion of the South African Races was, he had repeatedly stated, one of the greatest dangers and difficulties which, in their transactions in South Africa, the present, as well as the late, Government had to guard against. They might talk about the sum of money the Government might have to spend now in the course they were going to take; but how much money, and how much more than even money's worth, would have been the cost to this country and the Colony if, by any precipitate action, they had brought about a quarrel of races. That was a very distinct and a very great danger, when they were urged in former periods by hon. Members opposite to take more active and violent measures. What was now our position? By their patience, by their waiting, by their determination to show that they were ready to employ every means in their power before resorting to force; and, further, by waiting till the case was so clear and so distinct in regard to the attitude taken by the Transvaal Government and others that it could not be justified, the Government had succeeded in this—that they had, openly at any rate, a perfectly unanimous feeling in the Cape Colony. He considered that was a result which it was worth while to wait a long time for, and which was a result which they would not have got had they precipitated their action as some hon. Members urged them to do. The Cape Government had in September endorsed, in a telegram which would be found in the Papers, in every way the action of Her Majesty's Government. The telegram was so important that he should like to give an extract from it, because it was really a great tribute to what patience and perseverance could do, to have a Dutch Ministry in Cape Town sending to Her Majesty's Government such a telegram as that. It was received on the 24th of September, and stated—

> "Ministers express their opinion that decisive measures should be now taken for the maintenance of British authority."

If hon. Members only knew what had been the feeling in South Africa ever since the first annexation of the Transvaal among the Africander Race, who now for the first time had a Ministry in Cape Town, with Mr. Hoffmeyer, the head of the Africander Party, as the man who controlled that Ministry, they would know what a great event it was to have the Africander Party asserting that they wished to secure the maintenance of British authority. The object of the Africander Party up to this time had been rather to weaken than to establish British authority, and to establish the authority of the Dutch-speaking population. The telegram went on to say—

> "The Ministers believe that in taking such a course the Imperial Government will be thoroughly supported by Her Majesty's subjects of every nationality in this Colony."

He wanted to know, if the Government had taken the steps last year which they were urged to do by some hon. Members, whether any responsible body of men in Cape Town could have telegraphed them to say that they would be thoroughly supported by Her Majesty's subjects of every nationality in the Colony? They certainly would not have had that support; but he was glad to see from the accounts in the newspapers that meetings were being held in the Cape Colony to support the action of Her Majesty's Government in that respect. The hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay) drew attention to the question of Zululand. While thinking that time would not allow him and them now to discuss the affairs of that country as well as Bechuanaland, he had nothing further to add to what he had already said with respect to it, except to repeat that Her Majesty's Government had carried out the intention they announced in the House, that they would maintain intact the Reserve. The Reserve was now in a perfectly quiet and secure condition. The hon. Member spoke a great deal about Usibepu's claims on the Government. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) did not know that the claims of that Chief were more than the claims of any other bold Chief in South Africa who had been loyal and brave. Usibepu was a strong man, and had shown himself friendly to Her Majesty's Government; but would hon. Members say that they should now send a force to Usibepu's territory, in order to support him and keep him on his throne? The Zulu question was not one, as the hon. Member said, involving any violation of the Convention by the Transvaal Government. It was totally different from the Bechuanaland question in that respect. The frontier of Zululand had not been violated by the Government of the Transvaal; but that violation had occurred through the invitation of the Zulus themselves. He was also asked whether the Government would appoint a Resident Commissioner in that territory, and whether they would look after the Swazis? They had, by the Convention, a right, if they chose, to appoint a Commissioner on the Zulu Frontier; but it was not likely, while the Zulus were themselves in a state of internecine war, as they had been, that the Government should ask the Commissioner to go and take up his residence on that frontier. The Zulus were an independent people, and all these demands that the Government should interfere, and prevent this and that going on on the frontier, and that they should defend Usibepu against Oham, or Oham against Usibepu, really reduced themselves to the old story of whether we should annex that territory.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: What about the Reserve?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the Reserve was as near being annexed as anything they could imagine. As to the question put by the right hon. Gentleman the Lord Mayor, his right hon. Friend, if he looked at the Convention, would see that there was no question whatever of allowing the Transvaal Government to communicate with Foreign Powers except through the High Commissioner. There was a specific Article in the Convention which said that no Treaty should be made by the Transvaal Government with any Foreign Power or any Native Tribe, except the Orange Free State, without having the consent of Her Majesty's Government. He ventured to say, in conclusion, that hon. Members, however much they might be disposed to criticize this, that, and the other, and to say—although he denied it—that they might have acted last year, or the year before, as they had acted now, would be inclined to acknowledge, in the words of one of the speakers, that the Government had at last laid before the House a clear and distinct policy, and announced what they intended to do. Having cleared Bechuanaland of the freebooters, and restored the *status quo*, then would come the question in regard to the future of the territory. One hon. Member had thrown doubt upon the prospect of the Cape undertaking the government of the country. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) did not himself have any such doubt. The active element in the Cape would, in his opinion, be anxious to take over Bechuanaland, in order that the Imperial power should not be established, because they would rather see the country under the control of the Cape. But however the future might turn out, it was quite clear they had before them a very clear course, and they would require no exhortation from hon. Members opposite to persist in that course. Any delay or hesitation that might have taken place had been amply compensated for by an upright and consistent policy; and he trusted and believed that although we might be obliged to send out a large and efficient force to that country, no real blow would have to be struck, and that we should be able by that force to vindicate our rights and the British Protectorate without having to spill any blood whatever.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the majority of the House will scarcely be of opinion that the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) has been entirely successful in his vindication of the policy of Her Majesty's Government. He commenced his speech by a complaint that we were asked to discuss this subject at a time when it could not be exhaustively discussed. If that is so, it is not our fault. We have felt the importance and the pressing nature of this matter so strongly that it is impossible for us to delay the discussion on South African affairs to that remote date when it shall please Her Majesty's Government to give us the Papers. I am bound to say that I think the excuse which the hon. Gentleman gave for the present imperfect state of information in which Parliament and the country have been left on this subject was by no means worthy of him or of the Government. In these matters it is always the case that where there is a will there is a way. If a serious attempt had been made by the Colonial Office to place the Papers in the hands of Members at the meeting of Parliament, I venture to say that it could have been done. To the best of my recollection, when there was an Autumn Session in a previous year, the Papers on Afghanistan were in the hands of Members some weeks before the House met. The hon. Gentleman has also complained that the hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay), while declining to treat this matter as a Party question, devoted the whole of his speech to an attack on the policy of Her Majesty's Government. I am sure that anyone who looks at the course of this debate will see that it is impossible for any hon. Member to discuss this question without attacking the policy of Her Majesty's Government. Why, Sir, the most forcible attacks on the Government were made by two of their most staunch supporters—the hon. Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse), and the hon. Member for Perthshire (Sir Donald Currie). The hon. Member for Bath spoke with an authority and ability on the subject that can hardly be surpassed in this House; and, as everyone knows, the hon. Member for Perthshire possesses a peculiar knowledge of, and interest in, the commercial, social, and political state of South Africa. When hon. Members such as those attack the policy of the Government, I do think it rather unfair to charge hon. Members on the Opposition side of the House with treating this as a Party question, because, with all goodwill, my hon. Friend has been utterly unable to make his speech anything but an attack on the policy of the Government. The hon. Member has stated that the Government are completely in accord with the House of Commons as to their policy. Hitherto we have been quite unable to ascertain that the Government had any policy at all; and if the matter had rested where it was left by the paragraph in the Queen's Speech, which stated that Her Majesty's Government were giving vigilant attention to their engagements, and were considering the means that might be required to secure the faithful observation of the Convention, the Opposition could not in justice to their opinion have passed over the subject without proposing an Amendment to the Address. It has, however, since been definitely announced that the Government had gone far beyond vigilant attention and consideration in this matter, and that they were preparing, under the leadership of Sir Charles Warren, an expedition of considerable magnitude in South Africa. It has been suggested that there is an alternative; that the Government of the Cape Colony have offered their services; and that Her Majesty's Government have agreed that the Cape Government shall attempt to settle the matter by peaceful negotiations. I am not desirous of interference by this country in the affairs of South Africa beyond what is absolutely necessary. Such interference has resulted in the past, and may still more result in the future, in much more harm and danger to ourselves, to the Cape Colony, and even to the Natives, than would have occurred had we left them to settle matters for themselves; but this is a case in which we are bound by most definite obligations and engagements to bear Imperial responsibilities and carry them out. This could not be left to be settled by the Cape Government, unless it was made perfectly clear that that Government, in settling it, would fulfil to the utmost the obligations into which this country entered when it assumed the Protectorate over the Native Tribes in Bechuanaland. I am as anxious as anyone in this House can be to act in harmony with the Cape Government in this matter; and I think I may say that no one can better appreciate the advantage of such harmony than I do. But if I refer to the debate in the Cape Parliament, after which the Resolution proposing to negotiate for the annexation of Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony was passed, I am sorry to say that I do not see in the speeches made in that debate, and in the spirit which animated the Members of the Cape Parliament, any ground for a strong hope that our obligations to the Native Chiefs will be carried out by the Cape Government. In the speech of one person of considerable importance—namely, Mr. Rhodes, the late Commissioner—what do I find? He is reported to have said that he had been told that one of the chief reasons for desiring to retain this country was that it was looked upon as a good land for the Colonial farmers, and that they ought not to lose such a splendid opportunity of developing the country north of the Orange River; that it was practically destitute of Natives, there being no more than 20,000 souls in all; and that the Cape Colony would obtain enormous assets in the shape of Crown lands. Reading these expressions, and others still stronger, uttered in the Cape Parliament, I venture to say that unless Her Majesty's Government are very careful in the matter they will not be fulfilling their responsibilities to the Native Tribes by leaving them in the hands of the Cape Colony. Then, what do Her Majesty's Government propose to do, if, as is possible, judging from the character of these freebooters, the Cape Government cannot settle this question peacefully? They propose what is a very serious matter—namely, to send a large military expedition to remove these freebooters by force. No one will appreciate the gravity of this proposal more than the Prime Minister himself, who, in March, 1883, when he had charged the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) with a desire to initiate a war in South Africa, used these words—

> "My right hon. Friend urges us to undertake what I shall take leave to designate as a war which is 1,100 miles from the base of our operations. My right hon. Friend does not take into view the fact that in these former wars we had facilities for carrying them on by the aid of the sea, which made the conveyance of supplies a work of comparative ease. This is a proposal to march 1,100 miles into a country with respect to which we should have the aid of a railway for the shortest part of the way, but which, with regard to the rest, everything would have to be done over miserable roads. . . . . Sir, I believe the enormous efforts, risks, and uncertainties of the expedition which my right hon. Friend contemplates, and would put at the back of his earnest remonstrances, are entirely out of proportion to the objects that are in view, or to the ends that he could possibly achieve. It is true my right hon. Friend says—'Only speak firmly, and you will never have occasion to resort to the sword.' I say no Government is worthy to hold Office in this country for a day that would hold firm language of that kind without being perfectly prepared to support it. What is the value of the opinion given by my right hon. Friend that there would be no occasion to resort to war, and what would be our predicament if, after holding that firm language, we had to support our remonstrances by a difficult, a costly, and almost hopeless military expedition? . . . What we decline to do is to undertake a military expedition for the purpose of rectifying disorders in a country which has always been disorderly, although we know that those disorders are now aggravated partly by the intervention of Boer freebooters. That is a responsibility we cannot assume, and which we will not impose upon the people of this country."—(3 *Hansard*, [277] 728-30-31.)

But it is a responsibility which, nevertheless, is to be imposed on the people of this country. We are told that now at last our word is to be maintained and our honour vindicated. I should like to ask to what it is really due that this serious enterprize will have to be undertaken? It is due to the fact that when in February last we were compelled to assume this Protectorate, we failed at once to make it a reality. The House will recollect the discussion last February on the Speech from the Throne in reference to this matter. Everyone was agreed that the word of the Boers in the new Convention was not a matter of any very great moment; but that the real alteration in the situation was this—the expression by Her Majesty's Government of a determination that come what might the new Convention should be carried out. How was the Convention to be carried out? I find, on referring to the debate, that the Under Secretary for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) made a remarkable speech—a very remarkable speech—comparing it with what he has said in the course of the debate to-day. He told the House that Her Majesty's Government had been in communication with the delegates from the Transvaal, that Her Majesty's Government had firmly insisted on the Frontier Question, and the delegates had assured Her Majesty's Government they would preserve the frontier. He said that Lord Derby had proposed and was determined to carry out the appointment of a Resident Commissioner of some character on the frontier, and that that Commissioner would have under his command some sort of police force, with which he could keep the frontier from the incursions of the freebooters, and added that the Government believed they had secured a settlement, it being a matter merely of police. If that were so, why was Mr. Mackenzie despatched without a sufficient force of police? That question had been asked to-day, and the hon. Gentleman gave absolutely no answer to it. All he said was that the Government had trusted to the authorities on the spot; but they cannot thrust upon Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie their own responsibilities in this matter. The hon. Member told us as plainly as he could—I thought he deserved great credit for the candour of his statement—that if a police force of even 100 men had at once been placed at Mr. Mackenzie's disposal, all these difficulties and troubles and cruelties to Montsioa would never have taken place.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The right hon. Gentleman will allow me to say I never made any such statement. I distinctly said that 100 men were placed at the disposal of Mr. Mackenzie, and if they had been moved up the country at once these difficulties would not have occurred.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: Yes; 100 men on paper, as useful as all those Proclamations. If 100 men could not be at once recruited in the Cape Colony, or obtained from any other Colonial source, Her Majesty's Government were bound by the assurances of the Under Secretary at the time to take care that Mr. Mackenzie went up the country with a sufficient number of men levied, if necessary, from our Imperial Forces. Now, the Under Secretary for the Colonies actually said, referring to the cruel murder of Mr. Bethell, that Mr. Bethell was a little too brave. What a way to speak of the conduct of one whom you engaged as your police officer, who was doing his best, in spite of the insufficient force placed at his disposal, to perform his duty, in the cruel and difficult position you sent him to fill, and who met his death in fighting against those who were the enemies of the British Protectorate in Bechuanaland! But the hon. Gentleman was not the only Member of the Government who gave the assurance to the House that a sufficient police force would be employed, for the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) said that if the freebooters from the Transvaal again attacked Montsioa and Mankoroane, they would come into contact with police established at the cost of the Imperial Government, who would, no doubt, give a good account of them. The Under Secretary takes credit for securing the co-operation of the Cape Colony by a policy of patience and perseverance; but what has this policy cost the Native Tribes, and British credit in South Africa? For the last three years we have been debating this question of the position of the tribes on the borders of the Transvaal. Negotiation had, up to this time, been the sole policy of Her Majesty's Government. We have had under the consideration of the House instances of cruelty, of robbery, of oppression against these tribes, to whom, like the Bechuanas, we have incurred direct obligations, or to whom, like the Zulus, we have responsibilities arising from other causes. Have these responsibilities or obligations yet been carried out? Even in February last, how much better was the position of the Bechuanas than now? It was only, I think, at the end of 1883 that this so-called Republic of Stellaland was established by the freebooters at the expense of Mankaroane; and if, when this matter was first brought before the House, Her Majesty's Government had acted with a reasonable amount of firmness, the establishment of that Republic might have been prevented. When Mr. Mackenzie went up he found a community of men, knowing themselves to be in the wrong, and determined to maintain their position, and not, if they could help it, to accept British authority, and in default of having any force at his disposal he could only try to make terms with them. But he found that Montsioa had defeated his enemies, the freebooters of Goshen, who were driven within the borders of the Transvaal. Fifty police, then, would have given a good account of these freebooters, for there were but 30 or 40 of them; but no sooner was it known that, although this British Protectorate had been established, some months were to elapse before the ratification of the Transvaal Convention, than there was a determined and united effort on the part of lawless persons of every nationality to make hay while the sun shone. What these freebooters of the Transvaal did they clearly did with the connivance of their Government, who even permitted gunpowder from the Government stores to be used by them, and whose Representatives in this country insisted that a period of six months should elapse before the Convention was ratified by the Volksraad. In the light of what has occurred, I look upon that delay with suspicion, and I think there was in this matter on the part of the Representatives of the Transvaal Government what amounts to something very like foul play. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had told them that the old anti-English feeling no longer existed.

Mr. GLADSTONE explained that he referred to the distinction between Anglican and Dutch feeling.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: At any rate, the time had come when Her Majesty's Government were not justified in trusting merely to the word of the Transvaal Government in this matter. They must act by themselves, and carry out their responsibilities. The Under Secretary had spoken of the sympathy of the Cape Government, who were acting in concert with Her Majesty's Government. I have no doubt whatever, from the information we have received from the Cape Colony, that the whole English opinion there is of one mind, and is excited and enthusiastic to a degree with reference to the policy to be pursued by the Government. I notice that a Resolution passed the other day, to a great extent through the advocacy of Mr. Mackenzie, at Cape Town, and elsewhere, was to the effect that any failure on the part of Her Majesty's Government to maintain its just rights under the Convention of London, entered into with the Transvaal Government, and to fulfil its obligations towards the Native Tribes under the Protectorate of England, would be fatal to its supremacy in South Africa. This feeling is not only entertained by the English portion of the Cape Colony, but also by the thinking and more respectable portion of the Dutch population. I think, therefore, that we have really the whole of the valuable Colonial opinion on our side, whether Dutch or English; but there is a very different opinion in regard to this matter, which the Government will do well to remember. Not long ago I read a quotation from an article in a newspaper which represents the Africander Party, and which advocated the removal of Montsioa because he would take advantage of the dispute between the Imperial Government and a portion of the Colonists, and would join with the people over the sea in preference to the people on his border, and added that it was important that this idea should be exterminated for ever. I would venture to say that it is a point of infinite importance for England and for our Empire, not only in South Africa, but throughout the world, that this idea should not be permitted to be exterminated. We must fulfil our responsibilities on this matter, by all means in concert with the Cape Government, if possible; but I think we shall not be able to fulfil them without some manifestation of Imperial power. These people have been taught a lesson which they must, sooner or later, unlearn. It may cost men and money to this country; but if it does, the responsibility will rest upon those who, for the last four years, have allowed these ignorant and uncivilized Boers to believe that they can flout the authority of this country in South Africa, and that if they are but firm in their opposition to our wishes they will be permitted to obtain their own way, and ultimately to drive us from that which is one of the most valuable Colonies of the Empire.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I should not have risen if the President of the Board of Trade, or some other Member of the Government, had desired to reply to the speech of the right hon. Baronet. Let me refer, in the first place, to the exceedingly awkward position in which the House finds itself, owing to the absence of the Papers which we were promised. If it is the fault of the printers, I do not think that it ought to be considered a sufficient excuse that the Factory Acts are the cause of the delay, for the printers might very well have sufficient hands to meet extra demands. The Papers presented this morning, and which, through the courtesy of my hon. Friend the Under Secretary, I saw yesterday, bring us up to this point—that Sir Hercules Robinson had stated to the Transvaal Government that Montsioa's territory was under British protection; that notwithstanding that he was attacked, and he was in very great danger; that Mr. Mackenzie had been sent up there, and was asking for reinforcements, but that he had not obtained them; that the Cape Government refused to give them; and that our own Government were, in some way or another, unable to give him what he required. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had stated that Mr. Mackenzie was expected by the Government to organize this police force, and I believe he also stated that the police were at his disposal. I cannot reconcile these statements with the information which I have myself received from Mr. Mackenzie, nor with a long letter from the Correspondent of *The Times*, the information in which was evidently received from Mr. Mackenzie. On the 19th of August last Mr. Mackenzie wrote a letter, of which the following is an extract:—

> "Poor, poor Montsioa! I am afraid he has had to give in. I sent him some ammunition, and was about to send some more with a few men to help him when I was called to Cape Town. I began with 10 policemen, and stipulations not to have more than 25 without special leave. My own journeys have been performed without protection of arms. At an early date I exposed, after personal inspection, the position of the Transvaal people at Rooi Grond and Montsioa. They had no foothold out of Trans-

> vaal. The Transvaal winked at their levying war on their own account. Two months ago I appealed to His Excellency on this subject, feeling sure that I was in no position to fight the Transvaal with a few policemen."

I understood my hon. Friend to say that it rested not so much with Mr. Mackenzie, as with Sir Hercules Robinson. On that point I cannot give any opinion without seeing the despatches; but I think that when the Government sent out Mr. Mackenzie they were bound to have taken care that he had a sufficient force of police with him in accordance with the statements of the Under Secretary and the President of the Board of Trade, that the Government would provide a sufficient force to keep order. I was glad to hear the testimony that the Under Secretary bore to Mr. Mackenzie's conduct and to his self-sacrifice. It is due to Mr. Mackenzie to state that he did not ask for this appointment—that it was given to him on the recommendation of Sir Hercules Robinson without any solicitation of his friends on his behalf. He was appointed because it was believed by Sir Hercules Robinson and by the Government that he was the man best suited for the post; and reading through the Papers I think it will be proved that Mr. Mackenzie acted with great discretion, great forbearance, and remarkable ability, and has shown a self-sacrifice which is rare in the manner in which he thought nothing of his own position, because the instant he felt he was considered by any person of authority not likely to succeed, at very great cost to himself and the sacrifice of his whole future, he resigned. This is the position of affairs at the point up to which we are brought by the Papers circulated to-day. We are to have further Papers. At present the Under Secretary says that the Government have nothing to answer, except in regard to this matter of the police. But we cannot now refer to what has happened since, because we have not the Papers. But there are questions which, I think, we have a right to ask, and, if not entirely answered by the despatches, should be answered by the Government. One question is—Why did Sir Hercules Robinson assent to the resignation of Mr. Mackenzie? Another is—What are the instructions that were sent to his successor? I understand that the Prime Minister intimates that it has been answered that Mr. Mackenzie's resignation was accepted because the Cape Government objected to him, and could not work with him; but it must be remembered that Mr. Mackenzie was employed for the fulfilment of a duty undertaken by the Home Government. The Convention he was to see fulfilled was not a Convention with the Cape Government. There was no mention of the Cape Government in it. It was an arrangement between Her Majesty's Government and the Transvaal Government, entailing obligations upon us towards the Natives. My hon. Friend the Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse), in his speech to-day, which I listened to with the greatest pleasure, owing to the knowledge he has of these questions, made one statement with which I cannot entirely agree—namely, that we had entered into a sort of partnership with the Cape Colony for the purpose of carrying out this matter. There may have been a correspondence between Her Majesty's Government and the Government of the Cape on the subject; but there was no mention of such a partnership in the Convention, nor have I seen any mention of it in the documents which have been laid upon the Table. The second question which I have to ask is—What were the instructions given to Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Bower when sent in the place of Mr. Mackenzie? Was Mr. Rhodes sent to represent a different policy from that which Mr. Mackenzie represented? Will the House allow me to give an expression of wonder at the change from one of those poor Natives? Mankoroane wrote a letter, dated September 4, of which I have a translation, which shows that it was a *bonâ fide* letter. He is immensely puzzled by these variations of policy, and the poor fellow writes in very great distress. He says—

> "I have been thinking, are there two Queens? I dismissed my agent. If I had known that the Queen had no power, I should not have put away my agent. But I cast him off through confidence that, as the Queen had received me, I was protected by a power not needing to be added to by agents. Now, here I am, shall my confidence leave me? I know not. For to-day I look round on every side, being alone. I know not where to look for my life."

If there is change of policy, I want to know what it is? No answer has been given to-day to a question, which I should like to repeat—namely, "What action was immediately taken by the Government upon hearing of the attack on the Natives under our protection?" Was anything done at once? I should have supposed that a telegram would have been at once sent to Sir Hercules Robinson, asking—"Is the statement true which appears in the newspapers? If so, demand reparation?"

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Which attack is the right hon. Gentleman referring to?

MR. W. E. FORSTER: One attack was made in June, upon which no action was taken; but I am now speaking of what took place on July 31 against Montsioa, which led to such sorrowful consequences to the Native Chiefs, and in which Mr. Bethell was killed, or, rather, murdered. Before information was received that this officer had been murdered in cold blood, the fact was known that there had been this attack upon those under our protection; and I want to know why the Government did not telegraph at once to Sir Hercules Robinson—"Is this true? If so, demand reparation instantly from the Transvaal Government, and take care that they induce those filibusters immediately to leave the territory." We have Sir Hercules Robinson's own statement in the despatches circulated to-day that this expedition was organized and planned in the Transvaal territory, and that the Proclamation against it was almost a sham. There are several other questions which, if I had time, I might ask; but what is of real importance is what the Government are now going to do. I am very glad that Sir Charles Warren is going out. I believe from his antecedents that he is the best man that could be sent. He showed great ability, vigour, and discretion in restoring order in Griqualand West, and is much respected both by the Natives and, I believe, by the Dutch farmers in that territory. I am also very glad to believe that the Government have now come to the conclusion that no man is of much use there unless he has some force behind him. We are not told what the actual force is which Sir Charles Warren will have at his disposal; but I am glad to trust from the rumours which have reached me that the force will be sufficient, and that power will be given to Sir Charles Warren to take out and enlist there as many police as may be necessary. If the Government are taking that course, they are taking the best course. But then there should be a knowledge that the police would be supported by Regular troops, though, I believe, a mounted police are better adapted for dealing with the filibusters than the Regular Army. Now, one word with regard to the possibility of Sir Charles Warren, when he goes out there, finding an arrangement between the Cape Government and the Government of the Transvaal which may seem to settle the matter. We should all rejoice if the Transvaal Government, finding out that we are in earnest, and the Cape Government also, finding out the feeling of every loyal man at the Cape, and especially the feeling of Englishmen, though the present Ministry obtained power by Africander support, would do their best to settle the matter. But the Government must not be sanguine that this is a real settlement; they will have to take care that it will not be simply another Convention. A force will be necessary in Bechuanaland to keep order, and it will be absolutely indispensable that some officer should go there to see that order is preserved. The Under Secretary—I do not know whether intentionally—seemed to dwell on the position of Montsioa as the one difficulty. That is not really the case. There is the so-called Republic of Stellaland, and it is a sad thing that such a condition of affairs should exist in a country under our protection. The Republic of Stellaland, acting, as they say, under our Protectorate, have imprisoned our Agents; and I must say I was surprised at the answer of the Under Secretary, who, when asked whether Mr. Wright had been taken prisoner, said that there was no occasion to take steps, because he was now free. But people who did such a thing to an Agent of our country ought to meet with some punishment. I do not say that from any feeling of revenge, but because, if people are allowed to do such acts with perfect impunity, you will never have an end of them. I could give details which would surprise the House of the atrocities already committed; and therefore I say that a mere settlement on paper saying we are restoring his land to Montsioa will not prevent the future being a mere repetition of the past, and will not at all meet our present difficulties. Unless you have something besides talk, unless you take some action, you will never have any peace and quietness there. One word more. I think this sad history gives us two or three lessons—first of all, a lesson of the necessity of firmness and consistency. I need hardly dwell upon that. Much allusion has been made to the Treaty of Majuba. I was in the Government which was responsible for that Treaty; but I never should have been responsible if I had not supposed that we should have guarded against the danger of that Treaty being violated, and that we should have given the Boers to understand that we made it, not from any fear of them, or on account of the difficulties of dealing with them, but because we thought it was right. They were quite sure to suppose that we made it out of neglect, indifference, or cowardice. We did not care what they thought of it so far as we were concerned; but it did matter to those for whom we were responsible, whether they had any reason to think so, and we should have taken care that there was after that Treaty a force sufficient to prevent a breach of it. Since that, I must confess that the way in which the first breaches of the Convention were received here was calculated to make the Transvaal Government believe they were able to do what they liked. Another lesson is that the penny wise and pound foolish policy is the most dangerous. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) is not here. He assumes the position of champion of the public purse, and is much concerned lest we should go to great expense in these matters; but of all the expensive courses which it is possible to take delay is the worst, for it will make the Boers think that we are afraid, or at any rate reluctant, to meet them. That is a course which is sure to entail upon us the greatest expenditure in the end. An hon. Friend of mine to-day asked me—"Are we to go to war?" Well, Sir, my reply was that it was impossible to overrate the amount of blood shed and of money lost by this policy of delay; and we have not seen the end of it. We must not be too sanguine as to what is happening at the Cape; and we must not suppose that we can shift our own responsibility upon the Colonists. Even the English Party there have hesitated in supporting us, because of the treatment which our Allies have met with, and the policy of vacillation that has been displayed. The English Colonists, in fact, have begun to fear to support us; and if matters had been allowed to go on as they were doing there would soon have been a time when it could be said that England had no friends at the Cape. Persons may think that it is from old associations I speak thus; that it is because the fathers or grandfathers of those people were slaves that I have a strong feeling about them. But I do not admit that because people are black and because their fathers were slaves we should not fulfil our promises to protect them. It is not, however, a question of black and white; the question is whether we are to keep this Colony or not? That is what it really does come to. Some have said—"Oh, let that Colony go; the Cape of Good Hope has been nothing but a trouble and nuisance to us since we have had to do with it." ["Hear, hear!"] Yes; hear, hear; but is that hon. Gentleman aware of the vast interests of this country in South Africa? I am glad to know that there are some £20,000,000 of English money invested there, for it will be to the interest of the bondholders to see that justice is done. There never was anything more clearly proved than that justice to the Natives—to those poor unfortunate Blacks—is bound up with the preservation of English interests and the security of the Colony. But supposing we did let the Colony go, and that we lost that trade route to the interior, there is yet another trade route to be considered, which has already been alluded to to-day, and that is the route to India and Australia. Is it to be supposed that we could keep St. Simon's Bay as a coaling station with the Cape Colony independent? We should find that it would not long be an independent Colony, for it is one which Germany would greatly like to have, as it is widely different to the pestilential places on the West Coast of Africa which are now receiving their attention. It is a Colony with which the German Government might gratify the Colonial aspirations of Germany. Do you suppose that Germany would allow us to keep St. Simon's Bay as a Gibraltar in German territory? No; if you mean to give up the general government of the Cape Colony you may make up your minds that you will have to go away altogether; and, after all, it would be better to go away voluntarily than to remain and neglect your duties until you are compelled to go. I wish to make only one other remark. The Under Secretary of State for the Colonies gave one of the grounds of defence of the Government policy of delay which was the most extraordinary I ever heard. It was that by our waiting, by our delay, and by our patience, we have at last brought matters to a state in which a strong feeling has been excited at the Cape, and that the consequence is that the people at the Cape are now supporting the Government. I wish the Members of the Government could read the speeches which are made in the Colony by those who are expected by my hon. Friend to support them. There is nothing which has been said upon any platform by hon. Gentlemen opposite that is more humiliating to the Government than the way in which these men at the Cape have expressed their feelings with regard to what they consider as desertion until now. What else are we to expect, if we are to submit to injustice and to allow our officers to be murdered and imprisoned, and if we are to allow the Queen's Government to be insulted and our Allies to be despoiled on the ground that if enough of that were done, then there would be a feeling evoked at the Cape in favour of us? I sincerely hope that no Under Secretary for the Colonies will ever again venture on such a defence of the policy of the Government.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: My right hon. Friend has only left me a few minutes in which to reply to his observations.

Mr. W. E. FORSTER: I offered to give way for you.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I am anxious on the part of the Government that the speeches which we have heard should not be without some reply; but ,in order to make that reply, I am compelled to compress what I have to say into the few remaining moments rather than that another day should be wasted on this subject. My right hon. Friend observed truly that both he and the country were most anxious to know what course the Government proposed to take at the present time, and I confess I think myself that the country will take a much greater interest in that than in the recrimination which has been addressed by one side of the House to the other. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) was unable to deprive himself on this occasion of the pleasure of making a Party speech, and he attacked the Government in the strongest possible terms, not for what they now proposed to do, but he attacked them for the past, and for the delay in the proceedings which we have now declared we are about to take. I listened to the right hon. Gentleman with great interest, and I confess I was astounded that, with his experience, he should imagine that the difficulties in South Africa could be so easily and so speedily settled as he now supposes. He said if only a short time ago we had sent out 50 police to the border of Bechuanaland all these dangers and difficulties and this expensive expedition would have been avoided. I should like to know whether, when the right hon. Gentleman occupied the position of Secretary for the Colonies, he would not have thought twice or thrice before sending 50 police anywhere, with a knowledge that in all probability it would bring about a general convulsion and perhaps a general war? The right hon. Gentleman absolutely ignored that which he knows, as well as I do, is the whole *crux* of this problem—namely, that we are dealing with a population four-fifths of which are of a different blood from ourselves, and that there is no possibility of a peaceful settlement in South Africa without such a sacrifice that we cannot contemplate imposing upon the British taxpayers, unless we have the cordial co-operation of the Cape Colony. I am surprised to hear responsible persons like the right hon. Gentleman and my hon. Friend the Member for Bath (Mr. Wodehouse) suggesting that we should put aside considerations addressed to us from the Cape, that we should ignore altogether the Africander sentiment, and try to deal with this thing exclusively from a British point of view, and that we should yield nothing whatever.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I utterly deny that I made any such statement.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I am quite satisfied to leave the argument to the appreciation of the House. I have not time to meet it now. I wish to traverse entirely the position taken up by my right hon. Friend behind me, and the right hon. Gentleman opposite, that we have suffered by delay. I deny that we have suffered by delay. I say that the situation now is totally different from what it was some time ago. It is absolutely different in this respect, that we can now go forward and maintain our just obligations with the certainty that we have the general assent of the Dutch population of the Cape, and that change has been in consequence entirely of the patience, the long-suffering, if you like, that we have shown. When I consider the great interests at stake, the tremendous consequences which might have followed from an opposite course, I am quite content to sit still under the taunts of my right hon. Friend and the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and I am quite sure that the public generally will justify the course we have taken.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL and Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND here rose together, and the SPEAKER called upon the latter.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND moved the adjournment of the debate.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he desired to point out that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) rose before the hon. Member for Wexford Borough to move the adjournment.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL wished to know whether moving the adjournment of the House would prevent an Amendment being moved?

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member for Wexford Borough rose, and was called on by name, but he gave way to the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). When the hon. Member rose the second time, he thought it right to call upon him again.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF said, he also wished to move the adjournment. His noble Friend intended to have moved the adjournment, in order that he might have an opportunity of moving his Amendment to-morrow.

MR. SPEAKER said, the adjournment could not be moved twice. It had been already moved by the hon. Member for Wexford Borough (Mr. William Redmond), and it was entirely optional with the latter to say whether he would give way to the noble Lord or to any other hon. Gentleman.

MR. GLADSTONE said, it would be for the general convenience of the House if the noble Lord would bring on his Amendment to-morrow.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL said, he would endeavour to do so.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. William Redmond,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

## *MOTIONS.*

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### INCOME TAX ADMINISTRATION AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. HUBBARD, Bill to amend the Administration of the Law of Income Tax, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. HUBBARD, Sir CHARLES FORSTER, Mr. EDWARD LEATHAM, and Mr. WHITLEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 20.]

### ACCESS TO MOUNTAINS (SCOTLAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. BRYCE, Bill to secure to the public the right of access to Mountains and Moorlands in Scotland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. BRYCE, Mr. BAXTER, Mr. WEBSTER, Mr. ARTHUR ELLIOT, and Mr. SAMUEL SMITH.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 21.]

### PLURALITIES BILL.

On Motion of Mr. ACLAND, Bill to amend the Law relating to Pluralities, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. ACLAND, Mr. EDWARD HOWARD, Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, and Lord EDWARD CAVENDISH.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 22.]

House adjourned at ten minutes before Six o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday,* 30*th October,* 1884.

MINUTES.] — NEW MEMBER SWORN — Charles Colman Rogers, esquire, *for* New Radnor Borough.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*— Factory Acts (Extension to Shops)* [23]; Ground Game Act (1880) Amendment * [24].

## QUESTIONS.

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### LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE NATIONAL GALLERY—THE BLENHEIM COLLECTION.

Mr. CUBITT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he has sanctioned the purchase, by the Trustees of the National Gallery, of a picture by Raphael for the very large sum of £70,000, and a picture by Vandyck for the sum of £17,000; and, if so, whether he can inform the House what steps were taken by the Trustees of the National Gallery and himself to ascertain the supposed value of these pictures; and, if he can lay upon the Table any Papers on the subject?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): In reply to the right hon. Gentleman, I have to say that this matter has not been treated as a Treasury question, but, as in the case of the purchase of the Ashburnham Manuscripts, as one that demanded the consideration of the Government generally. Her Majesty's Government have sanctioned the purchase by the National Gallery Trustees, for £87,500, of two pictures—the "Ansidei Madonna," by Raphael, and the Equestrian portrait of Charles I., by Vandyck, now in the Blenheim Collection. The agreement to purchase the pictures is subject to a Vote by the House for the amount being obtained in the Session of 1885, and the Vote will be asked for in the Supplementary Estimates introduced in February next. At the same time, full particulars of the grounds upon which the purchase was sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government will be given in a Parliamentary Paper.

### NORTHERN LIGHTHOUSE COMMISSIONERS—THE FAIR ISLE.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether the Board of Trade proposes, in consequence of the great development of the Fisheries, to take any steps for improving the lighting of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and particularly of the Fair Isle; and, whether the Trinity House authorities have yet arrived at any conclusion respecting the scheme submitted by the Northern Lighthouse Commissioners for improving the lighting of those islands; and, if not, when a Report may be expected?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The Board of Trade have no power to take the initiative in this matter. Advantage to the Fisheries standing alone would not be a justification for applying the Mercantile Marine Fund to lighting these Islands, as fishing boats do not contribute to that fund. I received yesterday a letter from the Trinity House authorities stating that they had not yet arrived at a conclusion respecting the comprehensive scheme submitted by the Commissioners of Northern Lighthouses; but that they had suggested to those Commissioners that, pending the settlement of wider questions, a rocket fog signal station on Fair Isle might be tried during the coming winter.

### NAVY—STATE OF THE NAVY.

Mr. GOURLEY asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, To be good enough to inform the House how many Ocean Armour-clad Cruisers are at present in commission, stating number, calibre, and description of guns, also coal endurance and speed of each ship; further, how many (if any) of this type are now being built, when they are likely to be finished, stating how they are likely to be armed, coal endurance and ocean-going (not measured mile smooth water) speed; also to state how many sea-going torpedo craft are in commission, how many are building, and whether any are sufficiently large and powerful for ocean fighting; and, further, to state if it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Royal Commission or Select Committee to inquire into the condition of the Navy?

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: The statement on the Navy, which, according to the undertaking given by the Prime Minister, will shortly be made on behalf of the Government, must embrace a more or less detailed reference to the numerous points raised in the Question of my hon. Friend; and I would ask him not to press for Returns in anticipation of the information which it will be the duty of the Admiralty to give to Parliament in a more convenient form.

Mr. GOURLEY: What about the latter part of the Question?

[No reply.]

## BOARD OF TRADE—THE SUGAR BOUNTIES—MR. RITCHIE AND MR. T. THORNHILL.

Mr. RITCHIE asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to No. 169 of the papers in the Blue Book, containing correspondence relating to Sugar Bounties, in which Mr. Giffen, an official of the Board of Trade, charges Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Thornhill, Members of this House, with having made "false statements;" whether he will state to the House the nature of such false statements and the date on which they were made; whether it is with his approval that a document making so grave a charge against Members of this House was inserted in an official Blue Book without any communication with the Members so charged; whether it is with his approval that a letter, No. 171, in the same Blue Book, from Sir T. H. Farrer to Mr. Ritchie, reflecting on Mr. Ritchie's conduct was inserted and the reply suppressed; whether he will call upon Mr. Giffen to withdraw and apologise for the charges referred to, and will cause the Blue Book to be withdrawn and another one issued with Mr. Giffen's letter, No. 169, omitted and apologised for, and Mr. Ritchie's reply to Sir T. H. Farrer's letter, No. 171, inserted; and, whether he will take steps to prevent in the future such an abuse of official documents?

Mr. T. THORNHILL: As I am included in the Question, I would like to say one or two words in explanation of the whole thing.

Mr. SPEAKER: I think it will be more convenient if the hon. Gentleman will follow after the right hon. Gentleman has made his reply.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: My attention has been called to No. 169 of the Papers in the Blue Book containing correspondence relating to the Sugar Bounties, in which certain Members of the House are charged with false statements. I may say that the publications of the Board of Trade are so voluminous and numerous that it is physically impossible for me to exercise a continuous personal and verbatim revision. In the present case, I was cognizant of the principal documents; but I left the arrangement for publication and the necessary covering letters to the care of the Chief of the Department. It was not with my approval or knowledge that the document complained of by the hon. Gentleman opposite was inserted, nor that the letter from the hon. Member in answer to No. 171 in the same Blue Book was omitted. I think that the hon. Member and the House have just ground of complaint on both points. I propose to remedy these errors as far as lies in my power by withdrawing the Blue Book and reissuing it, omitting the Letter No. 169, and inserting the reply, dated July 10, of the hon. Member to Letter No. 171, with the addition of a note to the effect that no rejoinder was made by the Department to that reply, because the subject in controversy had been fully discussed in this House in the debate on the 14th of July last. I beg further to read a letter written to me by Mr. Giffen, who has, I should add, been out of health, and suffering from a severe domestic calamity—

"Board of Trade, October 30, 1884.

"Dear Mr. Chamberlain,—With reference to the Question put by Mr. Ritchie as to the correspondence just issued, I have to express my regret that my covering letter to the Board of Trade, dated June 30 last (No. 169 in the printed correspondence), imputes false statements to Mr. Ritchie, M.P., and Mr. Thornhill, M.P., and I beg leave to withdraw the words, and to apologize for having used them. The letter was written hurriedly, with a view to the record of the letters which I had written to *The Times*, and which I thought it my duty to bring officially to your notice, and without any knowledge that it would form part of the Parliamentary correspondence. As you are aware, the admission of the letter into the printed correspondence also occurred through a regrettable inadvertence.—Yours sincerely, R. Giffen."

Sir Thomas H. Farrer also desires me to express his regret that the Papers were not more carefully revised before they were sent to Press. Under these circumstances, I trust the hon. Member will accept the apologies which it is my duty to tender to him, and will be satisfied with the steps I am taking to repair the errors which have been committed.

Mr. RITCHIE: Perhaps the House will allow me to say that I accept in the frankest manner the full and frank apology Mr. Giffen has made.

Mr. T. THORNHILL: I also am satisfied with the reply, and will say no more on the subject.

### STATE OF IRELAND—MEETING OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE AT NEW ROSS—ATTENDANCE OF THE POLICE.

MR. JOHN REDMOND asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, on the occasion of a meeting of the New Ross National League on Wednesday October 22nd, the hall and entrances to the town hall, where the meeting was held, were occupied by a force of the Royal Irish Constabulary; whether they were there in pursuance of instructions received; and, whether the Government have issued any general instructions to the police with reference to attendance at meetings of the National League?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): It is not correct to state that the Town Hall of New Ross and entrances to it were occupied by a force of the Royal Irish Constabulary on the occasion of a National League meeting, and no instructions to that effect were given. Two constables who happened to be on ordinary town duty occasionally stopped at the corner during their rounds, and an acting sergeant was for a short time in the outer hall, which is open to the public. The instructions to the police are not to attend indoor meetings of the National League without special orders.

MR. JOHN REDMOND: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman have any objection to give the sources of his information? It differs materially from mine.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The sources were official.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—APPOINTMENTS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he would have any objection to lay upon the Table a list of the names of gentlemen submitted to the Lord Lieutenant, in accordance with the suggestion of the late Chief Secretary, as fit and proper persons to act in the Commission of the Peace, and showing which (if any) of them have been in consequence appointed?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): It would be inexpedient to lay upon the Table a list of the names of the gentlemen submitted to the Lord Chancellor for appointment to the Commission of the Peace in accordance with the suggestion mentioned in the Question. It would lead to a discussion upon individual cases, unjust and misleading in the case of gentlemen not appointed. I may state, however, that a very considerable addition has been made to the Magistracy from names submitted in consequence of the suggestion of the late Chief Secretary.

### LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND)—RIGHT OF TURBARY—MR. R. H. DUNNE, OF BRITTAS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is a fact that Mr. Robert Henry Dunne, of Brittas, in the Queen's County, uncle and guardian of the Dunnes (minors), sat at Petty Sessions in July last, at Clonaslee, and adjudicated in a claim respecting turbary on the estate of the said minors; whether J. Kenny, tenant on the said estate, got a fair rent fixed in the Land Court, no mention being made of turbary; whether the said tenant has always been of right accustomed, and unchallenged, to cut turf on the bog adjoining his holding for at least thirty-five years; whether Mr. Dunne now denies the right of the said tenant to cut turf on the bog in question, and whether, sitting as magistrate at Petty Sessions, he gave judgment against Kenny respecting the said bog, telling him in Court that he (Kenny) had no claim to any portion of the bog except what he (Dunne) himself gave or might give him; and, whether, if upon inquiry the above allegations prove correct, he will bring the matter to the notice of the Lord Chancellor?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): It is the fact that J. Kenny got a fair rent fixed in the Land Court, no mention being made of the turbary. He paid a distinct rent for the bog. His right to cut turf is disputed. On the information before me it would appear that Mr. Dunne only adjudicated in a case in which one tenant named Davis sued Kenny, another tenant, for trespass on the bog of Davis, to which, in the opinion of the magistrate, Kenny had no legal claim.

### IRELAND — MOUNTMELLICK COURT-HOUSE—USE OF BUILDING FOR PARTY PURPOSES, &c.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If he is aware that the room in Mountmellick Court-house, which affords the only access to the gallery, is used for the purposes of freemasonry, and two freemasons' lodges having up to the present held their meetings in it; that it is furnished with the apparatus of the craft, and that boxes labelled with the name and number of the lodges are placed at the top of the stairs for the reception of the minor articles of the paraphernalia, while the curtains and flags of various colours are stowed, while not in actual use, in the cupboard; whether the court-house is not public property, and paid for out of the county cess; and, whether he will take steps to cause a discontinuance of a practice opposed to the feelings of the Catholic population of the Queen's County?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The statements of fact in the Question are substantially correct, so far as regards the past. But a new house has been built for the use of the Masonic Lodges, and all the Freemasonry property has been removed to it from the room in the Court-house. The Court-house is public property, and is paid for out of the county cess.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, in the Court-house there were two lodges held their meetings, and it was only one of these which he had understood to have been removed. Was he to understand that both of them had given up the Court-house?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): That is the information I have.

## THE GOVERNMENT AND THE NEWSPAPER PRESS—OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS.

MR. RAIKES asked the noble Lord the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he accepts the responsibility of a letter dated from 12, Downing Street, and signed C. J. Maude, which appeared in *The Morning Post* of Tuesday October 28th; whether he can state if the communication respecting a scheme of Redistribution under the consideration of the Government, which recently appeared in *The Standard* newspaper, was furnished to that journal in recognition of its having afforded "more or less" support to Her Majesty's Government; and, whether he will lay upon the Table a list of those newspapers which, in consequence of their giving "more or less" support to Her Majesty's Government are directly furnished with intelligence from Government Departments, as well as of those to which, in the absence of such support, that favour is not extended? Perhaps, in putting this Question, I may be allowed to ask in addition whether the note which appeared in to-day's *Daily News*, answering by anticipation a part of my Question before it was put in the House, was also inspired by the noble Lord?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: In reply to the right hon. Gentleman, I beg to say that the note which appeared in *The Daily News* this morning may have been inspired by me, but it was inspired quite unintentionally, and not with the least intention of its appearing in the newspapers this morning. I do not think, however, its appearance will be any detriment to the right hon. Gentleman. In reply to the Question which appears on the Paper, I have to say that the letter which appeared in *The Morning Post* of Tuesday, October 28, was written by my direction. With regard to the second paragraph of the Question, I beg to state that the communication referred to was not furnished to *The Standard* by any Member of Her Majesty's Government, and I must refer the right hon. Gentleman to the answer given by the Prime Minister on the 24th instant, in which it was stated that the Solicitor to the Treasury had been directed to investigate the means by which the Redistribution scheme was furnished to *The Standard.* I do not think it would be of advantage to the Public Service to lay on the Table such a list as the right hon. Gentleman refers to. In saying this, I am only following long-established custom pursued by successive Governments, without distinction of Party, in exercising discretion as to the newspapers to which communications of intelligence are made.

MR. RAIKES: I beg further to ask the noble Lord, arising out of his answer, whether he intends in future, in furnishing intelligence to the public Press, to adhere to the principle laid down in the letter of Mr. Maude, of which he accepts the responsibility?

**Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR**: Yes, Sir; I see no reason why there should be any departure from it.

**Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF**: I wish to ask the noble Lord whether, when he communicates pieces of information to the different Associations—namely, the Press Association and the Central News—it is the habit of the Government to prohibit those Associations furnishing this news to *The Morning Post*, which is a subscriber to one of the Associations?

**Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR**: I am not aware that the Government has any power to prohibit these Associations giving any news to any of their subscribers.

**Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF**: But my Question is, whether the Government, in communicating news to either of these Associations, lays down a condition that it shall not be supplied to *The Morning Post?* I have in my hand some correspondence which has passed between the Press Association and *The Morning Post* which points to the probability of that being the fact.

**Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR**: There are conditions made with the Associations. In those conditions *The Morning Post*, which seems to have many champions in this House, is certainly not specifically mentioned. They are only general conditions laid down for the convenience of the Public Service.

**Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**: I wish to ask the noble Lord whether he knows of any other newspapers in the Metropolis which are placed by the Government in the same category as *The Morning Post?*

**Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR**: There are general conditions laid down, and they may include several newspapers, but none are specifically mentioned.

**Mr. J. LOWTHER**: Will the noble Lord state what those conditions are?

**Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR**: I should like to ask the noble Lord, whether he is not aware that news is the stock-in-trade of newspapers, and that for the purpose of acquiring this stock-in-trade newspapers are in the habit of spending hundreds and sometimes thousands of pounds in a day; whether it does not follow, in the opinion of the noble Lord, that the Government, in supplying this stock-in-trade in the shape of news to newspapers, is making the supply of that news dependent on the tone of their editorials towards the Government, and is thereby giving a pecuniary consideration to the Press of the country in favour of supporting the existing Administration; and I would further ask whether he is aware that the distribution of advertisements to newspapers, which are the principal source of income to newspapers, is not also regulated—at least in Ireland—by the tone of the editorials of those newspapers?

[No reply.]

## BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—REALIZATION OF SECURITIES.

**Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR** asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether it is a fact that they have directed the Board of Works in Ireland to realise their securities in several cases in which the Board of Works are mortgagees; and, whether, within the last week, the Board of Works have been instructed to take possession of the Southern Railway, between Thurles and Clonmel, for the purpose of sale?

**Mr. COURTNEY**: The Treasury and the Board of Works are endeavouring by all legitimate means to reduce the arrears due on the loans now out to the public. With regard to the Southern Railway, between Thurles and Clonmel, the Board of Works are taking possession with the intention of improving the security in the interests of all parties concerned. There is no fear that the line will be closed.

## EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—THE MARINES AT SUAKIN.

**General ALEXANDER** asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether a promise was given that the Marines stationed at Suakin should be relieved every three months; and, if so, whether such promise has been kept?

**Sir THOMAS BRASSEY**, in reply, said, that he understood no promise was given that the Marines stationed at Suakin would be relieved every three months; but the detachment was re-relieved from the port of Suez as often as the exigencies of the Public Service would permit.

### NAVY—ARMAMENT OF SHIPS OF WAR —THE "CONQUEROR" AND THE "COLOSSUS."

**MR. W. H. SMITH** asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, If he can inform the House whether the breech-piece of the 43-ton gun for the *Conqueror* and *Colossus* has yet been finally approved for service; and, also, whether the loading arrangements for that gun have been settled, and the mechanism required ordered to be made; and, within what time the guns and loading gear for those ships will be ready for use, and the ships complete for commission?

**SIR THOMAS BRASSEY**: The breech-piece or breech-screw was approved as part of the original design for the 43-ton gun. But a change of the obturator has been recommended by the War Office, and has rendered necessary a modification of this mechanism, which is expected to be ready for the *Conqueror* and *Colossus* in three months. The loading arrangements for the *Conqueror* are nearly finished, and those for the *Colossus* are ordered, and expected from the manufacturers in two months. The guns and gear will, it is hoped, be ready for the *Conqueror* within one month of delivery of the breech mechanism, and for the *Colossus* within two months of delivery of all work ordered from the manufacturers. Should these anticipasions be fulfilled, the armament for the *Conqueror* should be ready in four months, and for the *Colossus* in five months from the present time.

### PORTUGAL—THE "CITY OF MECCA."

**MR. ANDERSON** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has yet given up hope of inducing the Portuguese Government either to redress the wrong done to British subjects by the Portuguese Courts in the *City of Mecca* collision case, or to consent to an International arbitration; and if Her Majesty's Government contemplate asking Parliament to grant compensation for the wrongs they have failed to get redressed, or if they intend to leave British subjects to bear those wrongs entirely without remedy?

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: Her Majesty's Government are still in communication with the Law Officers, whose reply is expected immediately; but until it is received I cannot answer the other points raised by my hon. Friend's Question.

### PARLIAMENT—PUBLIC BUSINESS—SCOTCH BILLS.

**SIR JOHN HAY** asked the Lord Advocate, If it is the intention of the Home Office to introduce the Secretary of State for Scotland Bill and the Burgh Police and Improvement Bill, which were dropped by Her Majesty's Government last Session after prolonged discussion?

**THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR)**: The intention is to introduce the Bills mentioned when the Government is in a position to resume the ordinary course of legislation.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

**MR. HEALY** asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, What is the present position of Mr. George Bolton; is he in receipt of a salary from the Crown; and, what are the intentions of the Government respecting him?

**THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER)**, in reply, said, the question was of considerable importance, and it was desirable that the opinion of the Chief Secretary should be obtained. The papers were now before him, and he would state the intentions of the Government on his return to the House.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—PROCEDURE IN CRIMINAL TRIALS—ISSUE OF CROWN BRIEFS TO PRISONERS' COUNSEL.

**MR. HEALY** asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Has it been the practice, regularly, occasionally, or ever, to give prisoners' counsel copies of printed Crown briefs; if so, why was this not done in the Maamtrasna case; was the Judge provided with a copy, or with copies of the depositions; and, who is responsible for withholding the dying declarations of Michael and Patrick Joyce from the defence?

**THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER)**: It is not the practice to give prisoners' counsel copies of printed Crown briefs. When depositions are printed and the prisoner's counsel or attorney applies for them it is usual to give them. No such application was made in the Maamtrasna case. The Judge was provided with copies of the depositions. The third paragraph implies a charge which I entirely repudiate. The prosecuting counsel had the conduct of the case, and bear all the responsibility connected with it.

Mr. HEALY: The hon. and learned Gentleman has not answered my Question. I asked if it had been the practice regularly, occasionally, or ever, to give prisoners copies of printed Crown briefs; and I also wish to know whether in this case a copy was supplied to the Judge?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): It has not been the practice regularly. I cannot say that the practice has ever been departed from.

Mr. HEALY: Can the hon. and learned Gentleman say yes or no to the question, did the Judge get a copy of the printed Crown brief?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Yes, he did, I believe.

### ARMY—ROYAL ENGINEER DEPARTMENT.

Mr. GORST asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the appointments of civilian foremen of works and surveyor's clerkships in the Royal Engineer Department are withheld from discharged non-commissioned officers, Royal Engineers, who have held similar appointments prior to their discharge; and, if so, whether he can see his way to cancel an order which prohibits deserving discharged soldiers from obtaining these appointments on their leaving the Army?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Regulations have been recently issued (General Order 110, July, 1884), of general application, under which non-commissioned officers or soldiers who have been discharged to pension may, within certain limits of age, be re-enlisted for further Army service; but the whole principle of modern rules is that the same man cannot be in receipt at the same time of pay as an effective and of pension as a non-effective. To this rule it is not possible to make an exception in the case of the non-commissioned officers referred to in the Question; but employment is open to them on the conditions stated in the event of their services being required.

### EGYPT (WAR IN THE SOUDAN)—ABYSSINIA—ADMIRAL HEWETT'S MISSION.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the Military support from Abyssinia, to obtain which Admiral Hewett's mission was despatched to King John, has yet been supplied to the besieged Egyptian garrisons; and, if not, whether it has yet been arranged when our Abyssinian Allies will invade the Soudan?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The conduct of the evacuation of the garrisons referred to has been intrusted by the Egyptian Government to Mason Bey, and Captain Speedy has been appointed by Her Majesty's Government to advise the Abyssinians in carrying out the Treaty of June 3. There is no question in that Treaty of an invasion of the Soudan by Abyssinia. By the Third Article of the Treaty the King of Abyssinia engages to facilitate the withdrawal of the Egyptian troops through his territory to Massowah.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: Are the garrisons being relieved now through Abyssinia?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Arrangements are being made by Mason Bey and Captain Speedy with that object.

### FRANCE AND CHINA—HOSTILITIES—FRENCH BLOCKADE OF FORMOSA.

Mr. WARTON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he could state what is the length of the coast line and what is the number of ports in Chinese territory blockaded by the French Admiral; what is the number of ships under his command; and, what steps, if any, did the Government take to ascertain whether the blockade is in fact effective?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I am informed at the Admiralty that the length of coast line blockaded in the Island of Formosa is 340 miles. There are six ports on this coast. Her Majesty's Government understand that the French Admiral has a considerable force under his command, but I am not able to state the exact number of ships. Her Majesty's Government are in constant communication with their Representatives—Naval, Consular, and Diplomatic

—on the spot; but they have not received any information from them casting doubt on the blockade being effective.

### ARMY—SMALL ARMS—SUPPLY OF RIFLES FOR THE ARMY.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether an improved rifle has been adopted for the Regular Forces; and, if so, when a distribution of Martini-Henry rifles amongst the Volunteers may be expected?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON, in reply, said, that a final decision upon the subject could only be arrived at when the Estimates to be submitted to Parliament were settled, and these were now under consideration.

Mr. TOMLINSON said, he was not sure whether the reply of the noble Marquess referred to the first or the second part of the Question.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that the question of the distribution of rifles to the Volunteer Force could only be settled in connection with the question of the manufacture of rifles for the Reserve, which would be considerably depleted by that measure.

### ARMY—VOLUNTEER OFFICERS—TRAVELLING EXPENSES.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in preparing the Army Estimates for next year, he will make provision for the travelling expenses of those Volunteer officers who tender themselves for examination in tactics, and are consequently required to attend at the head quarters of the district for the purpose of undergoing the examination?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The examination is altogether optional, though, if passed, it secures a special capitation rate to the corps. Under these circumstances, I do not contemplate any change in the Regulation which requires the officer to pay his own travelling expenses. Under the present Rules, an officer belonging to a corps distant from the ordinary place of examination may have his examination at another station, if there be one more conveniently situated.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES)—DETENTION OF PRISONERS AT CHESTER.

Mr. TATTON EGERTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What steps he will take to prevent the recurrence of the circumstances by which, after the last train to Knutsford had left, two men and a woman and child, prisoners in charge of warders, were left at Chester on Friday 17th, and were, failing proper accommodation, put into unused unwarmed cells, without bedding or any convenience; what steps he will take, both for the proper security of prisoners conveyed daily by ordinary trains during quarter sessions and assizes between Knutsford and Chester, and for the comfort and protection of witnesses and the public who have to travel by these trains; whether he is aware that large gangs of prisoners, both untried and convicted, are paraded in the ordinary trains and in the streets of both towns; and, whether representations were made to him of the inconvenience likely to arise from the closing of Chester Gaol?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that the hon. Member had been misinformed as to the facts in that matter. The prisoners in question were detained in Chester owing to a late sitting of the Court of Quarter Sessions. They were comfortably lodged for the night in the civil prison, where they had every accommodation and convenience. The Governor stated that the prisoners were very comfortable; their cells were not cold, each of them was supplied with two pillows, two blankets, and three rugs. In future, as in that case, every attention would be paid when it was necessary, in rare cases, to keep the prisoners in Chester. With regard to the latter part of the Question, he could assure the hon. Member that the arrangements at Chester were the same as those always made in all the towns in the Kingdom where Quarter Sessions were held.

### POST OFFICE—PURCHASE OF TELEPHONES.

Mr. KENNY asked the Postmaster General, If it is a fact that a proposition has been made to Government to buy up the telephone interests of the United Telephone Company and its affiliated Companies at the sum of £2,000,000; is it true that, as stated in *The Electrician* of 25th October 1884 (p. 525), the Postmaster General has recently given a large order for Gower Bell telephones to the United Telephone Company, and is it true that the price to be paid by Government for these instruments is more than ten times the actual cost; is it true that a Law Officer of the Crown has given an opinion (advertised in *The Times* and other morning papers of 28th October) that there is a telephone which does not infringe the patents of the United Telephone Company; and, if so, whether, in the face of this opinion, the Postmaster General approves of paying such exorbitant prices to the United Telephone Company for the instruments he requires for the public service?

Mr. FAWCETT: In reply to the hon. Member, I beg to say that no such proposition as that suggested for the purchase of the telephone interest of the United Telephone Company and its affiliated Companies has been made to me. An order for 250 Gower Bell telephones was given to the United Telephone Company on the 25th of May last; but the price to be paid is not 10 times, nor anything like 10 times, the actual cost. I should have been very glad if I could have got them cheaper than the price paid. The opinion of the Solicitor General, published in the papers, was not given in his official capacity as Law Adviser to the Government, and until I read it yesterday in the advertisements referred to I was not aware of it. This being so, I am unable at present to say what course it will be desirable to adopt with regard to the future purchase of telephones for the use of the Department.

## NAVY—THE NORTH SEA FISHERIES.

Mr. BIRKBECK asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether he is aware that, since the commencement of September last, serious complaints have been made on behalf of the fishing interest of the East Coast of England, to the Admiralty authorities, on account of the insufficient protection given to the English drift net fisheries in the North Sea, whereby most serious losses have been incurred, from the destruction and loss of nets, &c. by Foreign trawlers; whether his attention has been called to a paragraph, in *The Daily News* of Tuesday last, under the head of Lowestoft, to the following effect:—

> "Very great destruction of nets took place during the night, caused by Foreign trawlers towing their trawls through the fleet of herring nets. Eight boats report having sustained considerable damage by these trawlers, who take advantage of the absence of Government cruisers, so necessary during this time of the year, and in the most wilful manner destroy hundreds of pounds' worth of gear during the year. A very strong feeling exists on the subject among the fishermen;"

and, whether, taking into consideration the fact that considerably over 1,000 sail of English vessels are at the present time engaged in the drift net fisheries betweeen the "Outer Dowsing" and "Galloper" Light Vessels; that the North Sea Fisheries Convention, as far as England is concerned, is becoming a dead letter from want of sufficient cruisers to enforce its provisions; and that both owners and fishermen are daily incurring heavy losses on account of Foreign depredations, he will forthwith order an adequate number of cruisers to be stationed on the grounds, and that the commanders of the vessels in question be instructed to call at the principal fishing ports for information from the Board of Trade and Custom House Authorities as to the latest reports of depredations? Before putting this Question I desire, with the permission of the House, to read two telegrams which I have received. One, which arrived last night, says—

> "The outrages by Foreign trawlers to our fishermen have been, these last few nights, something fearful. Boats constantly arrive with great damage to the gear cut away—damage amounting to many thousand pounds. Trade paralysed. If these outrages by Foreign fishermen continue, fishing this season will be entirely ruined. Surely Government can find some means of protecting this great industry."

That morning he received another telegram as follows:—

> "Further arrival of our vessels with great loss of gear caused by Foreign trawlers. Have every reason to believe one Belgian trawler of Ostend has done £500 worth of damage alone. Some fishermen laying their vessels up, having lost all their gear."

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: I am informed by the Admiral Superintendent of Naval Reserves that the cruisers detached for the protection of the Fisheries have been actively employed on that duty. Rear Admiral Douglas and Mr. Malan, of the Board of Trade, are specially engaged in drawing up a Report on the Fisheries, which will enable the Admiralty to determine what number of vessels may be permanently required for the protection of the Fisheries. In the meanwhile, two gunboats, the *Sea*

*Mew* and *Cherub*, have been ordered on this service, in addition to the two cruisers already on the station.

## FLOATING DRINK-SHOPS (NORTH SEA)—THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE.

MR. BIRKBECK asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the invitations for the International Conference at the Hague, relative to the floating drink-shops in the North Sea, have been issued by the Netherlands Government; and, if not, what has been the cause of the delay?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The Netherlands Government suggested that the Conference referred to by the hon. Member should meet this month; but the German Government asked that the meeting should be put off until the case of the *Diedrich* had been fully investigated, and the proceedings which it might be in the power of Her Majesty's Government to take against the British fishermen concerned in the attack on that vessel had been concluded. Under these circumstances, it is probable that the Conference will not meet before next spring.

## WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF GRENADA—IMMIGRATION.

MR. DEASY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, in view of the fact that immigration to the Island of Grenada has almost ceased, the Government will recommend the Local Government of Grenada that the Immigration Department, now uselessly maintained at a large annual cost, be abolished; if it is a fact that the Excise Duties were increased some years ago for the purpose of establishing a Grammar School; and, whether such a School has been established?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: A small number of immigrants had been applied for this year, and are now on their way to Grenada. The Royal Commissioners have recommended that ample provision be made for the continuance of immigration. Until it is decided whether the system is to continue, the Immigration Department, the cost of which is about £700 a year, cannot be abolished. The Excise Duty was increased to provide for the salary of the Lieutenant Governor, which had, up to that time, been paid by the Imperial Treasury, and to make up for general deficiency of revenue; but this increase was in no way connected with a proposal to establish a grammar school. Such a school had not yet been established.

## THE WEST INDIES—CONFEDERATION OF THE WINDWARD ISLANDS.

MR. DEASY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether the recommendation of the Royal Commissioners, dated April 1884, with regard to the Confederation of the Windward Islands, will be carried out; and, whether it is a fact that Sir William Robinson, Governor of the Windward Islands, in contravention of the forty-eighth article of the Royal Instructions, has become the purchaser of a tract of land in the Island of Grenada known as "Mardi Gras?"

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No decision has yet been arrived at as to the confederation of the Windward Islands. No information that Sir William Robinson has purchased an estate in Grenada has reached the Colonial Office; but I may point out that the 48th Article of the Instructions referred to relates only to Crown lands, and Mardi Gras does not appear to be Crown land.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CRIME DEPARTMENT OF DUBLIN—MR. S. L. ANDERSON.

MR. O'BRIEN asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, How many and what offices Mr. Samuel Lee Anderson filled prior to his late removal from his offices in Dublin, and at what salaries his different employments were held; for what reasons he was deprived of his position in connection with the Crime Department at Dublin Castle, and of his position as acting Crown Solicitor at Green Street; whether he is to receive any compensation for the deprivation of these emoluments, or any increase of salary for the offices he still retains as Crown Solicitor for two counties; and, for what reasons he has been knighted?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Sir Samuel Anderson held the offices of Crown Solicitor for Waterford and Kilkenny, and, in addition, he was employed in the Crimes Department of the Chief Secretary's Office at a salary of £500 a-year. Upon the recent retirement of his father he ceased to render any assistance at Green Street, and his employment in the

Crimes Office was terminated upon the reorganization of that office. He has received no compensation for deprivation of emoluments, and no increase of salary. He was knighted in recognition of long and able services to the State.

Mr. HEALY asked how it came to pass that a barrister could act as Crown Solicitor, as in this case?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, he saw nothing illegal in the fact. It had occurred in several instances.

Mr. HEALY gave Notice that on Monday he would ask, Under what circumstances a barrister had come to be appointed as Crown Solicitor for Waterford and Kilkenny; and if the practice was to be extended?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, that Sir Samuel Anderson was not a barrister when he was appointed. He had been called to the Bar since then.

### NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—HAND-DRILLERS AT PORTSMOUTH.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Board has received a Memorial from the hand-drillers in Portsmouth Dockyard; and, whether any decision has been arrived at in regard to their prayer?

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: No Memorial has been received at the Admiralty from hand-drillers in Portsmouth Dockyard.

### LIGHTHOUSES—TORY ISLAND.

Mr. LEA asked the President of the Board of Trade, If the great difficulty of communicating with Tory Island after the recent disaster to the *Wasp* has proved the necessity of at once establishing telegraphic communications with the lighthouse on that Island?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, in reply, said, that Tory Island had upwards of 300 inhabitants, and was nearly 800 acres in extent. The question of telegraphic communication was one rather for the consideration of the Postmaster General than for the Lighthouse Authorities.

### LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART—THE NATIONAL GALLERY.

Mr. COOPE asked the First Commissioner of Works, What progress is being made in the buildings for the proposed extension of the National Gallery; and, whether the Government is prepared to take any, and, if so, what, steps in order to give further facilities for the admission of the public, and especially on week-day evenings?

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE: The new buildings of the National Gallery are making satisfactory progress, and are being pushed on as rapidly as possible. I hope they will be complete within the time originally named. With regard to the opening of the Galleries at night, the matter is not under my control. The responsibility rests in the Trustees of the National Gallery; and, as I stated last year, the Trustees, having regard to the preservation of the pictures, are not in favour of lighting the Gallery at night.

Mr. COOPE: In consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply to the latter part of my Question, I beg to give Notice that on the earliest opportunity I shall move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, every facility should be afforded to the public for visiting the great National Collections of the British Museum and the National Gallery, and that it is expedient that steps be taken without delay to give admission to the public on at least three week-day evenings in each week till 10 o'clock."

### CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—THE CORNWALL TRIAL.

Mr. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If it is the fact that none of the jurors who came up to be sworn in the conspiracy case of the Queen against G. C. Cornwall (late Secretary to the General Post Office, Dublin), and Martin Oranmore Kirwan (late Captain, Galway Militia), were challenged or directed to stand aside by the Crown; and, whether the Crown will pursue a similar course in the cases of Mr. P. M. Fitzgerald and the Tubbercurry prisoners?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): The Question only appeared on the Paper to-day, and I am unable to ascertain what course was taken by the Crown in the cases referred to. But whatever course may have been taken in the case of Cornwall and Kirwan, the case of P. M. Fitzgerald and the Tubbercurry prisoners must be judged of when it arises, and I cannot anticipate what course the Crown will take then.

MR. SEXTON gave Notice that, to-morrow, he would repeat the Question, and if the answer was not satisfactory he would move the insertion of words in the Address assuring Her Majesty that it was highly desirable, in the interests of public justice, that the Criminal Law in Ireland should be administered with more impartiality between all classes of the people.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (ENGLAND AND WALES) — TRIAL OF NORTH WALES PRISONERS.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the dissatisfaction of the people of North Wales, as expressed in the local newspapers, with the arrangement according to which prisoners admitted to bail, as well as those actually in custody, are now liable to be sent for trial to Chester; and, whether he will take such steps as may be necessary for the trial of North Wales prisoners in North Wales?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he had had no special Notice of that matter. The arrangements with reference to the Circuits were made by the Lord Chancellor, in consultation with the Judges. He understood that the arrangements that had been made were more or less of an experimental character. He dared say that dissatisfaction was caused in North Wales or elsewhere, because, where there was what was called an Associate Assize, that was a combination of places for which Assizes were to be held, all the places where they were not held were dissatisfied. But it was necessary that that dissatisfaction should be endured, on account of the public convenience of the combination.

## EGYPT—QUARANTINE.

MR. PUGH asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the fact that formerly through passengers between England and India, though coming from an infected port, were passed through Egypt by the Egyptian Railway, under certain special quarantine regulations, but without any delay; when the course of detaining such passengers in Egypt was first adopted; whether any evil resulted from the former plan, or whether any better result has been obtained by detaining such passengers in Egypt, as at present; and, whether there is any, and what, prospect of the through passenger traffic from England, viâ Brindisi, being again carried by the Egyptian Railway without delay?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I regret that I am unable to answer this Question without referring to Sir Evelyn Baring. A despatch on this point will be addressed to him by to-morrow's mail, and when his reply is received a communication will be made to the hon. Member.

## NAVY—THE CHINA SEA SQUADRON.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether it is the intention of the Government to strengthen our Naval Forces in the China Seas?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: I am not prepared to state what are the intentions of the Government with regard to strengthening our Squadron in the China Seas. I may, however, say that the *Agamemnon*, which is already commissioned, has been ordered to China.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: My Question is one of some importance to the country, and I should like to have an answer from the Prime Minister.

MR. GLADSTONE: The hon. and gallant Baronet asks me a Question relating to a matter which is arranged betwen the Foreign Office and the Admiralty. My Office affords me a sufficient quantity of occupation; and I am not indisposed to ask my hon. Friends who represent other Departments in this House to answer Departmental Questions.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Then I beg to address the Question to the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I communicated with the Admiralty on this subject, because the Question appeared to me to be one in connection with it. I think that if any hon. Member will look at the Question he will see that it is so. I am, however, quite willing to give the hon. and gallant Member any information in my power to-morrow, with the permission of the Secretary of State.

Mr. GORST asked whether there was any truth in the statement which had appeared in the newspapers that the *Agamemnon* could not steer, and must undergo extensive alterations before going to sea?

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: If my hon. and learned Friend will give Notice of the Question, I will answer it. The Question relates to the Professional Department of the Admiralty.

### SCOTLAND—CROFTERS AND COTTARS IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS —LAND LAW REFORM.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the serious and increasing agitation in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, upon the question of the amelioration of the condition of the Crofters and Cottars; and, if he is prepared to make a statement as to when Her Majesty's Government propose to legislate upon the question?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: My attention has been called to the serious agitation in the Highlands and Islands, and I regret to learn that acts of disobedience to the law have occurred there, and are threatened. I am sure that the hon. Member will agree with me that those who counsel and encourage such acts are the worst friends of the crofters, and are not promoting their interests. I think it necessary to say, in the present state of things, that conduct of this kind cannot be tolerated; and it must be known that it is the duty of the Local Authorities, with the entire support of the Executive Government, to take such measures as may be necessary to enforce the law and maintain order. That is my answer to the first part of the Question, with reference to serious agitation. As regards the second part, I can tell the hon. Member, who is aware, that the whole of this subject is engaging the careful and anxious attention of the Government; but it is quite impossible for me at this moment to make any statement with reference to legislation on this subject.

Mr. MACFARLANE: The right hon. and learned Gentleman will remember that last year—["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: If the hon. Member wishes to put a Question, he can do so.

Mr. MACFARLANE: I beg to ask the Prime Minister, whether it is within his recollection that a printed anonymous Circular, recommending illegal acts, came into my possession, and was passed on by me to the Government, with a desire that they should take steps for their suppression? That disposes of the question as far as I am concerned. With regard to the answer of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, he says that the subject is engaging the attention of the Government; but some months ago I received the same answer, and it was to allay this agitation that I put my Question.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Member can hardly expect that I should state what legislation is contemplated on the subject, nor can he expect that at this moment I should be able to state when it will be brought forward. He knows what the present state of things is with reference to Public Business, and any statement of the kind on my part would be illusory.

Mr. O'BRIEN: May I ask whether there is any intention of employing Mr. Clifford Lloyd in the Highlands?

### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)— THE RELIEF OF KHARTOUM.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in view of the disclosures contained in the recently-published blue books that food and ammunition are now failing at Khartoum, orders will be given to Lord Wolseley to advance with all speed for the relief of General Gordon at Khartoum?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Full instructions have been given to General Lord Wolseley as to the purpose of his mission; and we, having perfect confidence in his ability and skill, are very unwilling to interfere or to limit his discretion by giving him directions which might be inopportune; but preparations are actively being carried on for the purpose of enabling an advance to be made.

### THE MINISTRY—PERSONAL OPINIONS OF MEMBERS NOT IN THE CABINET—MR. COURTNEY AND SOUTH AFRICA.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I wish to be allowed to ask a Question of which I have given the Prime Minister private Notice. My Question is, Whether the statement made by the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies yesterday, that the views of his Colleague the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), with regard to South Africa, were held only by himself among Ministers, was made on the authority of the Cabinet?

MR. GLADSTONE: There was no previous communication between my hon. Friend the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and myself upon that subject. I understood my hon. Friend to give his own opinion as to the particular views entertained by my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury on a particular subject. But with regard to the general question of repudiation of the opinion of Colleagues, I must say that my understanding has always been with regard to Members of the Government, not in the Cabinet, that their responsibility for particular measures began when they were called upon to take part in Parliament in respect to the proposals upon them outside the particular limits of their own duty.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS—THE RIOT AT ASTON HALL, BIRMINGHAM—PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. NEWDEGATE: I am about to throw myself upon the indulgence of the House. I was betrayed into a statement with respect to an individual which involved a criminal charge. I will state the words I used. They were—

> "I would merely say that I am informed that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was not present at the Aston riots; that Mr. Schnadhorst was not present, but that the leaders of the riots were from South Staffordshire, and were led by Mr. Tangye."

Obviously the charge of leading such a riot as that involves a criminal charge. I have received the following letter from Mr. Tangye, which, with the permission of the House, I will read:—

> "Gilberstone, Bickenhill, near Birmingham,
> October 28, 1884.
>
> "Dear Sir,—You were good enough to mention my name in the House last night. Allow me to inform you that whoever gave you your information about me, gave you false information, a course of proceeding not unusual with Birmingham (and other) Tories.—I am, yours truly, RICHARD TANGYE, London.
>
> "C. N. NEWDEGATE, Esq."

I beg to thank the House for having allowed me to read this letter, and to state that, though inaccurate, my information did not come exclusively from Birmingham Tories.

## NOTICES OF MOTIONS AND ORDERS OF THE DAY—IRISH INDUSTRIES.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT said, he observed a Notice of Motion on the Paper by which the Government were to have precedence over Orders of the Day and Notices of Motions for the different stages of the Representation of the People Bill. He had a Motion down for Tuesday next, which was of very great interest to the people of Ireland, and in regard to which he might say he had, he believed, the unanimous support of the Irish Members, in addition to having the whole Irish Press, and, he believed, the whole Irish people. That Motion asked for a Select Committee to inquire into the condition of Irish Industries. His object was merely to have the Committee appointed this Session, in order that next Session their labours might commence. He would ask the Prime Minister, whether he had not heard him say that where the wishes of any people were almost unanimous, and did not conflict with any Constitutional principle, he thought the wishes of that people ought to be considered? In deference to the right hon. Gentleman's own judgment——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is not entitled to enter into debatable matter.

SIR EARDLEY WILMOT: The Question is a long one, and I must apologize. I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he can give me any facility to bring forward my Motion?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was not prepared to say—and he thought he should be departing from the distinct engagements under which they lay to the House if he were to say—that in reference to to a day for a particular Motion they would consent not to ask the precedence which they intended to ask for the stages of the Representation of the People Bill. No doubt, the Motion touched a subject of great importance. But there were many other subjects of great importance in respect of which a similar request might be made. What he suggested to the hon. Baronet was that he thought this question might very well stand over until they had disposed in that House of the stages of the

Representation of the People Bill. The hon. Baronet had stated that he did not look for making practical progress this Session by the sitting of the Committtee; and he could not suppose it improbable that after the stages of the Representation of the People Bill had been disposed of the hon. Baronet might find an opportunity for moving his Motion, or for putting to him a Question, which he should not then find the same difficulty in answering.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT: I beg to withdraw my Notice of Motion, and give Notice that I will bring it on in Committee of Supply.

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### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg leave to move that the consideration of the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill be postponed until to-morrow.

Motion *agreed to.*

### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked, On what day the Government proposed to move the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I cannot say when the debate on the Address will close, and I am unwilling to surrender any chance, subject to the engagement I have made, as to the time for bringing on the Motion.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

——o——

### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SIXTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [23rd October,] "That, &c."—[See page 69.]

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

### AMENDMENT (LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL)—THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF TRADE.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, in rising to move the following Amendment to the Address:—

"And humbly to assure Her Majesty that this House regrets to find in recent speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an incitement to interference with the freedom of political discussion, and a justification of riot and disorder,"

said: Perhaps the House will allow me to express my thanks to the hon. Member for Wexford (Mr. W. Redmond) for his courtesy in kindly allowing me to bring forward this Motion. Such courtesies are not so very common among Members of Parliament, and when they occur they merit the warmest acknowledgment. I saw in one of the newspapers this morning one of those extraordinary paragraphs which always profess to know beforehand exactly what every Member of the Government is going to say on every important matter, to the effect that the Prime Minister intended to take the earliest opportunity of protesting in the most emphatic manner against the conduct of a Minister of the Crown being impugned on the occasion of the debate on the Address. I do not know whether that is so or not; I should think it was not so, because I believe the House will admit that if any charge is to be brought against a Minister of the Crown, particularly one of the first rank, the debate on the Address is the most Constitutional method that can be selected for bringing it forward. My apologies for bringing this matter before the House are these. In the first place, the riots at Aston excited an enormous amount of public attention, almost more attention than any other event since Parliament rose. I am only talking of the excitement as shown by the fact that this riot was discussed and commented on throughout the whole of the Press of the country, for several days, and has excited, if possible, more attention than the remarkable progress of the Prime Minister in Scotland, though, of course, its origin and nature has always been the subject of great controversy. My next apology is, that if I had not taken this opportunity no other opportunity would have been likely to have occurred for a very considerable time, because it is well known that the House will soon occupy the whole of its time with the Franchise Bill. Sir, in bringing forward the Amendment, it occurred to me that it would not have been right for me to bring a direct charge, which I feel is one of great gravity, against a Minister without giving the House the opportunity of pronouncing by a Division on the merits of the charge, and that, I imagine, can only be done by moving an Amendment to the Address. But my principle reason for bringing this Motion forward is found in the words which fell from the Prime Minister himself on the first night of the Session—words of a most remarkable character, which I will now read to the House. But before doing so, I may, perhaps, be allowed to express the hope that a Parliamentary discussion of these events at Aston may have the good effect of preventing a repetition of anything of the kind in the course of the political controversy which is now agitating the country. The Prime Miuister's words were these—

> "I wish to record in the strongest manner my disapproval, my grief, I may say my grave condemnation of all breaches of order in connection with this question, even under circumstances of temptation or even incitement. The line between order and disorder is a definite one. The question of what is incitement or provocation is open to dispute. I should condemn any disorder in point of policy, and I should condemn it on principle even if I did not believe it to be inexpedient. On this subject I feel certain I speak the sentiments of all my Colleagues."

When I heard these words fall from the Prime Minister, I felt that nothing that has ever fallen from him ever gave me such a graphic and forcible representation of the enormous amount of labour in connection with the government of a country which falls on the shoulders of the Prime Minister, because it was at once clear and conclusive to me that, when he said he spoke the sentiments of all his Colleagues, he had never had time to read a single speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), for I shall be able to show the House that, as far as that expression "all my Colleagues" is concerned, the Prime Minister was, of course, unintentionally, entirely inaccurate, and that he did not speak the sentiments of his Colleague the President of the Board of Trade. This question raises the doctrine—I believe a comparatively modern doctrine, but which is now a Constitutional doctrine, and which for the last two or three years has been very much set aside—namely, the doctrine of collective Ministerial responsibility—whether it is open for the Head of the Government to lay down a certain course of conduct which shall be followed by himself and his Colleagues, and whether that course of conduct is to be deliberately set aside on many occasions by one of his Colleagues acting as the spokesman of the Government. Now, I think I shall be able to prove to the House, by extracts from the speeches of the President of the Board of Trade, a deliberate, systematic attempt, commencing immediately after Parliament rose, and pursued, I regret to say, up to the last point of the Recess, to incite the people of this country to riot and disorder. ["Oh, oh!" *and cheers.*] I ask the House, before they reply positively, to wait till I lay before them what I rely upon. I think I shall be able to prove that he is morally guilty, morally responsible, for whatever riots have taken place, or may take place in the immediate future. There is a term in the French law, not, I think, existing in the English law, under which an indictment can be framed founded upon moral complicity. That is to say, that a person who writes and publishes an incendiary article, or delivers an inflammatory speech, pointing to certain results, if followed by those results, can be charged with moral complicity; and that is one of the charges I bring against the President of the Board of Trade—such moral complicity with those riots. I will go further, and charge the President of the Board of Trade with direct responsibility. The strength of the case I wish to lay before the House I base principally upon the speeches of the President of the Board of Trade during the last few months. That is the point on which I most wish to insist, so that, even apart from those Aston riots, apart from any evidence I may bring before the House to show connection between the President of the Board of Trade and such riots, I still contend that I should have been justified in moving this Amendment. As I shall not have the right of reply to the President of the Board of Trade, and as he was undoubtedly very anxious that I should not have it, I will endeavour to anticipate the line of answer he will take. In the first place, I will venture to say this much—that to the matter I shall bring under the notice of the House it is no answer for the President of the Board of Trade to adopt what may be called the *tu quoque* argument. The kind of argument which is summed up in the expression "You're another," may be very effective and very amusing for the purposes of Parlimentary debate, but I do not think it will be sufficient to clear the character of a Minister of the Crown. Everyone will recognize the difference between the position occupied by the President of the Board of Trade and that of a private Member of Parliament. The difference is enormous as regards the responsibility attaching to each. In case the *tu quoque* line of argument should be followed by the right hon. Gentleman, perhaps the House will permit me to say that, even if it be considered by some hon. Members applicable for the purposes of debate, for myself I should claim the indulgence of the House to this extent, that I challenge hon. Gentlemen to find in any single speech of mine made in the country a single word or expression which would not have passed the criticism of the Chair. [*Cries of* "Oh!"] Well, I make that challenge to the House. I am not aware of ever having used a single expression which would call for rebuke or comment from the highest censor of Parliamentary language. I also think that it will not do for the President of the Board of Trade to assert that the extracts which I am going to quote from his speeches do not possess any serious meaning. That may be a line of argument most undignified for a Minister of the Crown to adopt and one very damaging to him, for his audiences, wherever they may be, or whoever they may be, would know in future that all the declarations which he might make, and all the political harangues which he might make, would be nothing but froth and flummery, and possess no serious meaning, Nor do I think it would do for the President of the Board of Trade to say that his expressions were in the nature of a warning; for if that is the line, the unanswerable criticism I would pass on that would be that these warnings were couched in such language, and these prophecies were supported by such recollections and metaphors, that they had an irresistible and inevitable tendency to fulfil themselves. Now, Sir, shortly before Parliament rose there was a great demonstration of the Liberal Party at Birmingham, to which I will attach as much importance as any hon. Member opposite likes to attach. [*Cries of* "Bank Holiday!"] Well, on Bank Holiday—[Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The 4th of August]—it was just about the time Parliament rose. The President of the Board of Trade was in attendance at that demonstration and made a long speech, in which find the following paragraph:—

> "The opinion of the streets has had a mighty force in our political history. It has shaken Monarchs on their thrones. [A Voice: 'And knocked them off.' *Laughter.*] It has overturned Ministers. ['Hear, hear!'] In 1832 it carried the Reform Bill in the teeth of the House of Lords—[A Voice: 'And will again'] —more powerful than that with which we have to deal, after a conflict which had brought the country almost to the verge of revolution. We read that at that time there were 100,000 men in Birmingham and the surrounding districts who were sworn to march on London, if need were, in defence of their liberties. [*Cries of* 'We will again if required.'] The peace was broken in many parts of the country, and there were at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol fierce outbreaks of popular passion, accompanied by a great destruction of property. We had hoped that we had left those days of disorder far behind; but there are still evil counsellors"—

[*Cheers.*] Might I throw out with the greatest possible respect to hon. Members opposite, that the brevity of these proceedings will be best attained—and what I wish most of all, the brevity of my own remarks—if they will allow their expressions of approval to be taken for granted? The right hon. Gentleman went on—

> "But there are still evil counsellors—[*Cheers*]—provoking and slandering the people —[*Cheers*]—who are straining their privileges to the utmost, and who obstinately resist the extension of the popular liberties. Let them take heed. If we are commencing this great conflict with temper and moderation, it would be a mistake to suppose that we are less earnest or resolute than our forefathers."

I believe the right hon. Gentleman will not contest the accuracy of that report, and on that I will make this remarkl It seems to me that, as far as the style of rhetoric is concerned, it is rather poor stuff. When compared with the oratory of the Prime Minister, to which we are accustomed, it seems to me to be rather like the clanging of a cracked tin pot compared with the harmony of a great orchestra. But this is a mere criticism *en passant*. Whatever importance the passage quoted possesses is derived entirely from the Ministerial position which the speaker occupies. I would like to ask hon. Members opposite, with little hope, however, of a favourable answer, whether they think it altogether in accordance with Ministerial tradition for a Minister of the Crown—a servant of a Monarch—to state that "the opinion of the streets had shaken Monarchs on the Throne?" For my own part, I am inclined to think the taste was questionable. I wish to ask the attention of the House to the interjections of the audience. I remember that one of the gravest accusations against the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Colleagues in this House from the Ministerial Bench, and which accusation, when brought, was always cheered to the echo by hon. Members opposite, was the grave impropriety of their conduct in not rebuking the audience for the interjections they made. I find that after the sentence of the President of the Board of Trade about shaking Monarchs on their Thrones, there was a voice—"And knocked them off." The President of the Board of Trade passed that interjection by, apparently thinking that it was a very natural one under the circumstances. I find, also, that when he reminded his audience that 100,000 men in Birmingham and districts were sworn to march on London in defence of their liberties, that was met with the cries of—"And we will again if required." Again the President of the Board of the Board of Trade did not think it necessary to remark on the interjections of his audience. What I want to know is, why it is wrong for the hon. Member for the City of Cork and his Colleagues to provoke, and not rebuke, excited interjaculatory observations from their audiences in Ireland, and why it is right of the President of the Board of Trade to provoke similar observations, and not to take the smallest notice of them? I see no reason why a different standard should be applied to the Irish Party to that applied to Members of the Government. If anything, I think the more rigorous standard should be applied to Ministers of the Crown than to private Members. Well, when the President of the Board of Trade gets up, will he tell the House what would happen to an Irish Member who, in discussing the question of self-government in Ireland, for instance, reminded his audience with the same amount of detail and vigour of the incidents of the Rebellion of 1798? When the President of the Board of Trade says that there are evil counsellors who are provoking and slandering the people, and that they should take heed, I want to know what those expressions mean in the mouth of a Minister of the Crown? Then the right hon. Gentleman went on to say that it would be a great mistake to suppose that he, as a Minister of the Crown, thought that the audience listening to him were not as determined as the people who, in 1832, marched upon London in defence of their liberties. [*Cries of* "No!" *and* "Hear, hear!"] I defy any hon. Member to put any other construction upon the words. "Our forefathers"—what did our forefathers do? Our forefathers were prepared to march on London in defence of their liberties, and to break the peace in many parts of the country, and to accomplish a great destruction of property. Of course, if the President of the Board of Trade is going to take up the line that all this means nothing, I shall have nothing further to say; but I shall be surprised if the right hon. Gentleman makes such a reply. Well, that was the speech made on Bank Holiday at Birmingham by the right hon. Gentleman, and I contend that that was the first incitement to the people to pass the bounds of fair and peaceable political discussion, and to have recourse to other modes of agitation. After that speech the utterances of the right hon. Gentleman ceased for a time. I think he went on a little tour in Europe, in company with the hon. Member for Ipswich. When he came back, in the last days of September or at the beginning of October, he was, I think I can see, in the speech he made at Hanley, greatly surprised and much disappointed to find that no disturbance of the peace had taken place. In his speech at Hanley I discover not only a further incitement to public tumult, but as it were a rebuke to his audience for not having acted on his previous advice. At Hanley the right hon. Gentleman used these words—

> "Our opponents have not dared to hold one free and open meeting except one at Darlington, where they were defeated by a large majority, and one at Bournemouth, when they attempted

a procession which was incontinently broken up.'

Why do not hon. Members opposite cheer that? [*Radical cheers.*] Here we have the President of the Board of Trade stating with great satisfaction and delight that the Conservative Party had not dared to hold one free and open meeting. Well, what is the construction to be put upon that? The advice to the audience was that, if the Conservatives in Hanley or anywhere else were to try to hold a free and open meeting, the Radicals ought to break it up. Then to show that I am not mistaken the right hon. Gentleman said with still more satisfaction and delight that the Conservatives at Bournemouth had attempted a procession, which had been broken up to his immense gratification. [*Cries of* "Oh!" *and* "Hear, hear!"] [MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I did not say that.] Well, then, why did not the right hon. Gentleman express one single word of regret for what had occurred? Why did he not use language like that of the Prime Minister, when he said that the line between order and disorder was a definite one? Why could not the President of the Board of Trade spare one word of regret for the fact that free and open political discussion had been interfered with at Bournemouth? I do contend that that expression of the right hon. Gentleman at Hanley was a distinct intimation as to the line his audience were to adopt whenever the Conservatives held a free and open meeting. I will not waste the time of the House by contesting the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that we have not dared to hold free and open meetings, although I could, if I had time, contest it and make my contest good. The President of the Board of Trade then went on to say—

> "How long is this state of effervescence and agitation, which is rapidly degenerating into irritation, to last? These great gatherings are only held at considerable inconvenience; they effect a great disturbance of ordinary business; they involve much personal sacrifice; and as the summer leaves us and winter draws on, they will involve still more inconvenience and annoyance."

These expressions remind me of a speech delivered by Judge Keogh, when Mr. Keogh, in which he said that a good time was coming, when the nights would be long and the days short, and when his hearers would have a fine opportunity of showing their political sympathies. ["Oh, oh!"] I see an ominous parallel between the words of the President of the Board of Trade and the expressions used by Mr. Keogh. I would observe, with regard to the statement that the agitation was rapidly degenerating into irritation, that this view is quite peculiar to the President of the Board of Trade. It does not appear that any of his Colleagues discovered that the agitation was to degenerate into irritation; but if it was so to degenerate, was it not the right hon. Gentleman's duty to allay the irritation? The right hon. Gentleman, however, goes on to stimulate it to the utmost. He says—

> "I can appreciate the views of those who dread what they call the democratic tendencies of the age, but I cannot appreciate or respect the course of men who, sharing these convictions and prejudices to the full, endeavour to conceal them by fulsome professions of regard for the men whom all the while they are endeavouring to defraud of their rights."

That is a serious charge for a Minister of the Crown to bring against his opponents, particularly when he says that the agitation is rapidly degenerating into irritation. He charges the whole of his opponents practically with being political liars, engaged in a conspiracy to defraud the people of their rights. I leave it to the House and the public to say whether such a charge can be entertained by any reasonable man. Now I come to the gem of the speech. "These gentlemen," said the President of the Board of Trade, meaning those who are engaged in this conspiracy—

> "These gentlemen presume on your love of order and hatred of violence. Unless this generation has lost other qualities which have made the name of Englishmen respected throughout the world, they will show a courage and resolution, a love of liberty and hatred of injustice, which will sweep away those puny obstacles which now for a time are barring the advancing tide."

Now, there is no mental exercise more wholesome than endeavouring to see ourselves as others see us. [*Ironical Ministerial cheers.*] Those cheers encourage me to express my gratitude to hon. Members opposite for the invaluable assistance they always afford me in that respect. I will show the House the way in which the speech of the President of the Board of Trade is viewed in the Sister Isle. The journal called *United Ireland* places this passage side by side with another statement which was made in Ireland in 1883 by the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington). I have read to you the passage in the speech of the President of the Board of Trade, and I will now read the statement of the hon. Member for Westmeath, which is as follows:—

> "I will ask the tenant farmers to come forward generously and give the labourers a fair day's wages for a fair day's work. If not, the agitation which has been carried on on their behalf will be turned against them."

Perhaps hon. Members opposite think there is no analogy between the two speeches. Now, in order that hon. Members opposite may see themselves as others see them, I will ask the House for permission to read a few comments which have appeared in the journal which I have already mentioned in these two passages—

> "For the above two sentences Mr. Harrington was degraded to the level of a convict in a common gaol, with a deal board for his bed, and nauseous draughts of poison cocoa for his food. Will the Cabinet of the 'Even Keel' deal out equal measure to the inventor of that pretty nickname? Will Mr. Chamberlain be invited to step down from his saloon carriage, pluck the orchid from his button-hole, and don the rough but serviceable habiliments of the Birmingham penitentiary? Will Mr. Trevelyan oblige by vindicating that step to the great British public, on the ground (all sufficient in Mr. Harrington's case) that Mr. Chamberlain is a 'formidable man?' For incendiary suggestiveness 'their Joe's' language outstrips beyond comparison our Tim's. Nobody ever contended that the harming of as much as a fly had resulted, or could reasonably be apprehended to result, from Mr. Harrington's threat to bring public opinion to bear against the farmers. Mr. Chamberlain's constituents, on the contrary, instantly made an honest English translation of his words into bludgeons and scaling ladders, and proceeded to (in Mr. Chamberlain's phrase) 'make their own application' of his apologue. The 'puny obstacle' which barred the way to the Tory meeting ground in Aston Gardens, on Monday night, was a stone wall, and the Liberal lambs 'swept it away'—broke a gap six feet wide in it—and went for the 'Tory parasites' with battering rams and legs of chairs. By 'violent pressure' of this kind Mr. Chamberlain's disciples routed Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Randolph Churchill from their platform, exploded their fireworks, and beat their followers about the head, and then went away to peruse glowing accounts of their achievements in the next morning's Liberal papers. The police who were in attendance civilly looked on, and said it was good. Of course, Mr. Chamberlain's skin is safe; but the next time he feels inclined to lecture us on our lack of appreciation of the 'Even Keel' *régime*, let him contrast the sacred right of skull-cracking enjoyed by himself and his braves with what would happen to Mr. Harrington and his braves if perchance he hurled a speech containing half as many fiery epithets against the Tory demonstration next Monday night in the Rotundo, and if on the spur of his incitements a Nationalist mob burst into the Round Room, sent the audience flying helter-skelter, and employed the chairs and the reporters' table on the heads of the orators."

I do not think anybody will venture to say that these comments of *United Ireland* I have quoted are, in the smallest degree, exaggerated or untrue. The result of that speech at Hanley, on the 10th of October, was clearly seen in the events at Birmingham on the 13th. On the 18th of October the right hon. Gentleman goes down to Wales, and makes a speech at Newtown, and in the course of that speech he says—

> "These demonstrations have been carried through at great personal sacrifice. You cannot be continually demonstrating, especially as, in the case I have assumed, your demonstrations prove to be of no effect. If the Lords continue to sneer at orderly manifestations of opinion, if they continue to ignore the Constitutional methods for expressing opinion, what will you do?"

And then it appeared to have occurred to the right hon. Gentleman that he had gone a little too far, so he goes on in this way—

> "I daresay that on Monday it will be said, as it has been said already, that, in thus trying to lay the situation plainly before you, I am inciting you to violence and disorder. That is false."

Was it false? Remember there had been great violence, and that this was immediately after the Aston riots—only five days later—when the right hon. Gentleman solemnly asked his audience what they would do if they got tired of these peaceable demonstrations, and then said it was false to assert that that interrogatory of his was an incitement to violence and disorder. If the right hon. Gentleman was so anxious about violence and disorder, why did he not take the opportunity of expressing his regret at the events that had taken place on the Monday previous? I do not think it would be wrong or shameful for the right hon. Gentleman to do what the Prime Minister took the first opportunity of doing. The moment the House met, the Prime Minister, in his first speech, took the earliest opportunity of expressing his regret for what had occurred. In the absence of any expressions of regret on the part of the President of the Board of Trade after that very stimulating interrogatory to his audience, I say he did do that which constituted a direct incitement to continued violence and disorder. The President of the Board of Trade, without one word of allusion to the Birmingham riots, goes on to say—

> "There are only two men in this country who throughout the quarrel have conspicuously incited the people to disorder and to violence."

One of them was myself, and the other was Lord Salisbury. I will not detain the House with any defence of myself for the purpose of this discussion. I will put in any plea hon. Members opposite wish. It is not necessary for me to detain the House with any defence of myself; that can be done on another and more convenient occasion. But those are the three speeches of the President of the Board of Trade. [*Laughter.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite have just reminded me, by their laughter, that I had forgotten something to which I attach a great deal of importance. I refer to the passage where the President of the Board of Trade said, referring to me—

> "And, gentlemen, this is the man who is now so indignant because the workmen of Birmingham have taken him at his word and pulled off the coping of a wall in order to attend a meeting to which they had been invited and which the Tory managers were endeavouring by a transparent fraud to palm off as a misrepresentation of the opinion of Birmingham."

That is his opinion of the Aston riots. Pulling off the coping of a wall! Now, I will ask the President of the Board of Trade only one question on that point. Suppose the workmen of Birmingham, indignant we will say at some of the proceedings of the Board of Trade, had assembled outside the grounds of the right hon. Gentleman's splendid mansion at Highbury, and had there pursued the same proceedings as they had done at Aston, I wish to know whether he would have described that as a few workmen of Birmingham pulling off the coping of a wall? I do not think it necessary to pursue that subject further; but those three speeches which I have laid before the House are undoubtedly what I principally rely on to justify my charges. I am quite content in this matter to make the Prime Minister the judge, because he has, without exception, had the longest political experience, the greatest knowledge of public life of any man in this country, and his position is so great that he can afford in judging this matter altogether to discard all Party proclivities, and to pronounce an historical opinion on it. Since 1815 this country has gone through many sharp political struggles, in which Ministers of the Crown have taken a leading and prominent part, and I ask the Prime Minister whether, in going through all the records of the speeches delivered by Ministers of the Crown up to the present day in moments of political excitement, he can or anyone can produce a single speech from any Minister of the Crown containing passages approaching in their nature to the sentences from the speeches of the President of the Board of Trade which I have read to the House? I put that question to the Prime Minister with much confidence. But, independent of these passages, which, I maintain, do constitute a deliberate attempt to incite the people of this country to other methods than that of Constitutional agitation, I will now, if the House will allow me, endeavour to confirm and corroborate the case by other evidence I have got of the direct responsibility of the President of the Board of Trade for the Birmingham riots. The first portion of the evidence is of a negative character, the second portion is of a positive character. My first point of negative evidence is this—that on the evening of those riots, immediately after they occurred, and even on the very spot, I made a speech to a few scattered and flying sheep who had been rescued from the disaster, in which I charged the President of the Board of Trade directly and plainly, and without the slightest circumlocution or qualification, with being the author of those riots. I was acquainted with what the President of the Board of Trade had said, and with other matters, and I made the charge then and there, and that charge has never been denied. [*Laughter.*] I do not know why hon. Members opposite should laugh at that. Surely the President of the Board of Trade, only as late as Monday last, did think proper to deny it; and I want to know why, if it was necessary to deny it on Monday last, it was not necessary to deny it when it was originally made? The right hon. Gentleman said it was a serious charge to make against a Minister of the Crown. I think I am not mistaken in supposing that he was obliged to make that denial by the Prime Minister himself. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] Well, then, I reiterate it, that the President of the Board of Trade said on that occasion that it was a most serious charge to make against a Minister of the Crown. Why was it a serious charge then, and not when it was first made? The President of the Board of Trade had lots of opportunity for denying it. In the first place, there was a meeting the next night of the Liberal Association in the Town Hall, and it would have been quite possible for the President of the Board of Trade to have attended that meeting where all his Birmingham colleagues were assembled, and to have made a statement about the riots, either deprecating them or justifying them, or exonerating himself. It would have been perfectly competent for the President of the Board of Trade to have written to the local papers or to the London papers denying the charge. It would have been perfectly competent for the President of the Board of Trade, at his meeting on the Saturday following in Wales, to deny the charge; and yet he did not. He can, however, deny charges when he likes and when it suits him, because with reference to some charges which I made against the Birmingham Corporation being under the influence of the Caucus, and which are really of no interest except to Birmingham itself, and could not compare with charges affecting the character of a Minister of the Crown, the President of the Board of Trade thought fit to deny them. He said that what I stated was "a falsehood, a wanton falsehood." Well, I am sure hon. Gentlemen opposite do not think it necessary for Ministers to deny in language of that kind. I think in the House of Commons, under your rule, Sir, the President of the Board of Trade will hardly make use of such language. But he could deny the charge brought against the Birmingham Corporation in language of that offensive character, and yet did not deny the charge brought against him as a Minister of the Crown. Of course, with respect to the expressions "falsehood" and "wanton falsehood," I could have brought them under the notice of this House if I had liked, but I did not think it worth while to do so. I knew the President of the Board of Trade was used to that kind of expression. The right hon. Gentleman applied a somewhat similar expression to Lord Beaconsfield when he said that he always went down to Parliament prepared to fling at the House of Commons the first lie that came into his head. I know that he again applied almost the same expression to the Prime Minister when he characterized his election address of 1874—a great public State document—as

> "The meanest public document that I ever in like circumstances heard proceed from a statesman of the first rank;"

and then he went on to say that the Premier's interest in such a great question as the county franchise was merely assumed in view of an election. Of course, when expressions of that kind are applied to men far above me, and they take no notice of them, I do not think it necessary to answer a charge of wanton falsehood made against me, and I shall content myself with assuring him that nothing which I have said is liable to that imputation. I find—on looking back to a *Times* article of August, 1879, immediately after the right hon. Gentleman made a speech in Gloucester, in which he compared the late Government to a gang of celebrated swindlers and criminals called a "long firm"—that *The Times* made the following comments:—

> "Mr. Chamberlain's denunciation of the Government and of his opponents must be denounced as passing the bounds of decent political warfare. . . . We cannot let this kind of language pass without an indignant protest against it as an insult to the whole public life of England. . . . We feel for our part ashamed that any English politician who holds a respectable position should condescend to this kind of Billingsgate."

I daresay that right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite do not care very much about the opinions of *The Times*. ["Hear, hear!"] No more do I. I only quoted it for the purpose of showing that there is no reason whatever, as far as I am concerned, why I should attach any importance to the violent language of the President of the Board of Trade, as it is usual with him. In the speech at Newtown, the right hon. Gentleman, so far from denying the accusations I had publicly made against him, justified and virtually gloried in the riots that had taken place at Aston, and he did so at a time when all the Liberal Press was condemning them in terms as strong as it possibly could. I pass on to the second point of evidence which I rely on in this matter, and that is, the knowledge which the President of the Board of Trade must have had, from his presence in Birmingham, of the proceedings that were likely to take place. I maintain that the President of the Board of Trade must have been aware—he could not possibly have helped being aware—of what was likely to occur at Aston on the evening in question. He must have known that the Liberal Association had determined to call a counter-demonstration at the same place. He must have known that a counter-demonstration summoned at a similar hour on a piece of ground absolutely adjacent to that chosen for the Tory demonstration might lead to a breach of the peace. He must also have known of the placard which was issued by the Liberal Association summoning the meeting; and this placard I really must read to the House, and I must ask the Government to remember the description of themselves as an "Even Keel" Government. A more incendiary placard, one more strongly and directly inciting to riot and disorder, was never put out by any Nationalist Body or any Orange Lodge in Ireland. ["Hear, hear!"] I will make that statement good. The placard is headed —"To the men of Birmingham and the Midlands." It is dated Saturday, October 11, and it was circulated in Birmingham on the afternoon of that day, on Sunday, and on the Monday morning it appeared in *The Birmingham Daily Post*. The placard says—

> "On Bank Holiday you met 100,000 strong, and unanimously protested against the rejection of the Franchise Bill by the Tory Lords. Lord Salisbury laughs at you, and says he cares nothing for your protests. Another Tory, the Right Hon. James Lowther, describes you as a 'horde of ruffians.' Lord Randolph Churchill, who belongs to a family of State paupers, who have drawn £4,320,000 from the pockets of the people, with aristocratic insolence calls you Mr. Chamberlain's 'tag-rag and bobtail.'"

I content myself at present with traversing those statements, which are all equally and absolutely untrue. I never spoke of the working men of Birmingham as Mr. Chamberlain's "tag-rag and bobtail," and my right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) never spoke of them as a "horde of ruffians." It is equally untrue to say that Lord Salisbury laughed at them, and said he cared nothing for their protests. The placard then goes on to make various inflammatory statements. It says—

> "The Tories are holding a demonstration at Aston Lower Grounds on Monday to support the House of Lords in refusing the franchise to 2,000,000 of men. They know that the men of Birmingham and the Midlands are against them, and by holding a ticket meeting, from which all Liberals are excluded, they hope to pass resolutions which will misrepresent your opinions. Do not submit to these Tory insults. Refuse to allow the opinion of the Midlands to be misrepresented. Show to Lord Salisbury and his lieutenants, who have always been the enemies of the people, that you will insist upon justice. The Franchise Demonstration Committee asks you first to attend a great open-air meeting in Witton Road, Aston, on Monday next."

The placard goes on to state that three processions headed by brass bands will start from places named, and then comes this paragraph—

> "After the open-air meeting, let all who can get admittance attend the Tory meeting and vote against the Tory resolutions."

Now I ask is there one law for England and another for Ireland? In Ireland counter-demonstrations have been prohibited over and over again by the Government, and yet in the case of counter-demonstrations in that country there has been a strict injunction given by the promoters that each party should go to their own meeting and not interfere with their opponents' meeting. But in England this Government allows a counter-demonstration to be called by a placard of this inflammatory nature, which incites interference with the opposing meeting. The third paragraph on the placard—and I am sure the Prime Minister disapproves of it—says—"Wear the Gladstone badge, and show that you are not ashamed of your colours." Now, I ask the House whether the President of the Board of Trade, with his great intelligence and local knowledge, knowing that a placard of this kind had been put out, knowing that it would be widely read and numerously obeyed — whether he could have imagined that any other result would possibly take place than that which actually did take place? What would the right hon. Gentleman have done in the character not only of a Minister of the Crown, but of the leading, and in many ways rightly the leading, person in Birmingham? Surely, with the knowledge which he possessed, and with the knowledge of what would be the result of issuing this placard, he could have publicly uttered an opinion on the Monday morning to the effect that he would not tolerate, that he would do all he could to prevent, a disturbance of the Tory demonstration. It would have been very easy and very simple; and if he had taken that course it would have completely exonerated him and his colleagues in regard to any charge which might be brought against them in this House with reference to these riots. The President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) said, at a meeting of his constituents, when he joined the Cabinet—

> "When one reaches Cabinet rank, it is necessary to remember what is due to one's Colleagues in the Ministry."

I want to know whether the President of the Board of Trade has ever remembered what is due to his Colleagues in the Ministry; and I particularly want to know whether on this occasion, when he refrained from taking any steps to prevent what he knew must turn out to be a riotous and tumultous proceeding, he remembered what was due to his Colleagues? I maintain that it was not only his duty to use his great influence to prevent such disorderly proceedings in any case, but it was his special duty on this occasion to do so because of the fact that the Leader of the Opposition was going to Birmingham. When a Leader of the Opposition, be he Liberal or Conservative, goes down to any part of the country to address a great meeting of his supporters called together for a particular occasion, I declare before this House, without fear of contradiction, that he has a positive and indisputable right to the protection and support of every leading local authority or leading person, at any rate, as far as public order is concerned. I should have thought very little of all this if it had been a mere riot against a candidate, who should know what he may have to go through at Birmingham; but I do say that the President of the Board of Trade, occupying the position he does at Birmingham, exercising as he does enormous power there, knowing that the Leader of the Opposition was going to address a meeting of his followers, was bound not only as a Minister of the Crown, but also as an English gentleman, to come forward and, at any rate, as far as he was concerned, to do all that he could to prevent disorder. I do contend, further, that as a general principle, when a man knows that an outrage is going to be committed or likely to be committed, when the same man has the power to arrest that outrage, or, at any rate, to mitigate it, and when he declines to exercise that power, he is morally and directly guilty of the outrage when it is committed. I now come to what I may call positive evidence. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, I say the direct evidence, for I consider it would not be right to bring this matter to the notice of the House if I was not prepared to state all the proof I have to show the direct complicity of the right hon. Gentleman in all that took place. I have to show to the House the direct complicity of the Birmingham Liberal Association with the riot. I shall not detain the House with evidence on the point, because it would take up far too much time. I simply say that the Conservatives of Birmingham have made this matter the subject of legal investigation, and they have evidence of a very clear kind, at any rate, so far as it has been sifted, to show a carefully prepared organization for the riot, and to show the steps which were taken to forge tickets of admission. The moment I came into the House I received a letter directly inculpating a leading member of the Liberal Party of Birmingham with a large order for forged tickets. We have also evidence at Birmingham to prove the introduction into the ground beforehand of a few accomplices, and to show that ladders were brought by appointed persons, and were in readiness to enable the storming party to scale the walls. There is complete evidence to show that gangs of men known to the police were hired in Birmingham. There was the Cecil Street gang, and £50 were paid to this body. There were the Harding Street gang, the Lench Street gang, under a man named Martin—I do not know whether the right hon. Gentleman knows him—the Great Bar Street gang, under the Brothers Reed, two notorious pugilists, each of whom received £20, and others; and some of these were paid by members of the Town Council, and also by members of the Committee over which Mr. Schnadhorst presides—the Caucus Executive. The arrangement made with the leaders of the roughs was that if they succeded in breaking into the premises 5*s.* would be paid, and if they succeeded in breaking into the hall and preventing the meeting 2*s.* 6*d* would be added. The Committee had the folly to be stingy; the fact that the additional half-crown was not paid in some cases has enabled the solicitor to obtain useful and reliable information. All this, of course, is an *ex parte* statement; but the matter has been the subject of legal investigation, and this is what the Conservative Party are prepared to prove in a Court of Law or before a Committee of this House. This is the evidence of the direct complicity of the Birmingham Liberal Association with these riots. Before going into the connection between the Association and the President of the Board of Trade, let me say a word about a matter which has been greatly misrepresented—the character of the Conservative meeting. I have a letter on the point from the principal authority of the Conservative Party, Mr. S. Hopkins. It has been stated in the House that the Conservatives tried to get up a free and open meeting as an expression of the opinion of all parties, and that that was a provocation to and a justification of what the Liberals did. This is an altogether incorrrect and inaccurate statement. Mr. Hopkins says—

> "Mr. Chamberlain's statement as to the Liberals being invited is untrue; also as to the Conservatives representing or wishing to use their meeting as an expression of Birmingham opinion. All the meetings were advertised as plainly as possible, and declared to be in every way Conservative demonstrations. Applications for tickets by Liberal agents were refused. For instance, Messrs. Tangye made a request for 800 tickets. The secretary replied that the Conservative demand was so large, we could not spare them."

I have here a ticket which bears out the statement. It is one which was issued long before the meeting, and it is headed "Conservative demonstration in support of the House of Lords." It is obvious that we were merely endeavouring to get all the Conservatives we could together in one meeting, which was to be a demonstration on the one side, and it is altogether inaccurate to say that it was anything else. The House may rely on the perfect integrity of Mr. Hopkins. The President of the Board of Trade and the hon. Member for Ipswich will admit that he is incapable of putting an inaccurate statement before the public. He is responsible in all these matters, and he says the Conservatives never tried to do more than hold a Party demonstration. I will now ask the House what is the Birmingham Caucus or Liberal Association? I will reply to it myself by stating that the Birmingham Liberal Association is the President of the Board of Trade. Anyone who can divest himself for a moment of the extremest Party prejudice will say that the Association and the President of the Board of Trade are one and indivisible. He created it in its modern form; he presided over it; he was returned by it; he is at once its father and its child. I have a curious record of the fact in a statement made by Mr. George Dixon, a man of the highest authority in Birmingham, standing next, indeed, to the right hon. Gentleman, who was formerly a respected Member of this House, and looks forward to being the Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman. This is what Mr. Dixon says on the subject at a meeting of the School Board.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: What is the date?

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: May, 1878. Speaking of the connection between the President of the Board of Trade and the town of Birmingham and the Liberal Party there, Mr. Dixon said—

> "Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is undertaking to create the public opinion of the Town Council and of Birmingham, and also to be its public exponent. In fact, it seems as if the terms Mr. Joseph Chamberlain and Birmingham were become synonymous; Mr. Joseph Chamberlain is Birmingham, Birmingham is Mr. Joseph Chamberlain. He represents himself in the Town Council, and he also represents himself in the House of Commons. Mr. Joseph Chamberlain has adopted the House of Commons' plan, and has a Whip in the Town Council. I suppose that he also has a Cabinet, composed partly of members of the Town Council and partly of members outside."

If that were a Tory statement, it would be the most miserable libel that could be put forward about Birmingham; it would be "a falsehood, a wanton falsehood;" but, unfortunately, it is the statement of Mr. George Dixon, who is to be the Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman. That plainly bears me out in the assertion I have made as to the connection between the right hon. Gentleman and the Birmingham Liberal Association. The matter is one of absolute notoriety. I am quite certain of this—that the right hon. Gentleman is far too courageous, far too determined, ever to repudiate any one of his political associates. As he expects, no doubt, that his Colleagues will defend him from charges which may be made against him in this House, so I am certain he is prepared with even more cordiality and sincerity to defend the leaders of the Birmingham Liberal Association from any charges against them, and to maintain his responsibility for all their acts, and to avow his knowledge of them. I may add that the connection between the President of the Board of Trade and the Birmingham Liberal Association, and the control he exercises over it, are far more direct, powerful, and effective than the control which the hon. Member for the City of Cork exercises over the Land League and its proceedings. [*Cries of* "Time!" *and* "Order!"] I am very sorry for having trespassed so long on the time of the House, and I apologize. To sum up the case, it is this. I rely principally upon the three speeches which were made by the President of the Board of Trade, the first speech inciting, as I hold, to tumult, the second renewing that incitement, and almost rebuking his audience for not having acted upon his incitement, and the third speech glorying in the result and inciting to further tumult. To corroborate and confirm all that, I also bring up his refusal and neglect, until the other day, to deny the charge I made of his being connected with the Birmingham riot. I bring up his presence in Birmingham, his knowledge of what was likely to occur, and the power to prevent these occurrences taking place, and his refusal to exercise that power; and, lastly, I make out, as strongly as I can, and I assert before this House, and shall not be contradicted by the right hon. Gentleman, the indissoluble connection that exists between himself and the Birmingham Liberal Association, and his complete, real responsibility for the acts of that Body. That, Sir, is the case against the right hon. Gentleman. [*Cheers, and* "Oh, oh!"] I do not expect to convince hon. Gentlemen opposite. But there is a power of opinion outside this House, on which I hope that these facts may make no inconsiderable impression, and, even in spite of prepossessions, may carry conviction to some Gentlemen opposite. It is with no little confidence in the general impartiality of the House of Commons that I submit to its consideration the Amendment which stands in my name.

Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "and humbly to assure Her Majesty that this House regrets to find in recent speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an incitement to interference with the freedom of political discussion, and a justification of riot and disorder."—(*Lord Randolph Churchill.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Mr. Speaker, I hope the House will think that the speech to which we have just listened justifies my reticence on a previous occasion, when the hon. Member for Portsmouth (Sir H. Drummond Wolff), at the instigation of the noble Lord, made a vague and violent attack on me. If I had attempted then to answer that attack, I could only have done so in very general terms, and, having exhausted my right of speech, I should have been quite unable to give to the House any information with reference to the numerous details in the formal indictment which has now been preferred against me by the noble Lord. Sir, the noble Lord, in his concluding observations, commented on the fact that I had waited until last Monday to deny the charges which he and others had made against me. I should wish to point out that the noble Lord himself, like the hon. Member for Portsmouth, when he first brought these charges, and others still stronger against me in Birmingham, did not attempt to substantiate them by the slightest tittle of evidence. In these circumstances, I attributed them to what was, perhaps, the natural irritation of the noble Lord, who had seen his best laid plans go astray, and who was hoist with his own petard. But when the noble Lord repeats these charges, or any portion of them, in his place in this House, speaking with due deliberation, and with a full sense of responsibility, then, Sir, I am prepared to treat them with the seriousness which they deserve. I feel that I have no option but to meet in detail the accusation which he has brought, and I shall then submit myself to the judgment of the House. If these accusations are true, I shall incur its just censure; if they are false, the House will appreciate the conduct of the noble Lord who, in order to damage a political opponent, has brought forward charges which he has been unable to substantiate. Now, the inquiry divides itself into two branches. There are two matters which I shall try to keep perfectly distinct upon which I have to offer explanations to the House. First, there are the charges which affect myself personally, my own character and reputation; and next, there are charges against my constituents, for whom I am not responsible directly or indirectly, but as to which I shall have some defence to offer, and some explanation to make. As regards the charges against myself personally, let me clear the way by protesting, in the most absolute terms, against the new doctrine laid down on Monday, and brought forward again to-night, that if a man does not deny violent charges brought against him, he is to be assumed to admit them. That is a favourite doctrine of the noble Lord, who has brought more reckless charges against political opponents than any other living politician. Public life would be perfectly unendurable if a public man were to be held responsible for every crime of which he may be accused unless he immediately takes steps to refute the accusation. There is not a day passes in which I do not see some old slander revived, or some new libel devised, and if I am to deny them I should have to keep another secretary. In a Court of Justice a defendant is not called upon for an answer until some evidence, at all events, is brought forward, and I do not see why it should be different in a Court of Honour. But this practice of the noble Lord of flinging charges in the air in the hope that they may strike an opponent is a very common one. He has ventured to allude once more to the infamous charge, as I consider it, which he has brought against the Corporation of Birmingham. I denied that charge in strong language. But the noble Lord wonders that I should deny the charge against the Corporation, while I left my own reputation to take care of itself. I did so because that charge tended to damage local government, in which I was deeply interested. I think it is perfectly monstrous that a charge of that kind, affecting the integrity of 50 or 60 gentlemen who give up their time to the service of their fellow-townsmen, should be lightly made. If such charges can be lightly made by persons in a responsible position, it will be impossible to find men who will be willing to undertake such labour and responsibility. But what did the noble Lord do with reference to this charge? He was challenged to prove it by the Mayor of Birmingham in a calm and temperate letter, to which the noble Lord replied by a letter which the Mayor of Birmingham has been forced to characterize as insolent and evasive. The noble Lord has not attempted to substantiate this charge. He knows perfectly well that there is not a tittle of evidence in its favour. He knows perfectly well that a Conservative member of the Town Council—himself the treasurer of the Conservative Association at the present time—having been appealed to by one of his constituents, declared that in his knowledge and belief the charges were not true. Yet the noble Lord never withdrew them. Well, Sir, I say this new method of controversy—to make a foul and offensive charge, and then, if those against whom it is brought do not think it worth their while to contradict it, to assume it to be true, or, if challenged to prove it, to refuse the proof—is not a fair method of warfare; and those whom the noble Lord calls my "tag-rag and bobtail" would be thoroughly ashamed to adopt such a course. The noble Lord used very similar tactics in his attack upon me. What is the charge which he brings against me? The words of the Amendment are—

> "Humbly to assure Her Majesty that this House regrets to find in recent speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an incitement to interference with the freedom of political discussion, and a justification of riot and disorder."

[*Opposition cheers.*] Yes; hon. Members cheer that as they cheer any other charge against the President of the Board of Trade. But that is not the charge which the noble Lord brought against me. That is not the charge which I challenged him to prove in this House. Why has he gone back from his own words? In Birmingham he charged me with direct complicity in these riots; he charged me personally with having hired roughs; and he charged me with having entered into a direct conspiracy with others to provoke these disturbances. There is not one word of that either in the Amendment or in the speech he has delivered to the House.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Read the Amendment.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I have read the Amendment, and I have shown that the noble Lord has entirely shifted his ground. He has evolved a new charge, but it is not the charge which I challenged him to prove. I do not deny that the charge which he brings now is a serious charge, and I am quite prepared to answer it; but I want to know, if he believes his charge against me, that I was personally responsible for the hiring of these roughs, why he has not put that charge into the Amendment? Well, now the real fact is, that the noble Lord does not believe in these charges himself. He knows that if he did believe them——

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Mr. Speaker, I rise to Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman is in Order in stating that I do not believe the charges that I have brought before the House?

MR. SPEAKER: I have not yet heard the explanation of the right hon. Gentleman.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I was merely going to point out that that was not the statement I made. I did not say the noble Lord does not believe in the charges which he has brought before the House. What I accused the noble Lord of was not believing the charges which he has failed to bring before the House.

MR. SPEAKER: It would be altogether out of Order for the right hon. Gentleman to accuse the noble Lord of not believing in charges which he has brought before the House. If the right hon. Gentleman says that, he will not be in Order.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I will content myself with saying that, whatever the noble Lord believes, I do not think that after the evidence which I shall be able to lay before the House, he will be able to get any assembly of gentlemen to agree with him.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Mr. Speaker, I rise to Order. I really must ask you, Sir, whether the right hon. Gentleman, having said that I do not believe in the charges that I have brought before the House of Commons—[*Cries of* "No!"]—and you having ruled that he is out of Order, is not bound to withdraw the statement he has made?

MR. SPEAKER: I understand the right hon. Gentleman to deny that he made the assertion that the noble Lord did not believe in the charges which he has brought before this House. I have said, and I repeat, that if the right hon. Gentleman does make such a charge, he is out of Order, and I call upon him to withdraw it.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Now, Sir—[*Cries of* "Withdraw!"] I have nothing to withdraw; I did not make the statement of which the noble Lord complains, and I cannot, therefore, withdraw what I have never said. Now, I am going to call the attention of the House to the charges as they were made by the noble Lord at Birmingham, and to contrast them with the charges which he has brought forward to-day. To-day, the noble Lord has said he bases his case principally upon speeches which I delivered on August 4, and again at Hanley, and on a speech which I delivered after these occurrences took place. That is a totally different thing from a charge against a Minister of direct complicity in outrage. I find the first proceeding of the noble Lord in connection with this matter appears to have taken place at the Midland Conservative Club, on Monday, October 13, when Lord Randolph Churchill moved—

> "That, viewing the scandalous and discreditable organized riot excited this afternoon by Mr. Chamberlain and the Caucus, with the object of preventing Sir Stafford Northcote from addressing the people of Birmingham on public affairs, the members pledge themselves to combine, organize, and prepare for such retaliatory measures as may be necessary against the Radical Caucus in Birmingham, and shall in future effectually protect the tranquillity and order of public meeting."

Then, at a banquet at the Exchange Rooms on the 14th of October, the noble Lord is reported to have said—

> "Now, the Tory Party are not quite so stupid as Mr. Chamberlain and his friends think they are. They are much more ready to learn a lesson than is generally supposed; and having

discovered last night the great Party advantage which Mr. Chamberlain derives from a timely exhibition of force, I presume that they will pay him the compliment on the earliest opportunity of resorting to force themselves."

All I will say in reference to that part of the noble Lord's statement is, that it seems to be a little inconsistent with his present proceedings. I want to know whether the noble Lord is an advocate of order, or the champion of disorder? If he thinks that these proceedings at Birmingham were disgraceful, why does he propose to retaliate in the same way? On the contrary, if he thinks them perfectly legitimate, and intends to employ them himself, why does he come down to this House and complain? I really do not see how the noble Lord can get out of that dilemma. Does he pose as a champion of Parliamentary Order and decency, or is he prepared to support in Birmingham the proceedings which he has condemned to-day in this House? The noble Lord was more definite in later speeches. On October 15 he spoke at a banquet in a great hall, and he then said—

"The authors of this outrage were men who were hired—who were hired by Mr. Chamberlain and his friends — who were picked up, Heaven knows where, and who were paid, Heaven knows how, to do the work which no Birmingham artizan could be found to do."

The noble Lord went on to say—

"The only people who glory and revel in their disgrace are Mr. Schnadhorst and Mr. Jesse Collings, the Pylades and Orestes of Birmingham. We will not be too severe on them, for, after all, we may be perfectly certain of this —that they were acting under the inspiration and under the high direction of Mr. Chamberlain."

On October 13 the noble Lord also said—

"It is, gentlemen, to Mr. Chamberlain that we owe the scandalous proceedings of to-night;"

and later on he said—

"Let it go forth to-night that we, the Conservative Party in Birmingham, numbering at least one-half of the population of Birmingham, are prevented from holding a great meeting in the Town Hall to-morrow solely by the arts of Mr. Chamberlain.'

Those charges are definite enough. I ask the House whether any one of these charges has been—I will not say proved, but even repeated, to-night? Now, I am going to reply to them in detail, because, whether made in the House or outside, I think the time has come when an answer should be given to them. I will take first the case of the Town Hall. I have no more to do with the letting of the Town Hall in Birmingham than the noble Lord himself. It is let under regulations which have been in force for a generation. It is let to the first comer. The Tories have had the Town Hall again and again for their political demonstrations. The noble Lord, Lord Salisbury, and many other distinguished Members of the Tory Party, have in recent times had the Town Hall in Birmingham, and have received a perfectly attentive and respectful hearing. I did not know the Town Hall was engaged on this occasion. I knew nothing at all about it. I did not know anything about the meeting which was held there the night after the disturbances till I read the account of it in the papers. But I have inquired of the Liberal Party in Birmingham whether they could throw any light on the matter, and they tell me that the Town Hall was engaged by the Liberal Association last May—long before there was any talk about this Conservative demonstration, and long before they could know whether they would in any way interfere with the proceedings of the Tory Party. I am told, further, that they would have been perfectly willing to allow the use of the Town Hall to the Conservatives as a matter of courtesy, if an application had been made; but no application was made on behalf of the Tory Party. The noble Lord has evidently to-night, as on former occasions, been under a great delusion as to my supposed influence in Birmingham. It is most complimentary to me, although I think it ought to be rather discouraging to the noble Lord in his candidature for the borough. No doubt, in 1878, when my friend, Mr. George Dixon, in a moment of irritation about some local controversy which has been long since amicably settled, described me as having great influence in Birmingham, I do not think I could fairly have contested his statement. It was true at that time. I had been Mayor of the town for three years, Chairman of the School Board for three years, I was chairman of several of the leading institutions in the town, and a prominent member of the Liberal Association; and I was then fairly described as one of the most influential persons in the town. But since I have been a Member of Parliament I have taken very little part in local affairs, and since I have been a Member of the Government I have taken none at all. The moment I became a Member of the Government I resigned all the offices which I held in Birmingham, and I have since refrained from all interference. In my own interest I thought it inexpedient for me, the Representative of the town in Parliament, to interfere in local matters. Then the noble Lord says I am the Birmingham Caucus. Again, I am much flattered by this description of my influence and ability; but it is a total mistake. Except that I am a subscriber, although, I believe, not one of the largest subscribers, for, in common with my hon. Colleague and other Liberals in the town and neighbourhood, no doubt, I continue to subscribe to the funds exactly the same sum as I subscribed before I was Member for the town—beyond that I have no part whatever in the Liberal Association. I am not a member of any of its committees, and I have not attended any of its meetings. I am a Representative of the Liberal Association and of the town of Birmingham; and, knowing how jealous my constituents would be of any interference with their independence, I have thought it advisable to keep out of the matter altogether. The noble Lord is utterly mistaken, and is basing his suspicions and charges on the most slender foundation, if he puts them on the ground that I am in any way a moving force in connection with the Liberal Association of Birmingham. And now I come to another charge, probably the most serious of those which are brought by the noble Lord against me. He says that I have hired roughs. I will answer that in this way. I have never in my life hired a rough for any purpose whatever. I have never in my life contributed, directly or indirectly, to the hiring of roughs; I have never suggested the hiring of roughs. I have never connived at the hiring of roughs; and if I can in any possible way put that denial more broadly I shall be perfectly willing to do it. Then there remains the question whether any of my constituents hired roughs upon this occasion? It is, perhaps, too much for me to undertake to answer absolutely for all of them; but I do not believe a word of it. The noble Lord says that the Tory Party in Birmingham have got proof. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Evidence.] The noble Lord says "evidence;" but the House will observe that throughout the noble Lord, in talking about evidence, has not given the name of one individual except that of Mr. Satchell Hopkins, the chairman of the Conservative Association. Let hon. Members mark that. I have a good deal of evidence to bring before the House, and I am going to give names. I challenge the Conservative Party to prove the hiring of roughs. I suppose that the hiring of roughs for the purpose of breaking up a meeting is a criminal offence; and if the Conservatives discover that any of my constituents are guilty of it, let them bring them before a Court. I do not believe a word of it. In the first place, it has never been the custom of the Liberal Party in Birmingham or any of its members to hire roughs; and, secondly, on the present occasion the hiring of roughs was absolutely unnecessary. [*Cheers and laughter.*] Well, it was absolutely unnecessary. Even supposing that anyone in Birmingham was animated by the intentions which the noble Lord ascribes to them—even supposing now, for the sake of argument, that there were persons in my constituency who organized a premeditated disturbance in this meeting—it would have been totally unnecessary for them to go to the expense of hiring roughs, for they had 15,000 men on the ground, according to the noble Lord's own knowledge, close to the meeting. [*Opposition cheers.*] I assure hon. Members opposite that they will find that their cheering is a little premature when I come to deal with that part of the case. They admit there were 15,000 Liberals close by, and, in addition, there were 20,000 Liberals at least in the meeting itself. And now I come to the next question—that of the forged tickets. The noble Lord does not accuse me, I am happy to say, of personally forging these tickets; but as a reference has been made to it, I will first clear myself. I know absolutely nothing about it. I certainly have not suggested such a thing; I am not a party to it; and I do not know that it was done. Indeed, I am firmly convinced in my own mind that it was not done. [*Murmurs from the Opposition.*] I know perfectly well that Mr. Satchell Hopkins is a respectable man, whose word I would take on any matter known to himself. I know that he believes in this tale of a forgery; but I am sure it will be found, sooner or later, that it is only a mare's nest which the Tories have got hold of. At all events, if the tickets were forged, I had nothing whatever to do with it. I will undertake to say the same on behalf of all the responsible leaders; and, again, I must point out that there was no necessity for anything of the sort. I will show the noble Lord that there was not the least difficulty, in the first place, on the part of the Liberals in obtaining tickets for this meeting. There was no earthly reason why they should forge tickets when they were to be had by thousands. They had 10,000 tickets, at the very least, in their possession. Perhaps the noble Lord did not know that. Well, now I will give him the evidence at once. I will show him how the tickets were obtained. I have got here a sworn deposition. It is signed by Mr. James Wiggett, a machine tool maker, and dated the 28th of October, 1884. [*Ironical cheers from the Opposition.*] Yes; the day before yesterday. It would not have been any truer if made earlier. He says—

> "I am the president of the Machine Tool Makers' Society in Birmingham."

And at the end he says—

> "I am not, nor have I ever been, a member of either the Liberal or Conservative Associations in Birmingham or elsewhere."

MR. GORST: Before whom is that sworn?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Before Mr. W. Horton, a Commissioner to administer oaths in the Supreme Court of Judicature of England. This gentleman goes on—

> "About a fortnight before the day of the Tory demonstration I applied to Mr. Barton, the secretary of the Conservative Association, for tickets of entrance to the Aston Lower Grounds for the purpose of being distributed amongst the members and workmen of my society and the workmen engaged in my trade. I received from Mr. Barton 600 white tickets, which were distributed by me to any person in the trade who applied for them without reference to or knowing their politics. I had for myself a red ticket for admission to the reserved seats. When I presented myself at the entrance at the Lower Grounds I had a Gladstone badge pinned to my coat. The men in charge of the entrance refused to allow me to enter, saying that my ticket was a forgery."

That was a ticket which this man had actually received from the secretary to the Conservative Association. He goes on—

> "I went back and took off my badge, and immediately afterwards presented myself at another entrance with the same ticket, and I was admitted without any objection."

This is another statement on the same subject. It is from Mr. Walter Parsons, and he says—

> "I presented myself at the turnstile, near the Witton Road, with the ticket I had given me by Mr. Wootton, Scripture reader for St. Paul's Church—given me at the express request of the Vicar himself, who was present on the occasion. Having given my ticket up to one of the stewards, I was told to 'go about my business or I should be removed by the police,' as the ticket I had given was a 'forged' one. Three ladies who passed in before me also had their tickets torn up in their faces and were sent away. I tried to explain myself to the man in charge, but he turned a deaf ear to all my entreaties. Fortunately I had another ticket given me by a very prominent member of the All Saints' Conservative Association. I went to the other entrance near the hotel, and was passed in all right without any ceremony."

Now, I think these letters will show the House how all this difficulty has arisen. The Tories got it into their heads that the Liberals were going to forge tickets, and the next thing was to assume that everyone who went with a Liberal badge had a forged ticket, and these people were tearing up their own tickets all over the place, believing them to be forged. I have now done with the accusations made against me at Birmingham, and I come to those made in the House, and the next statement I come to seems to me a very striking one. The noble Lord says I must have been aware of the arrangements for the counter-demonstration. Of course, I was aware of them. I had the same knowledge of them as the noble Lord himself. The first intimation I had was from the newspapers, and if the noble Lord will refer to *The Birmingham Daily Post* he will see where I got my first intimation of this meeting being held. I admit, without the least difficulty, that I was aware that the meeting was to be held. I did not suggest it; I had nothing whatever to do with it. But the noble Lord says I might have stopped it. My answer is, that I could not have stopped it if I would, and I would not have stopped it if I could. Why on earth should I have stopped it? It was a perfectly legitimate counter-demonstration.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Ireland!

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I quite understand the support the noble Lord expects to get by his allusion to Ireland. It was a perfectly legitimate and orderly demonstration. There was no earthly reason why I should have interfered to prevent it; and I go further and say that it would not have led to any disturbance or evil results at all but for the crass stupidity of the Tory management. I think I heard some hon. Members opposite say the counter-demonstration was held at the same place. Is it such an uncommon thing to hold two meetings in England where they can be held safely very nearly at the same place by different parties to consider the same subject? Why, Sir, I find that at Stroud, on July 30, there was a demonstration of Liberals, and I find that the right hon. Gentleman opposite the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) attended a Conservative counter-demonstration, called at the same hour, and within 500 yards of the same place.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: They were absolutely out of sight of one another. It was utterly impossible for those present at one meeting to have anything to do with those attending the other.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I beg to say that the meetings at Birmingham were out of sight of one another until the wall went down; and I really cannot follow the right hon. Gentleman when he says it was absolutely impossible for one meeting to have anything to do with another only 500 yards off. But I am not in the least complaining of the conduct of the right hon. Gentleman. What I say is, that it does not necessarily suggest itself to the mind of an English statesman that to hold a counter-demonstration is a provocation to riot and disorder. Well, then, the noble Lord has commented on a placard. I really do not know whether I saw that placard; but having listened to the recital of it by the noble Lord, although it partakes a good deal of the flowery character of controversial political literature, I do not see in substance much to object to in it. The Liberals of Birmingham were called upon to resent the insults that had been flung at them by the noble Lord, Lord Salisbury, and others attending the Tory meeting, and, if they could, to get admittance—for what? To vote against the resolution. Then the noble Lord says they were asked to wear their badges. Of course they were. They went as Liberals, and they were not ashamed of their profession of their political faith. Then the noble Lord makes a statement which really is almost too absurd to be serious. He is bringing this tremendous charge against me; and what is one of the grounds he seriously lays before the House of Commons for suspecting me of having committed an act as to the morality of which I will not at this moment say anything, but which would be an act of the supremest folly in a person in my position? The noble Lord suspects me of direct complicity in the riots at Birmingham, because, forsooth, I was at my house a few days before the meeting. Does not the noble Lord know that I live at Birmingham? I do not know what the domestic habits of the noble Lord are. But I confess I am inclined to augur badly of them if he thinks it a matter of suspicion for a gentleman to stop at home with his family. [*Cries of "Oh!" from the Opposition.*] Yes; I think these details are unworthy of the House of Commons. But it is not my fault that they have been brought forward. The moment I returned from Germany, after an absence of five weeks, I went to my house at Birmingham, and remained there continuously for some time. I was at Hanley on the 7th of October, where I remained until the 9th, and on the 9th I returned to Birmingham and remained there until the 18th. Does the noble Lord mean to suggest that when he honours Birmingham with a visit I am to fly for refuge to some other place? I can only say I was at Birmingham long before the noble Lord was heard of, and I shall remain there long after the noble Lord's connection with that place has come to an end. I think I have now gone *seriatim* through every one of the personal charges which have been made against me by the noble Lord. I shall deal with the speeches to which he has referred later on; but, as regards any charge of complicity in these disturbances or in a conspiracy to create them, I treat it with a flat denial, and I meet it with a denial of all the details which the noble Lord has used. I say that a charge of this kind ought not to have been made, and I do not believe that it is advanced on public grounds at all, but it seems to me to be dictated by personal prejudice and Party feeling. I verily believe that in the whole history of Parliament no such grave charge has ever been brought against a Minister of the Crown upon grounds so trumpery and so inadequate. The noble Lord says that in one of my speeches at Newtown I have condoned the acts of my constituents.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I said that the right hon. Gentleman gloried in those acts.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Yes; he said that I gloried in them. I should like to read to the House what I did say on this point, because the noble Lord only read a portion of the paragraph from which he quoted. What I said was that if anyone said that I was inciting to violence and disorder—

> "That is false. There are only two men in this country who throughout this quarrel have conspicuously incited the people to disorder and violence. One of them is Lord Randolph Churchill, who, speaking at Edinburgh at the end of last year, declared that he would not consent to extend the franchise unless the labourers showed that they were in earnest by pulling down the railings, or by engaging the police and the military. This is the man who is now so indignant because the working men of Birmingham took him at his word, and pulled off the coping of a wall in order to attend a meeting to which they had been invited, and which the Tory managers were attempting by a transparent fraud to palm off as a representation of the opinion of Birmingham."

Well, I do not see, I confess, especially with the information I have now to lay before the House, that there is one word in that statement which I ought to withdraw. I want the House to consider what these proceedings were of which the noble Lord complains. I believe that I have a greater hatred of violence than the noble Lord, and I am perfectly ready to subscribe to every word which was uttered by the Prime Minister on the first day of the Session. If I ask the House to take a lenient view of the proceedings of my constituents on the occasion in question, it is because I believe that those proceedings were caused by almost intolerable provocation, and that they were pursued almost entirely in self-defence. I think it right that the House should know that the whole of this matter has been very grossly exaggerated. The noble Lord talked about a riot.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I was there and saw what occurred.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The noble Lord has not seen, as I have, an angry mob, or he would not speak in that way of the proceedings of what was, on the whole, the good-tempered mob before which he stood on Monday week. The total amount of damage done by 50,000 or 60,000 people trampling over the extensive grounds at Aston is only estimated by the manager and proprietor of the grounds at £126, and he says that damage to an equal amount has frequently been done by an ordinary meeting of similar magnitude on a Bank Holiday or similar occasion, and, although the crowd had entire possession of the building and the grounds, there was not one case of serious personal injury. Does the noble Lord suppose that if a Birmingham mob had not been good tempered that 50,000 people could have got out of these grounds without any injury beyond a few scratches? I do not say this in order to excuse what has been done however; that must stand upon a different footing. I merely put this to the House to show that this was not an organized mob, and that this was not premeditated violence, and I think that I shall convince the House that whatever was done was the result of the mismanagement of those who called the meeting. I must remind the House that this was not an ordinary Conservative demonstration. The Conservatives have held meetings in Birmingham again and again, and, as far as I am aware, not a single meeting called by them has ever been broken up before, although they have been attended by a considerable number of their political opponents. On the occasion in question, however, the Tories gave more importance to the meeting than would have attached to an ordinary Conservative gathering. Their game was palpable to the Liberals. If they had called an ordinary Conservative meeting, they could not have hoped to have filled the grounds, because, in spite of the statement of the noble Lord, there are not 50,000 Tories to be found in Birmingham or anywhere in the neighbourhood of that town. ["Hear, hear!" *and* "Oh, oh!"] Well, not male Tories, at all events; and what the Tories relied upon was the presence of their Liberal opponents in order to make up the meeting, while they were to have packed gatherings in the two great halls, as well as the assembly in the grounds, at which resolutions were to be passed which were to go out to the world as an expression of opinion on the part of the people of Birmingham. The noble Lord says that he has it on the authority of the Tory managers of the meeting that no invitation was ever given to the Liberals to attend, and that the meeting was always declared to be a Conservative gathering. Now, I will call the attention of the noble Lord to a speech of a friend of his, Mr. Barton, the paid secretary of the Conservative Association at Birmingham, and the hon. secretary of this demonstration. This gentleman attended a dinner at the Hen and Chickens Hotel in Birmingham on September 10, and, referring to the demonstration, said—

> "It would be open to all who would take the trouble to get a ticket, Liberals and Conservatives alike, and except for the formality of obtaining a ticket all would be free to attend, and he hoped they would invite all their friends, whether Liberals or Conservatives."

There is an invitation given by the official who had more right to give it than any other man in Birmingham, which was accepted, no doubt very much to the discomfiture of the noble Lord. Now, as to the attempt to misrepresent this meeting, *The Birmingham Gazette*, a Tory journal, on the 9th of October, said—

> "Just as the great Conservative demonstration at Manchester at the commencement of the Recess campaign proved unmistakably that the people believed in the Peers and honoured them for their pluck and statesmanship, so the demonstrations next week in Birmingham, at the close of the Recess, and on the eve of the next move on the Parliamentary chess board, are expected to prove"—

not that the Conservative Party, but—

> "that the heart of England beats in unison with its extremities North and South, and that the people of the Midlands have faith in the wisdom and prudence of the Conservative Leaders in the present crisis, and have perfect confidence in their ability to vindicate principles which, being above Party, can claim to be national."

It is perfectly plain, therefore, that this was to be a national demonstration in favour of national principles. Well, the Liberals applied for tickets in hundreds and thousands, and the Tories believed that they were going to have a most successful demonstration. They gave away these tickets wholesale, and some 10,000 tickets were obtained by Liberals. But, after a time, the Conservatives found that they were giving too many tickets to Liberals—they began to smell a rat, because they found that the great Conservative demonstration would be attended by so large a number of Liberals that they would not be able to pass their resolutions; and, accordingly, after a time the further issue of tickets to Liberals was refused. It was when that refusal to issue more tickets to Liberals was announced that the working men of Birmingham determined to get up a counter-demonstration, with which, I believe, the Liberal Associations had nothing to do. Of course, there were members of the Liberals Associations on the Committee; but the meeting was chiefly organized by Trades Unionists. Some 15,000 Liberals attended the counter-demonstration, and I am told that the speeches were of a very moderate character, and that there was no incitement to violence, and that no word was uttered to which anyone could take exception. Everything would have passed off quietly but for the utterly unjustifiable conduct of the Tory Party to the Liberals who, having got tickets, presented them at the gates, wearing the Liberal badge, and were refused admission. Here is a letter from Mr. Coleman, who is connected with one of the religious bodies of the town, in which he says—

> "Kindly grant me space to complain of an unwarrantable and dastardly attack made upon my son in the Lower Grounds yesterday. He had purchased a reserve ticket for the great hall, for the purpose of hearing the speeches of Sir Stafford Northcote and Lord Randolph Churchill. This ticket he duly presented at the gates, and was admitted. He had no sooner entered than he was accosted by a respectably-dressed man, who, seeing his Gladstone badge, exclaimed 'You're a Gladstone man,' and immediately struck him a violent blow on the head with a heavy stick, felling him to the ground. Nor was this a singular instance. Several of my neighbours and friends, on presenting their tickets, had them roughly snatched from their hands, and were ejected with great force from the grounds. These facts speak for themselves, and so far from the Tories winning additional votes for Lord Randolph Churchill, by such brutal conduct they stir the disgust and indignation of every right-minded citizen, and provoke against themselves much rancour and bitterness for the future.
>
> "Yours truly,
>
> "HENRY COLEMAN."

This was not a solitary instance in which Liberals were ill-treated; it was the general treatment of every known Liberal. The consequence of such conduct on the part of the Tory Party may be easily imagined. These men, who had been so treated, came round to the other meeting which was being held in the neighbourhood, and they complained of the scandalous way in which they had been treated. And naturally there was a great deal of indignation expressed. The people in the crowd began to scale the wall. First it was boys, and then it was men. The wall was covered on the top with broken glass bottles, and those who got over first suffered a little in their persons and their clothes, and they, therefore, called out to their friends to knock off the coping of the wall. It was, however, knocked off from the inside, and was reached by a ladder taken from a shed belonging to the manager of the grounds, and that alone showed that there could be no premeditation in the matter. Having got the ladder, they knocked off the coping, and then knocked down six feet of the wall, through the gap in which 15,000 men, all Liberals, came pouring. Then they did that which I cannot justify. They let off the Tory fireworks. That was undoubtedly wrong. And what was worse, they acted with indignity towards the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition—they let him off upside down. Up to this point, I must inform the House, the meeting had not been disturbed or broken up; and if the Tories had acted wisely, they might have had their meeting and their speakers listened to. Of course, they would have been outvoted by 10 to one; but they must take their chance of that if they call a "national demonstration" in Birmingham. Now I come to the most serious part of the case. Mr. Satchell Hopkins has stated, in a letter to the papers—

> "That the Conservatives had no hired roughs at Aston Lower Grounds on Monday, the 13th of October, either as 'chuckers out' or in any other capacity, offensive or defensive."

[Lord Randolph Churchill: Hear hear!] The noble Lord had better not cheer too soon. Mr. Hopkins said—

> "That there were about 450 stewards, all of whom were volunteers and unpaid, and that the whole of the arrangements were made for an orderly and peaceable meeting."

Now, Mr. Hopkins is evidently under a mistake in this matter, because, at a meeting held a few days before the 13th of October, Mr. Stone, late president of the Conservative Association, stated that it was expected that the Liberals would come, and that if they did effective arrangements had been made for vigorously repressing them. I accept Mr. Hopkins's statement so far as he speaks of facts within his own knowledge; but Mr. Hopkins is a guileless man, he does not know what I know, and what the House will soon know. Now as to the meeting in the great hall. I have a letter from Mr. W. E. Cooke, a manufacturer at Constitution Hill, Birmingham, who explains the way that the riot commenced. He says that the refusal to admit people with tickets led to people getting over the wall—

> "As to the great hall," he says, "I was near the reporters' table, and saw a Tory steward hit a man trying to get into the speakers' gallery—this was the commencement of the strife. The man struck was directly in front of me, so that I could not see the striker's face."

This was the beginning of the row. I have also the letters of two gentlemen—Mr. J. S. Reynolds, manufacturer, and Mr. W. B. Vince, solicitor, the son of a highly esteemed Nonconformist minister. They say they were standing close to the reporters' table, and had a good view of the whole proceedings. They were in a position to state that the first breach of the peace was by a Tory steward. A gentleman came there with a Gladstone badge, showing a platform ticket. He attempted to get on the platform, but was pushed back, and was struck a heavy blow in the face by a person wearing the badge of a Tory steward, and was knocked full length on the floor. This, said the writer, was more than flesh and blood could stand. More joined in the conflict, and a general *mêlée* took place. The first blow, they said, was struck by a Tory steward, whom they believed they could identify.

Mr. GORST: Is that sworn testimony?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: No; but I shall be delighted to provide the hon. and learned Member with sworn testimony. I would remind him that the noble Lord did not give any sworn testimony at all. Mr. Wiggett, president of the Machine Tool Makers' Society, in the latter part of that deposition from which I have already quoted, says—

"I went direct into the great hall, and stationed myself at the back of the reserved seats. Long before the proceedings commenced I saw a number of men who were on the platform wearing rosettes, and who were striking the people in front of the platform with their sticks. Up to that time there was no disturbance whatever; but the people close to the platform were so exasperated by the treatment of the men on the platform, that they made a rush to get on the platform. The men on the platform defended it as well as they could with chairs and sticks. I saw all that took place, and I say positively that the disturbance was commenced by the men on the platform who wore rosettes, and that up to the time when they began using their fists there was nothing but good-natured chaff and banter taking place."

I have some more sworn information. Edward Reed, of Moor Street, Birmingham—perhaps the noble Lord knows him.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Who is he?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Well, he is a rough. He says, upon oath, that—

"Between 9 and 10 o'clock on the morning of the day when the Tory demonstration took place at Aston, I went to the shop of Mr. R. C. Jarvis, in Worcester Street, for the purpose of getting an engagement at the Aston Lower Grounds. I went to Mr. Jarvis, because I had been engaged and paid by him on previous occasions to attend and break up Liberal election meetings. I saw Mr. Jarvis in his shop, and I said to him—'Please give me an engagement for Aston,' and he gave me one. He said—'Why don't you go with the mob?' And I said—'Oh, I go by myself.' He replied—'Go and do what you can.' I said—'Well, what are we to do when we get there?' He said—'If you see any Liberal badges on the people, tear them off their coats and destroy them.' He also said—'You must go with the mob—do what they do, and I will see you.' In the afternoon I went with 11 or 12 roughs down to Aston. We got there about half-past 3. We were all supplied with tickets. When the doors of the great hall were opened we got in, and went on to the platform. We left the platform and we met Mr. Jarvis. One of our party asked him what we were to do, and he said—'I have told you once; do as I told you, rip them things off them,' meaning the Gladstone badges. We at once set to work tearing off the badges from the coats of the people who were wearing them. I then went out to have a drink, and on returning to the hall a lot of Liberals were getting into the room. I and my companions then began knocking the Liberals about, and we did all we could to prevent them getting on to the platform. I afterwards got on to the platform and assisted the Tories in knocking the Liberals off, and this continued until the Liberals got too strong for us. I must have knocked about 10 Liberals down. I used chairs, and broke two of them over the Liberals. I shortly afterwards left the grounds. I went to Mr. Jarvis's shop on the Wednesday following to be paid. I saw Mr. Jarvis himself, and he paid me half-a-sovereign for what I had done."

MR. GORST: Will the right hon. Gentleman say before whom that was sworn?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What is the date of it?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: It was sworn at the Birmingham County Court on the 28th of October before C. Horton, Commissioner to administer oaths of the Supreme Court of Judicature in England. Now I have got another deposition to read to the House.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Another rough?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Two or three roughs. Richard Taylor, Baker, Hanley, and Leveson, all living in Birmingham, made oath. Taylor said that, in company with the others, he went to the Aston Grounds for the purpose of getting an engagement from the Tories. He fully expected to get an engagement, as he had frequently had engagements before for the purpose of upsetting meetings of Liberals, for which he had always received payment from the Tory Party. They had tickets given them by members of the Tory Party with which they went straight into the grounds. There they saw Mr. Barton, secretary of the Conservative Association. They told him they were not engaged. He said—"Go and do the best you can, and I will see to you." They then went towards the refreshment bar, and whilst there one of the Tories brought them 7*s.* worth of checks to get drink with. They were told—"If you see any people with Gladstone badges you must tear them off." They went to the platform. They knocked the Liberals down as fast as they could, until they got too numerous and strong, and then "we hopped the twig." During the following week they received several sums of money from different Tories for what they did at Aston. On the Thursday following they went to the Conservative Association office to be paid. They saw Mr. Barton, and they said—"Is there not anything for us?" He said—"Where is my bag?" And then he said—"We had better leave it till Monday and come again. I will write to the Colonel." They went to the office on the Monday and saw the clerk, who said Mr. Barton was very bad. "Here is half-a-sovereign for you." They refused that because it was not enough. They went on Wednesday and took the half-sovereign, on the understanding that Mr. Barton would write to the Colonel about it. Anderson and Leveson said that was all true; but they did not hear the conversation in the office because they remained outside while Barton went in to receive the money. That was sworn on the 27th of October before Mr. Hooper.

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD: Will the right hon. Gentleman tell us what proceedings will be instituted?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No proceedings have been instituted; but I think it is likely they will form a part of proceedings in the future.

MR. GIBSON: Is there any title at the head of the document showing that it was taken before a Commissioner of Oaths?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I really cannot answer for the Commissioners. These depositions have been taken before three or four Commissioners. I have given the names of two already, and I shall shortly give the name of another. I have hitherto been dealing with the proceedings in the great hall, and I say that the depositions which I have read show clearly that the disturbance in that case was commenced by these Tory roughs, acting as stewards; and it was in consequence of their assaults on the Liberals that the platform was stormed and the meeting broken up. Now I come to the meeting in the Skating Rink. With regard to the Skating Rink meeting, I have a letter from Mr. F. J. Staples, in which he says—

> "Before the storming of the platform I saw one of the 'gentlemen' behind the speaker's chair take up one of the chairs and hurl it with all his might into the midst of those in front of him. It was a mercy no one was killed; but it was cleverly caught and returned. Others followed his bad example, and the scuffle began; so for the breaking of the chairs in the hall the Conservatives have to thank one of themselves, for they certainly began the quarrel without sitting down to count the cost."

I have another letter from Mr. Parsons, in which he bears testimony to the same effect. I now begin to read another deposition in reference to what took place in the Skating Rink. The deposition is signed by Larry Mack, of John Street, late Newton Street, Birmingham, and dated 28th October. It was taken before Mr. Horton, and is to this effect—

> "On the morning of the day on which the Tory meeting took place at Aston I went to Mr. Jarvis's shop in Worcester Street to get an engagement. I went there because I had been told that if I went to him he would set me on. I saw Mr. Jarvis in his shop. It would be about 10 o'clock. I asked him if he was engaging any men to send down to Aston, and he said 'Yes,' and I told him to put my name down. He said 'I am in a hurry now, but go down to Aston and do what you can and come back to me. I know your features, and will see to you.' He told me to join the mob, and do what they did. I went down to Aston about half-past 1 o'clock. I had a ticket. When I got into the grounds I joined a gang of roughs there, and we spent some time in drinking. We had a lot of drink before the meeting commenced. We went into the Rink about 4 o'clock, and stationed ourselves close to the platform. About 5 o'clock the people came into the Rink very fast. We noticed a lot of people coming in with Gladstone badges on, and we snatched them off. On the following day I went to Mr. Jarvis's shop in Worcester Street to be paid. I saw Mr. Jarvis himself. Mr. Jarvis paid me 6*s*. for my work on the Monday. I asked him for 10*s*., and he said he could not afford me more."

I have here another deposition by J. Welch, of Smithfield Passage, Birmingham, and Enoch Bird, of Central Row, Birmingham, taken on oath before Mr. M. Hooper, Commissioner, on the 27th. The former says—

> "A few days before the Monday when the Tory meeting was to take place at Aston, I met Mr. Bryan, fishmonger, of Balsall Street, at the corner of Macdonald Street and Barford Street South. Mr. Bryan is a Tory. He said to me—'Come here, I want you.' And I said—'What for?' And he replied—'I want you to get 40 men to go down to the Lower Grounds on Monday to "bear up" for the Tories.' He also stated that it would be all right, and that he was waiting for Mr. Jarvis, of Worcester Street. I engaged a lot of roughs, altogether about 14. I could not get any more, as they wanted to know where the 'brass' was coming from. He said—'Meet me at the Queen's Arms public-house, at the corner of Barford Street South, to-morrow, and I will put you all right.' I and about 16 roughs met Mr. Bryan on the following morning at the Queen's Arms. Mr. Bryan paid for about eight or ten quarts of beer. He said—'I want you all to go to the Lower Grounds and do the best you can.' He said he was a rank Tory, and he wanted the men to 'bear up' for the Party. He said Mr. Jarvis was to have met him there, but he had not come. I got plenty of tickets from the Tories for admission to the grounds. I and my 'pals' went to the Lower Grounds about 4 o'clock on Monday. We went into the Skating Rink, and on to the platform, where we took platform seats. A number of Liberals tried to come on to the platform, but as fast as they came up we knocked them down with the chairs. This was the commencement of the row. We continued to knock them down until they got too strong, and then we had to run away. Harry Jarvis was with me, and we had half-a-sovereign given to us, which we spent in drink on the ground. We remained on

the ground the whole evening, cheering for and supporting the Tories. On the day after the meeting I went to Mr. R. C. Jarvis, in Worcester Street, to be paid. He gave me a note to Mr. Barton, the secretary of the Conservative Association. We went to Mr. Barton. Mr. Barton gave us his card, and told us to go back to Mr. Jarvis and tell him to pay us anything in reason, and he would pay him back. We went back to Mr. Jarvis, and found a mob in his shop. Mr. Jarvis would not pay because of the mob. When he refused to pay, I said—'Here is your own handwriting; it is clear proof that you engaged us.' He took the note and ripped it up, but I picked up the bits."

This statement is confirmed by the other man, Bird. Now, Sir, I think I have really done almost sufficient to prove my case. If the noble Lord has not got enough, I have plenty more evidence. I have got here four or five depositions, altogether, I believe, from a dozen men —[Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Perjurers! *and cries of* "Order!"]—giving details to the same effect, that they were engaged by certain Tories to go to the grounds at Aston in order to assault the Liberals, to tear off their badges, and, if necessary, to "clout" them—that is, to hustle them; and that they performed that task. They began the row, and, in consequence of their proceedings, the meeting was broken up. One of those depositions, however, contained some special information which it is right the noble Lord and his friends at Birmingham should have some knowledge of.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hand them over.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No, indeed; I will not trust them out of my possession. The noble Lord will, I have no doubt, read them in the newspapers, or I shall be happy to furnish him with copies. Charles Smith, of Bow Street, Birmingham, says—

"About 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the day on which the Tory demonstration took place at Aston, I went to the office of the Conservative Association in Newhall Street, Birmingham, for the purpose of getting an engagement to go to Aston. I saw Mr. Charles Barton. I asked him if my services would be wanted at Aston; he told me that they would, and he gave me half-a-crown to get some beer with. I went down to Aston, and into the grounds. I had half-a-dozen tickets from Mr. Charles Barton. When I got into the grounds I joined a gang of roughs, led by a man named Harry Jarvis. For about two hours we walked about the grounds and pulled off the Gladstone badges that we found, and if any complained about the badges being taken off them, we 'clouted' them."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: What!

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Does not the noble Lord know what "clouting" means? I sincerely hope he may never have that Birmingham experience. The deposition goes on—

"This was before the meeting commenced. About 5 o'clock in the afternoon I went up to Mr. William Barton and told him that the half-crown I had had from the office was not enough. He gave me another half-crown and two shillings' worth of checks for drinks. We spent the money, and also the checks, in drink, and afterwards we went into the great hall. When we got in there we began pulling off the badges and knocking the Liberals about. We attacked everybody that we saw in opposition to the Tories. We continued doing this until our opponents became too numerous, and then we ran away. On the following morning I went to the offices of the Conservative Association for some money. I saw Mr. Charles Barton, who said that all the money he had in his pocket was 3½*d.*, and he gave me that. There were between 11 and 12 roughs in my gang, who had all been engaged to work for the Tories. We understood our instructions to be to tear off all the Gladstone badges, and we were left to do what else we thought fit. For the last 10 years I have been engaged by Tories. I was always engaged for the express purpose of attending and breaking up Liberal meetings. I know a lot of roughs who have been engaged by the Tories at election times to do the same kind of work."

This deposition is signed "Charles Smith," and it was made before another Commissioner, named Parr. The date is the 29th October; so that there are three dates—the 27th, 28th, and 29th October. I think I have adduced quite sufficient evidence. It is at the service of the noble Lord, if he likes; and I confess that I think it is almost a matter of honour on his part to pursue this investigation further. All the evidence which is before me shall be at his disposal in the copies, if not in the original. From this evidence, it is clear who were responsible for the riots at Birmingham. It shows that there was a set and deliberate purpose to repress the Liberals, and to repress them by means of hired roughs, in the way in which roughs ordinarily pursue their business. In consequence of this violence, there naturally followed the breaking up of the meetings, and the general discomfiture of the whole Conservative demonstration. There is only one thing in the speech of the noble Lord in which I think I can heartily concur. He called upon me to express regret that any possible slight should have been passed on the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition. Sir, I respond to that appeal. The right hon. Gentleman has always been a courteous and a generous opponent, and I deeply regret that he suffered any annoyance in connection with those proceedings. I can assure him it was not personal to himself, because I believe my constituents respect him, as I also do. I do not know whether it is possible for me to make any reparation; but this I do offer. If he is magnanimous enough to overlook this matter, and if he will come again to Birmingham, and will allow me to attend him on the platform in the Town Hall of Birmingham, I will pledge myself that he shall have in the Town Hall—in a free, open meeting, and for which no tickets are issued—a respectful attention and a quiet hearing from my constituents. I can promise him that; that they will acquiesce in his views I cannot promise, nor can I promise that a resolution will be carried in the sense in which he may desire; but I think I am justified in the promise I make to him, on behalf of my constituents that he will obtain a quiet and respectful hearing. I say that from what I know of my constituents, and from what I know of the character which is borne in Birmingham by the right hon. Gentleman. I have now only to deal with the noble Lord's observations on the speeches that I have delivered during the Recess, and previous to it. He is entirely mistaken in saying that the first speech of mine, on which he commented, was delivered after the breaking up of Parliament. It was delivered while Parliament was sitting; and if the noble Lord thought that it incited to violence and disorder, I cannot understand why he put such a restraint upon himself, and did not call the attention of the House to that speech. I can only, in regard to the passage which he has quoted from it, say that it appears to me to be a mere historical retrospect, every word of which is true, and that it might very properly serve, I think, as a warning to the Party opposite. Does the noble Lord object to historical retrospects? Does he mean to say that any man who, at a public meeting, relates the occurrences of 1832 and 1867, is offering incitement to disorder? If he does, then I say that the noble Lord is, as usual, very inconsistent. Speaking on the 19th of December, 1883, at Edinburgh, the noble Lord himself said—

> "Now, in 1832 and 1867, when very large settlements of Reform were effected, there can be no doubt that the unenfranchised classes wanted the franchise very much, and it would have been highly inexpedient, not to say impossible, to have refused it. There was, at that time, intense political excitement all over the country, constant mass meetings, imposing demonstrations, gigantic petitions, considerable disturbances, and dangerous riots. To have refused to enlarge the electoral rolls at those times would have brought about a revolution."

Why these are almost my very words. The noble Lord continues—

> "But what have you now? You have no political excitement, no mass meetings, no demonstrations, no petitions, no disturbances, no riots, and for this very good reason—that the existing electoral arrangements, although imperfect and anomalous, do not excite any very general or deep dissatisfaction."

I must say I think that such an historical retrospect with a moral of that kind does appear to be an incitement to riot and disorder. But my historical retrospect had a totally different purpose and character. The noble Lord referred to my speech at Hanley on the 7th of October, in which I said that the Tories had not held a single open public meeting, except at Darlington where the resolution was carried against them. That is the reason why the Tories do not hold open public meetings. I defy the Tories now to hold an open public meeting in any single town in the country on this question.

Mr. ECROYD: I wish to ask, Mr. Speaker, whether I may answer on behalf of my constituents? ["No!" *and cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I say I defy hon. Gentlemen opposite at any open public meeting, held without tickets or conditions, to carry a resolution approving of the action of the House of Lords on the Franchise Bill. The noble Lord referred also to the part of my speech at Hanley in which I said that certain gentlemen were presuming upon the love of order and the hatred of violence on the part of the English people, and in which I spoke of the puny obstacles that would be swept away. I should have liked, if the noble Lord—although, perhaps, it might have lengthened his observations—had quoted the context of that remark, in order that the House might have seen whom the gentlemen I alluded to were, and what were the puny obstacles which I said the resolution, and courage, and love of liberty, and hatred of injustice which are the characteristics of the English people would sweep away. I had been referring to the majority by which the Franchise Bill had been rejected by the House of Lords, and I said that they consisted of 59 Peers; and it was the monstrous pretensions of those 59 persons, who were not representatives in any sense, and who are under no adequate responsibility—it was their monstrous pretensions that I described as puny obstacles which would be swept away, and which I am now certain will be swept away in the course of this agitation. With regard to my speech at Newtown, the noble Lord referred to one or two passages in it, but chiefly to that part which has been already quoted, and which I think was perfectly justified by his own observations at Edinburgh. He also quoted the statements that I laid before the meeting, and the question that I put to them—"If the Lords continued to sneer at orderly manifestations of public feeling, what will you do?" The noble Lord makes me responsible for the interjections of the crowd. Why did he not quote the answer given to that question? He has got the answer that was promptly given on the spot—"Turn them out." My question and my observations had the same meaning, and were directed to the same point as those which were made by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister the other day when he warned the Party opposite of the consequences, the inevitable consequences, of pursuing this controversy to the bitter end. There is one part of my speech at Newtown which the noble Lord did not quote, but it has been referred to out-of-doors. Lord Salisbury suggested that I should march to London at the head of my constituents, and expressed a strong opinion that my head would be broken in that case. In answer to that suggestion, I said that I would accept the challenge to head my constituents should they think it right to march upon London, provided that Lord Salisbury would head the column which was to meet them. Now I wish to say that the historical march on London that was projected by my constituents or by the forefathers of my constituents in Birmingham in 1832 was distinctly a peaceful demonstration. The great Political Union always appealed to peaceful and Constitutional means; and that meeting was to have been a demonstration only, not a demonstration of physical force, but a demonstration of the earnestness, the sincerity, and the self-sacrifice of the men who took part in it. And, therefore, in saying that I would head a similar march, I only referred to an equally peaceful demonstration. But some comment has been made on the expression that I would meet Lord Salisbury. Let the House recollect the circumstances in which that challenge was made. Who is Lord Salisbury? He is a man who has served the Crown in the highest Offices; he is the Leader of the Conservative Party, a great Peer, a man who has had a much longer and much wider political experience than I have had; and if he thought that he was justified in making such an insinuation, such a suggestion, as that I should march with my constituents on London, and that I should get my head broken, I confess that I thought I was justified in giving a bantering retort of the same character. But if the House should be of opinion that such an insinuation or suggestion was unworthy of Lord Salisbury, and is deserving of the censure of the House, I, for my part, am perfectly prepared to submit my retort to an exactly equivalent censure. I deny that in my speech at Newtown I incited to violence or disorder. I said, however, that there were two men who had conspicuously done so—namely, the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock and Lord Salisbury. I repeat that statement here, and I should not have much difficulty in proving it. If I repeat it now it is because I am sincerely anxious to repeat the warning which I have endeavoured to give in public speeches. I know that it is difficult to get hon. Gentlemen opposite to see the difference between a warning and a threat. I know that when the Prime Minister the other night spoke of the consequences that would ensue from this agitation if it were continued, hon. Gentlemen opposite called out, "That is a threat." Well, Sir, where my right hon. Friend has failed I confess that I have little hope that I shall succeed. But I say, speaking seriously, and with a sense of my responsibility, that I think I know perhaps more than most men in this House of the opinions on this question of the great masses of my fellow-countrymen. I have been in close communication only recently with very large numbers of those men, and especially with the leaders of the working classes in different parts of the country, and I say that the spirit and the temper which they are showing has filled me with alarm, and that if this controversy is pursued in the rancorous spirit in which it has hitherto been carried on by the noble Lord and by Lord Salisbury—[" No!" *from the Opposition, and Ministerial cheers*]—then I, for one, dread the consequences. Someone cried "No!" when I said that the controversy had been carried on in a rancorous spirit. The noble Lord said to-night that if anyone read his recent speeches—and he called the House to witness his assertion—he would find that there was not one word in them which would not pass the criticism of the Chair. I think, however, that Mr. Speaker would be very much surprised to hear some of the language used by the noble Lord in those speeches of his. I have gone over those speeches lately. It was not a very pleasant task; and I have culled a few of the choice flowers of rhetoric that are to be found in them which I should like to lay before the House. I will take my own case first. The noble Lord has described me as a "pinchbeck Robespierre." Well, I believe Robespierre was, by the common assent of his contemporaries, called the "incorruptible." The historical memory of the noble Lord can furnish him with the names of some persons who were not entitled to that appellation. Then the noble Lord went on to describe my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board as a "renegade democrat," and he spoke of the Home Secretary as using the "language of a bravo with the spirit of a flunkey." He spoke of the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham as "a plundering cuckoo, animated by the calculating meanness of his sect."

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: That is a mistake in the papers. I said "meekness," not "meanness." It was a misreport.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I might retort upon the noble Lord, as in his accusation against myself, and say that, by not publicly denying the statement, he has practically accepted the responsibility.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did deny it, in a letter which was published ever so long ago.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The passage which referred to my right hon. Friend is, at length, as follows—it was delivered at Kidlington on January 31 of the present year—

> "Those who read Mr. Charles Villiers's speeches will find that Mr. Bright and his dear friend, Mr. Cobden, were nothing more nor less than two plundering cuckoos, who shamefully ejected Mr. Charles Villiers from the nest which he had constructed, and who reared therein their own chattering and silly brood."

He then went on to say—

> "Mr. Bright enjoyed for two years the emolument of a sinecure office. During those two years two bloody wars were waged—the war in Afghanistan and the war in the Transvaal. Very bloody and disgraceful wars they were; but Mr. Bright continued to draw his salary, and he lolled at ease in his sinecure office. He swallowed these bloody wars with the calculating meekness of the sect to which he belongs."

Well, Sir, the noble Lord also described the Duke of Argyll and Lord Cowper as the party of "snivel and drivel." He permitted himself to speak of the Prime Minister as an "unkennelled fox." The noble Lord went on to say that he had read my speeches, and had found them "poor stuff." I cannot compete with the noble Lord; but I say that the people of this country are loyal to the Leaders they have chosen, and the great majority of the people when they read such statements are filled first with disgust and then with indignation. If the noble Lord does not moderate the rancour of his tongue he will have himself only to thank for the consequences which follow, and which we, at all events, should all deplore.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Assassination.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The noble Lord is now going to accuse me of incitement to assassination. Why, Sir, I might as well accuse the noble Lord of incitement to arson and burglary, because he has to-day put the case that his friends in Birmingham could attack my house and pull down my walls. I know his friends will not do anything of the kind, and I do not accuse the noble Lord of any incitement. Do not let him accuse me of anything so absurd and ridiculous in very poor imitation of a charge once brought against Sir Robert Peel by Richard Cobden. This personal abuse to which I have referred is, after all, not so dangerous as the insults which are flung against the people of the country. Personal abuse is taken, after all, by many people in its Pickwickian sense. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Its figurative sense.] Well, in its figurative sense. But I believe that, although Lord Salisbury has done many unwise things in his time, he has never done anything that he will have more cause to regret than when he taunted the people of this country with their good-humour. [An hon. MEMBER: When? *and cries of* "Quote!"] When he described the first great important demonstration which took place in connection with this matter in Hyde Park, as "a meeting of Radicals taking wholesome exercise," and said that they were quite entitled to have their holiday in the open air. [*Cheers.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite may cheer that sentiment; but I tell them that these scoffs and jeers sink into the hearts of the people. But if Lord Salisbury has been indiscreet, what can be said of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock? The other day, when I referred to his speech at Edinburgh, he contradicted me in the face of the House, because he knew that I had not his actual words before me. I told him I would substantiate that statement, and now I am about to do it. The words I refer to were spoken on the 19th of December, 1883, at Edinburgh, and were as follows:—

> "If I saw the agricultural labourers of Great Britain in a great state of excitement"—

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Hear, hear! Agricultural labourers.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN:—

> "The agricultural labourers of Great Britain in a great state of excitement over this question; if I saw them holding mass meetings, collecting together from all parts, neglecting their work, contributing from their scanty funds, marching on London, tearing down the railings of Hyde Park, engaging the police, and even the military, I should say to myself these men have great and bitter grievances which have not been represented in Parliament, or have been neglected by Parliament; they know that if they had the franchise those grievances would no longer be neglected, that they would be represented and remedied; and they have made up their minds to have the vote. The fact that they have made up their minds to have the vote shows pretty well that they will know how to use the vote, and if we wish for peace, order, and stability in the realm of Britain we had better give them the vote. And on those grounds, and on those grounds only, would I consent to equalize the political position of the agricultural labourer and the town artizan, and to destroy a wise inequality which has been created by Nature and reiterated from time to time in our history by precedent, custom, and law."

I say that was the most dangerous of all the speeches made in the course of this discussion. I say that is a speech which directly incites to violence and outrage. It is a speech which directly points the moral that without violence, without outrage, no redress can ever be secured. Now, I say, in conclusion, while I earnestly trust and hope that this agitation will maintain the character which it has hitherto, speaking generally, so honourably borne, if it should lose that character, the responsibility will lie on the shoulders of men who think themselves justified in insulting the people, in taunting them with the orderly character of the demonstrations which they have made, and who think it safe to call for "great and violent pressure," and to avow their absolute disbelief in the earnestness or the reality of any political agitation which is not supported by the exhibition of physical force.

MR. P. A. MUNTZ said, he thought hon. Members would realize that it was an extremely disagreeable circumstance to him that he should, on the first occasion on which he rose to address the House, have to devote the observations he should make to the purpose of impugning the conduct and character of a right hon. Gentleman, a Member of that House; but he had a duty to perform to his constituents and the country, and therefore he had risen to answer the eloquent speech of the President of the Board of Trade. He (Mr. Muntz) had always heard that the right hon. Gentleman had a great reputation for audacity, and a doubtful one for accuracy; but he could not have conceived that any man could have had the amount of audacity which the President of the Board of Trade must be possessed of to have made the speech he had delivered that evening. It had fairly surprised him. A few days ago, the right hon. Gentleman, in answer to a Question, said that, if his information was correct, the only persons who had been guilty of disgraceful conduct at Aston Park were the roughs hired as "chuckers-out" by the Tory Party. Knowing, as he did, the facts of the case, and being cognizant of the action of the Liberal Association at Birmingham, that statement of the President of the Board of Trade had filled him with amazement. The original idea of the organization of the demonstrations which took place early in the autumn was accredited to the President of the Board of Trade and the members of the Caucus. It might, indeed, have received some assistance from the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. It was imagined that the Conservative Party had no idea or power of organizing political demonstrations, and that a great influence would be exercised by the agitation thus originated by the President of the Board of Trade. The Conservative Party, however, wisely determined upon a counter-agitation, which had been a great success. It had gathered volume until it culminated in the triumphant reception of Lord Salisbury at Glasgow. The result of that was, that a great fear fell upon the President of the Board of Trade and the Caucus, and a council of war was held. They realized that the coming demonstration in Aston Lower Grounds would be a very great success, and that unless steps were taken to prevent so large a meeting it would probably number some 200,000 people. The right hon. Gentleman had told them that there were no Conservatives in Birmingham or neighbourhood; but he (Mr. Muntz) was a standing witness in contradiction of that statement. He maintained that he was accurate in the number of Conservatives present at the Aston Lower Grounds. As a matter of fact, there were at the meeting 120,000 Conservatives, notwithstanding the dishonest practices of the right hon. Gentleman and the Caucus.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: I rise to Order, Sir. I wish to know whether the hon. Member is in Order in imputing dishonest practices to a Member of this House?

Mr. SPEAKER: I did not catch the exact expression to which the right hon. Gentleman alludes; but, undoubtedly, it would be an improper and un-Parliamentary expression. If the hon. Member used it, he will, no doubt, withdraw it.

Mr. P. A. MUNTZ said, he would bow to the right hon. Gentleman's ruling, and withdraw the words "dishonest practices," substituting for them the words "irregular practices." A greater insult was never offered to the working men of Birmingham than that contained in the statement that they originated the disturbance in Aston Lower Grounds. He (Mr. Muntz) maintained that they would have listened with the greatest possible pleasure, respect, and attention to the Leader of the Opposition, if they had been allowed to do so. The violent conduct which was seen was the result of the council of war to which he had already referred, at which a determination was come to to raise a fund for the purpose of carrying out demonstration by violence. In fact, a leading member of the Liberal Party in Birmingham told him that he had been asked to subscribe to the fund, and that he had declined to subscribe to anything so disreputable. Beyond that, he (Mr. Muntz) knew a good many of the artizans of Birmingham personally, and one, a man of the highest respectability, whom he had known for 30 years—a Liberal of the old school, and not of the type of the President of the Board of Trade—told him that he went to hear the Leader of the Opposition, and that he had been a witness of the proceedings, and that he was able to state, from his own observation, that the demonstration was interfered with, not by the working men of Birmingham, but by roughs hired for the purpose, who, from the method of their operations, must have been carrying out a preconcerted plan. He said that, as he was standing at a little distance from the boundary wall inside Aston Lower Grounds, he saw a number of men come up in a body and heard some of the leaders say—"We are not in the right place; we ought to be 60 or 70 yards lower down," and they moved lower down. Immediately, a man, respectably dressed—perhaps he was a colleague of the President of the Board of Trade—appeared on the wall and was joined by another, and they began helping the men outside over the wall. That proved that the entrance into Aston Lower Grounds by storming the walls was planned beforehand. A friend of his, who was fond of athletic exercises and well acquainted with the better class of pugilists in Birmingham, told him that he saw a man whom he knew to be one of the low hangers-on of the pugilistic element attacking the platform and doing other damage. The right hon. Gentleman said that no damage had been done; but if he had received one-half the amount of injury that was sustained by some of the poor women and children who were present, he would be of a different opinion. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that he had no influence or power at Birmingham; but he forgot what he had stated previously, and shortly after offered to guarantee the Leader of the Opposition a favourable reception at Birmingham if he placed himself under his direction. The fact was, that this vicious and violent outrage upon life and property was perpetrated by men instructed by the Caucus, and that Caucus was nothing more than the right hon. Gentleman, and dared not lift a finger without his knowledge and assent. The vast majority of his countrymen had a strong opinion of the political dishonesty of the right hon. Gentleman. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!"] Well, then, he would say of his political action. The right hon. Gentleman was a declared Rupublican, and yet he had accepted Office in the present Administration as a Minister of the Crown; and while a Minister of the Crown and servant of the Constitution, he attacked that Constitution on every occasion, and in every conceivable way. Such conduct did not commend itself to the minds of his countrymen; but let him settle that with his own conscience. They were all ready to give the right hon. Gentleman credit for a certain amount of shrewdness; but what were they to say of a man who had shown his imbecility by organizing this outrage, which the right hon. Gentleman would probably discover at the next General Election had done more harm to the Liberals and more good to the Conservatives than all the meetings that had been held during the Recess? Two days after this action of the right hon. Gentleman in the Aston Lower Grounds, he (Mr. Muntz) was in a colliery district of his constituency; and he would challenge the right hon. Gentleman to hold a meeting in that district. He would not dare to do so to save his life. Had his (Mr. Muntz's) mind been framed on anything like the lines of the right hon. Gentleman's, he might have accepted an offer voluntarily made to him by a man who had great influence over the colliers, and who said to him—"If you want a few thousand men I will send them down." The right hon. Gentleman talked of marching on London with 100,000 men. He (Mr. Muntz), if his mind were of the same type as that of the right hon. Gentleman, would not trouble him to do that—he could meet him with much pleasure on his favourite battle-field in Aston Lower Grounds with any number of men he liked to name, and they could settle the business there. But that threat of the right hon. Gentleman was nothing but a swashbuckler declaration. To say that the working men of this country were all Radicals was rubbish. There were two challenges which he would give the right hon. Gentleman. In the first place, he would like to hear him emphatically declare that he had no knowledge of this disturbance—and it was very strange if he had not, seeing that many of the old respectable members of the Liberal Party left Birmingham a few days beforehand, rather than be mixed up in it; and then he would challenge the right hon. Gentleman to move for a Select Committee to inquire into the whole transaction, and have all the evidence that could be produced on the subject. Let the right hon. Gentleman clear himself in that way.

MR. ERNEST NOEL said, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), when speaking the other night with regard to what took place recently at Dumfries, said it was one of the most dastardly outrages that had ever happened. [*Cries of* "Question!"]

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked whether the hon. Member was in Order in referring to the riot at Dumfries?

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member would not be in Order in going fully into the Dumfries riot; but he might refer to it by way of illustration.

MR. ERNEST NOEL said, he regretted very much the occurrence at Dumfries, which was analogous to what took place at Aston. [*Cries of* "Order!"]

MR. GREGORY rose to Order, and pointed out that the hon. Member was again speaking of the Dumfries riot.

MR. SPEAKER said, the hon. Member could not be permitted to go fully into the case at Dumfries on the Amendment before the House.

MR. ERNEST NOEL said, that if the Conservatives thought that what took place at Aston might be repeated in every constituency in the country, he feared they had before them a time of very serious injury. There seemed to be reason to apprehend that measures had been resorted to for the permament production of scenes of disorder and violence by the Conservative Party. The disturbances at Dumfries and Aston were in complete analogy; and he learned that similar scenes were to be looked for in other parts of the country, to the very grievous injury of the State at large. What occurred at Aston provoked riot elsewhere. At the proper time he would show that in what took place at Dumfries the provocation was much greater and the riot considerably less, though it was still very much to be regretted.

Mr. CHAPLIN said, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade commenced his observations by defending the Birmingham Corporation, and he was absolutely silent with regard to the charges brought against himself. The right hon. Gentleman said he thought it necessary to reply at once to the charges against the Corporation, because, if they were left unanswered, they might be injurious to local government. Hon. Members knew that the right hon. Gentleman was a Minister of the Crown; and, if those charges left unanswered were calculated to injure local government, it must be far more injurious to the Imperial Government to leave unanswered charges directed against a Minister. He (Mr. Chaplin) must, however, be allowed to say that he was greatly surprised that, even on the Ministerial side of the House, the smallest attempt should be made to vindicate or defend proceedings which had doubtless met with the reprobation of all classes throughout the country. As to the time occupied in the debate, in all probability if the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade had replied to the charges against him when they were first made, the discussion would not now have taken place. [“Oh, oh!”] If the original charges were not in the Notice of Motion of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), they were in his speech. The noble Lord said that the Conservative Party at Birmingham had, in their possession, distinct evidence of preparation for these riots by their opponents; they had evidence as to the tickets used by the Liberals, that ladders had been provided and introduced into the grounds, to storm the building in which the Conservatives were to assemble, and that gangs of roughs had been organized by the Caucus. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade must have been aware that there was a probability of those riots occurring when the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition was to visit Birmingham, and he might have done something to prevent the disturbance which occurred; but he had admitted that he did absolutely nothing to prevent them. And what was his excuse? Want of influence in Birmingham? Nothing of the sort. He said he could not have stopped the counter-demonstration, if he would, and he would not, if he could. But yet, later on in his speech, he expressed the hope that the Leader of the Opposition would overlook what had occurred, and stated that, if the right hon. Baronet would come to another meeting at Birmingham, he, who informed the House that he had no influence whatever in that town, and could not have stopped the riots, would guarantee that there should be a free and open meeting. His words were—

> “If you come to another meeting in that town I will stand by your side, and you shall have a fair hearing.”

As to the depositions produced by the right hon. Gentleman, it was said that they were not in a form on which a prosecution for perjury could be instituted. But, at all events, they, one and all, had been procured for the purpose of this debate. They were all dated the 27th and 28th of October, and had been got since the Notice of his noble Friend had been given. The right hon. Gentleman told them, with apparently great satisfaction, that, in the great majority of cases, these depositions had been made by gentlemen whom he termed “roughs.” The House would do well to wait until they had heard the other side on that question. There could be no doubt—for against all that they had the knowledge, which was the public knowledge of the world, which was stated at the time in papers of all shades of public opinion—that there never was a question or a doubt but that this was an organized riot, and that it was deliberately arranged for the purpose of breaking up the meeting of the Conservative Party. If what the President of the Board of Trade now said was true, why was not the contradiction given before? The right hon. Gentleman was the only Member of the Liberal Party who had had the courage to give it. He vindicated his own speeches with respect to the House of Lords, while he abstained from a condemnation of the proceedings at Birmingham. As to the speech of Lord Salisbury that had been referred to, in which he spoke of the right hon. Gentleman's head being broken on the occasion of a certain march, it ought to be remembered that the noble Marquess had placed upon it a totally different construction from that of the right hon. Gentleman. No portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was received with more satisfaction on the Treasury Bench, than that in which he lectured the noble Lord upon his flowers of rhetoric; and that was, probably, because Ministers had felt the lash of his tongue and had something for which they wished to be revenged. When the right hon. Gentleman referred to the noble Lord's attack on the Secretary of State for the Home Department, it was refreshing to see the scion of the house of Vernon receive that vindication from the President of the Board of Trade. But what of the speeches the right hon. Gentleman himself had made? He should like the House to consider some portions of those made by the right hon. Gentleman during the Recess. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the House of Lords in a most hostile manner. He said of it—

> "It is a stronghold of Toryism, prejudice, and Tory obstruction. During the last 100 years, it has never contributed one iota to popular liberty, or ever done anything to advance the common weal."

That was a strong statement to be made by a Minister of the Crown, especially of the present House of Lords and of the Leader of the Opposition in that House. He supposed Lord Salisbury was a Member of that House, and he would remind hon. Gentlemen that the Royal Commission which had been appointed to inquire into the condition of the dwellings of the poor, and from which he hoped much good would result, had been moved for by Lord Salisbury in the House of Lords. [*Cries of* "Broadhurst!"] He always thought that Commission was moved for by Lord Salisbury in the Upper House, and not by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Stoke in the House of Commons. The day would come when the right hon. Gentleman would regret that he had spoken with such violence as he had done of the House of Lords. They would have to go to a Division soon, and having heard the accusation and the defence, he had no doubt as to the vote he should give on this occasion. From first to last it had been apparent to him that the President of the Board of Trade, throughout the whole of these proceedings, and in all his speeches during the Recess, had been animated by one object, and one alone—not to stop this controversy, not to settle this question, but to raise up a feeling of discontent and violence in the country, with the view of inflicting, as in his own conscience he hoped would be the case, irreparable injury, in which he (Mr. Chaplin) was certain he would fail, on the House of Lords as one of the Institutions of this country.

MR. FIRTH said, he scarcely thought that the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill) could be congratulated upon the success which had attended his efforts in badger-drawing. If it were justifiable to compare his right hon. Friend to one of the lower order of creation, perhaps a more representative animal could not have been selected. An eminent naturalist had said of the badger that it was an inoffensive animal —[*Laughter*]—provided by nature for its own defence with very powerful claws—[*Renewed laughter*]—for its own defence, which latter peculiarity had been discovered by intrusive terriers before to-day. It had struck him as extraordinary that the Tories should have posed before the country, since the Aston disturbance, as champions of peace and order and vindicators of the right of public meeting. He (Mr. Firth) had had some experience of Tory methods on these very points, and he supposed that he had faced as many hired Tory roughs as anybody in the House or out of it. ["Oh, oh!" *and laughter.*] He was prepared for objections to this statement of fact, and he had, therefore, taken the precaution of preparing himself with sufficient evidence, which he could lay before the House if it was necessary. For a recent public meeting held by the Municipal Reform League forged tickets to the extent of 20,000 were issued by the opponents of Reform, and these were widely circulated by Conservative Associations in London. ["Order!" *and* "Question!"]

Mr. SPEAKER said, the hon. and learned Member would be in Order only in referring to this case by way of illustration.

Mr. FIRTH said, that he would only make the general observation that, upon the facts of the case being brought under their notice, the Central Conservative Association declined to take any action in the matter. They had had many meetings throughout London, at which there had been organized Tory opposition, and therefore he was surprised to find the Conservative Party posing as the champions of public order. He had in his possession the statutory declaration of a man who had been employed by the secretary of a Conservative Association, of which the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) was president, to get together a number of men to break up a meeting of his constituents at Kensington. He considered the speech of his right hon. Friend a satisfactory answer to the charges of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock as regarded what took place at Aston; indeed, he had scarcely hoped that his right hon. Friend would have been able to make so complete a defence. He had not thought the riot was much to be wondered at, when in the papers of Monday there appeared the report of a violent speech of Lord Salisbury's, in which reference was made to the breaking of the President of the Board of Trade's head. What did that mean? Whatever it meant, it was not to be wondered at if the 20,000 men thought it meant a little more than the noble Marquess intended; and it had seemed to him only a natural corollary of that speech that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock—worthy follower of a worthy Chieftain — should be tearing through the bushes at Aston, at night, to save his own head. The Caucus had been referred to; and although the Associations in his (Mr. Firth's) own borough were not connected with the Birmingham Association, he would urge that the so-called Caucus only embodied the representative principle, and in objecting to the Caucus, hon. Gentlemen opposite were objecting to that principle.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he wished to briefly refer to a paragraph from a proclamation issued by the "Franchise Demonstration Committee" of Birmingham, to which he believed the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) was only now a contributor, but about which the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) would be able to give information first-hand. That paragraph, after a reference to Lord Salisbury, went on to say—"Another Tory, the Right Hon. James Lowther, describes you who are going to take part in it 'as a horde of ruffians.'" The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), speaking last summer at St. James's Hall, had also accused him of using a similar expression with reference to the participators in the Hyde Park Demonstration, though the hon. Baronet had subsequently assured him that he had been misled by an erroneous report of what he (Mr. Lowther) had really said, and had expressed very frankly his regret at having been so misled. In the whole course of his public life he had never had to retract anything. He therefore tried to discover whether he had ever described the "men of Birmingham and the Midlands," to whom the placard was addressed, as a "horde of ruffians." Well, it happened that he made a speech at Huddersfield, a few days after the August Bank Holiday, in which he had referred to the speech made at Birmingham by the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned the project of a march of 100,000 men to London at the time of the first Reform Bill, and the riots which took place at Nottingham, Bristol, and other places. He had said that he had never retracted anything that he had ever said, but he had, however, written to *The Times* to qualify his statement by saying that he should apply to such violent attempts to intimidate the Legislature language much stronger than the mild and wholly inadequate terms which had been quoted from him in the placard to which he had referred. He distinctly applied the words which had been quoted to any persons who were capable of accepting the advice offered to them as to marching to London. [Mr. Mundella: Nobody ever did give them that advice.] The right hon. Gentleman opposite the Vice President of the Council evidently had not heard him when he read his statement to the effect that he addressd these remarks to the persons who were capable of acting on the suggestion of the President of the Board of Trade in reference to marching upon London. [Mr. Gladstone: There was no such suggestion.] With regard to the chair-breakers of Birmingham, who, he was bound to say, by their course of procedure had evinced a practial interest in the redistribution of seats that might be advantageously imitated by the Members of the Government, it would be unfair to look upon such persons as being fair representatives of the masses of the population of this country any more than it would be to regard the handful of hon. Members who habitually interrupted the debates of the House of Commons by discourteous and disorderly sounds as representing the House at large. He should not have referred in detail to that episode, but for the circumstance that the President of the Board of Trade had mentioned the placard; and, moreover, the right hon. Gentleman had asserted that the men of Birmingham were called upon to resent the insults which had been flung at them by his noble Friend below the Gangway (Lord Randolph Churchill) and by others—apparently among the others involving himself (Mr. J. Lowther), although he had, months ago, in the most public manner, repudiated the construction placed upon his language. He was perfectly prepared to leave the issue of this controversy on the statement of his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock and the explanation attempted by the right hon. Gentleman; and, as far as the debate was concerned, he thought the House would arrive at the conclusion that the intolerant spirit which evinced itself even now among hon. Gentlemen opposite was only an instance of the determination on the part of the Liberal Party, in every conceivable manner, to suppress freedom of speech in that House and out of it, and to detract as far as possible from the right of public meeting in this country.

Viscount NEWPORT said, he wished to mention a small incident in reference to the hiring of roughs. He lived in the parish of Aston, close by Birmingham, and he was prevented from going to the meeting to hear the speeches of the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Opposition and of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock; but, on returning home, a week afterwards, he happened to be talking to his gardener, who informed him that he had attended the meeting at Aston, and had found himself in the midst of the roughs, and had narrowly escaped having his head broken by a chair. The gardener stated that, finding himself close to a man who appeared to be one of the ringleaders of the disturbance, he said to him—"This is a disgraceful thing that you are doing." The man replied—"It is, and I have had about enough of it; but I have had 2*s.* given to me for the job, and so I am obliged to do it." And he added—"There are 70 others here who have had 2*s.* apiece given to them to smash up this meeting." [*Cries of* "Name!"] This was a plain unvarnished fact, which told its own tale, and he had felt it his duty to state it to the House. [*Laughter.*] His informant was an unimaginative man, who had been with him for several years, and upon whose veracity he could place the most implicit reliance. He had also heard that a fortnight before these occurrences, the Liberals were getting up an organized opposition to the meeting, and that Messrs. Tangye were at the bottom of it. In conclusion, he thanked the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) for ventilating this subject, and, in supporting his Amendment, he did so because he believed he was thereby expressing the feeling of all his neighbours who had the good name of the town at heart, and helping to prevent the recurrence of what respectable men of either Party could not fail to consider a scandal and a disgrace.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, that hon. Members opposite laughed when his noble Friend (Viscount Newport) adduced testimony to show that individuals were hired to break up the meeting. ["By whom were they hired?"] By the Liberals. ["No, no!"] But he failed to see why this testimony was of less value than that which had been so freely produced on the other side. For his part, he should like to have some thorough examination into the value of the evidence which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade brought forward to show that roughs had been hired by the Tories to assault Liberals. The men who had sworn that they were hired by the Conservatives swore to the fact that they were guilty of a criminal offence. He should like to know what bribe was offered to them to take such an oath. Not, he supposed, a disinterested love of virtue. Yet, if the evidence was bought, what was it value? He wished to know whether it was credible, as stated by the right hon. Gentleman, that the roughs alleged to have been hired to assault the Liberals at this meeting, should have been allowed to wear the insignia of stewards? The right hon. Gentleman, at the commencement of his speech, had made an elaborate profession of respect towards the right hon. Baronet the Leader of the Conservative Party in that House, and he had told the right hon. Baronet that if he would come down to Birmingham alone, he (Mr. Chamberlain) would guarantee him a quiet meeting; yet, in the same speech, the right hon. Gentleman had said that he had no longer any influence in the councils of the Liberal Party at Birmingham which could be used to prevent them from committing outrages. But if the right hon. Gentleman possessed sufficient influence to enable him to guarantee a quiet meeting to the right hon. Baronet, why had he not exercised that influence to prevent the outrages which had occurred at Aston Park?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN said, he denied that he had spoken of a Conservative meeting. What he had said was, that it was impossible to guarantee that an open meeting in Birmingham would not, in the main, be Liberal, but that he had such confidence in the good feeling of the majority of the people of Birmingham, that he was sure that they would do their best to secure a quiet and orderly meeting for a politician so highly respected as the right hon. Baronet.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR felt bound to remark that the respect professed for the right hon. Baronet by the members of the Liberal Party was shown at Aston in a very singular shape. But if the right hon. Gentleman did exercise such great influence in Birmingham as he boasted—and his speech plainly showed that that influence over the populace was so great that he could have a quiet meeting whenever he pleased—why had he not used it to prevent the recent riots? He would now turn from the special controversy connected with the Birmingham riots, which, in his opinion, had occupied far too large a proportion of the debate, to the more general question of the Ministerial language used in the Recess. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) did not wish to dwell upon the attacks which had been made upon the private and personal character of Members of the House of Lords further than to say that so far as he had observed they consisted in about equal measure of bad history, bad logic, and bad taste. For his own part, he did not know that the personal character of the Members of that House, as a whole, was much better than that of the Members of the House of Lords. Hon. Members had, as a rule, little claim to distinction except such as flowed from their having secured the favour of not too fastidious constituencies, and had obediently followed their Party Whips into the Lobby. The right hon. Gentleman appeared to think that he was in no way bound to condemn what had taken place in Birmingham. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) wished, however, to remind the right hon. Gentleman that in some cases not to blame was to praise, and not to declare an act wrong was to allow it by implication to be right. The right hon. Gentleman was perfectly well aware that his speech at Hanley was liable to be regarded as an incitement to rioting. Notwithstanding that fact, however, the right hon. Gentleman had never uttered one word in condemnation of the outrages which had naturally resulted from his speech, and which had disgraced his native town. The taunt of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to public meetings amounted to this—that although it was admitted that even in Birmingham there were sufficient Tories to fill a public hall, the Tories were not sufficiently dexterous to fill a hall before their opponents could fill it. The right hon. Gentleman, in whose borough the outrage had occurred, was bound, as a Minister of the Crown, to condemn it on pain of being regarded as a party to it. Unless a Cabinet Minister, in no ambiguous language, denounced outrages which were alleged, with every appearance of probability, to have been the outcome of his utterances, judgment must go by default. The right hon. Gentleman, in an impressive peroration, had told the House that he had received communications from working men in all parts of the country which had filled him with alarm; and the right hon. Gentleman added that he knew more about public opinion in this country than any other Member in that House. If popular feeling was so excited as the right hon. Gentleman represented, what did the Prime Minister think of a Colleague who did his best to fan that feeling into a dangerous flame? He wished to know what, in such circumstances, was the duty of a Minister of the Crown? Was it to moderate the feelings of the people, or to excite them? The right hon. Gentleman had used language which incited the people to disorderly agitation. He would guarantee that, if the right hon. Gentleman would place his case before a lawyer in Ireland, he would be told that if he made speeches in the Sister Island similar to those he had made in this country, he would have to sleep on a plank bed, and live on prison cocoa. Then the right hon. Gentleman made a perfectly gratuitous attack on Lord Salisbury. [*Laughter.*] When he said gratuitous, he meant an attack not germane to the question. He thought the right hon. Gentleman would have done better to ask Lord Granville to deal with Lord Salisbury in a place where the latter could answer for himself. The first thing which the right hon. Gentleman had complained of in Lord Salisbury was a prophecy that, under certain contingencies, he (Mr. Chamberlain) would have his head broken. But it must be recollected that Lord Salisbury's statement was made after the right hon. Gentleman had threatened to march to London at the head of 100,000 of his fellow-citizens. Those who led military enterprizes must expect, of course, to undergo the chances of war; and he had no doubt the right hon. Gentleman would not shrink from the ordeal. Then they were told that Lord Salisbury had sneered at the people, because he had said that many of those who attended the demonstration in Hyde Park had done so merely to enjoy an outing. If the right hon. Gentleman thought that an incentive to outrage, how came he to regard the inflammatory placard, to which his noble Friend had alluded, as a piece of harmless chaff? Again, it had been alleged that Lord Salisbury once said that he did not observe any violent signs of public feeling; but was it fair to interpret that as meaning physical violence? The right hon. Gentleman was trying to bring violent pressure on the House of Lords. Did that mean that he was going to break Tory windows and fire Tory rickyards? [Mr. Gladstone here rose to express his dissent.] He was not referring to the Prime Minister at all, but to the President of the Board of Trade. The complaint that had been made against the right hon. Gentleman was not based on Party grounds, neither did he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) complain of the violence that had been used at Party meetings such as this at Aston. His belief was that the Conservative Party gained enormously by every act of outrage and violence committed by the opposite side. [*Cheers and laughter.*] What they did not gain was the cause of Constitutional freedom. More and more questions were being debated, not merely in that House or in the Press, but in the very presence of the constituencies. But if the only arguments that were to pass current there were to consist of noise and outrage, if the most successful politician was to be he who could break up most meetings, government by free discussion would become impossible, and our public life would become hopelessly degraded.

Sir Charles W. Dilke and Mr. Jesse Collings rose together, when——

Mr. SPEAKER called on

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, who said, that, in his opinion, his right hon. Friend (Mr. Chamberlain) had completely crushed all vitality out of the case presented by the noble Lord opposite (Lord Randolph Churchill), and that the only speech made since the speech of his right hon. Friend (Mr. Chamberlain) which had contributed anything whatever towards the evidence in the possession of the House, was the maiden speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Muntz). [*Laughter.*] Of course, he did not refer to the senior Member for North Warwickshire (Mr. Newdegate), whose speeches they had often listened to with pleasure. Although the speech to which he had referred was a maiden speech, he feared he could not use the ordinary language of commendation with regard to it, seeing that the hon. Gentleman, during its delivery, had been twice called to Order, and ordered to withdraw expressions contained in it. The hon. Member had, however, made a distinct allegation bearing on the case before the House. He said he had recently met a leading Liberal in Birmingham, who had told him that he had been asked to contribute to a fund collected for the purpose of a demonstration by violence. He had at once been asked to give the name of that gentleman. The hon. Member, however, had declined to give the name, and he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was unable to treat that statement as deserving of the careful attention of the House, unless the hon. Member were willing to give the name.

Mr. P. A. MUNTZ said, he had given the President of the Board of Trade the opportunity of moving for a Committee to inquire into these matters. In fact, he challenged him now to move for one, when he should be glad to substantiate what he had said.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE, continuing, said, that the hon. Member, in the course of his observations, had endeavoured to connect his right hon. Friend with these disturbances by accusing him of entertaining at that time the Liberal Association at dinner at his house.

Mr. P. A. MUNTZ said, he had referred to the dinner party, so as to show that the President of the Board of Trade was in Birmingham at the time and knew of what was taking place.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, he hardly thought that the House would wish him to pursue the question of what gentlemen partook of the President of the Board of Trade's hospitality. The hon. Member, by way of connecting his right hon. Friend with the riot, said that he was at the time in Birmingham. But that was no more ground for connecting the President of the Board of Trade with the Aston Grounds riot than the fact that the Lord Mayor was at the Mansion House made him responsible for the violence at Liberal meetings at Chelsea. The hon. Member for North Warwickshire produced another witness. He said that he had met a Birmingham artizan who was a Liberal, and who expressed indignation at the conduct of the roughs employed. The hon. Member did not say whether it was the Tory roughs; but it must have been, for it had been shown that no roughs were employed by the Liberal Party, and it had been conclusively shown that the Tory Party did employ roughs. The hon. Gentlemen the Members for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) and Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) had argued that the President of the Board of Trade had admitted his influence in Birmingham when he stated that he would do his best to secure the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote) a quiet hearing. But the President of the Board of Trade also said that the right hon. Baronet's character and the general moderation of his language entitled him to a respectful hearing from any audience. The hon. Member said the Birmingham people had shown their respect in a singular manner. But it must be remembered that the right hon. Gentleman on this occasion was not alone, and when respectable men were in bad company, they sometimes must not express surprise at what might happen to them on those occasions. He would illustrate the difficulty of getting a quiet hearing for certain persons. On one occasion, Lord Salisbury made a speech in Chelsea—at Lillie Bridge. It was a memorable speech. He (Sir Charles W. Dilke), his Colleague, and the Liberal Association tried to obtain a perfectly quiet hearing for Lord Salisbury. He was quite sure if the noble Lord asked the Conservative candidate for Chelsea, Sir Algernon Borthwick, he would confirm this.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON: I absolutely contradict it. I was present as Chairman. ["Order!"] I only rise for the purpose of contradicting the statement of the right hon. Gentleman. Lord Salisbury, throughout the whole of his speech, was persistently interrupted by a gang of Liberals, led by a gentleman ordinarily called a fugleman. The moment Lord Salisbury had finished, these interrupters left the meeting.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE said, the observations of the noble Lord were no contradiction of what he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had said or was going to say. Though this was the fate of the Marquess of Salisbury, he felt sure that the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) would have received a quiet hearing. But, in spite of the efforts of the Liberal Leaders, they could not secure a quiet hearing for the Marquess of Salisbury.

It had been said the Birmingham Liberal Association was to all intents the President of the Board of Trade himself. Now, his right hon. Friend was far less connected with the Liberal Association of Birmingham than he (Sir Charles W. Dilke) himself was connected with the Liberal Association of his own borough. [" Question ! "] That was the question. Hon. Gentlemen opposite did not understand the working of Representative Liberal Associations. In his own borough he always attended the meetings at which the members of the Council of the Liberal Association were elected, and they were meetings to which every Liberal in the borough was invited to come. At such meetings the Council was elected, and he always made it a rule to be present. But his right hon. Friend never attended the meetings of a similar description which were held in Birmingham. He could assure the House that he had on several occasions tried to exercise some control in his own Association with regard to such matters as meetings; but he had long since given up the attempt, because Associations of this kind, openly and freely elected, resented such interference, on the ground that they were accustomed and competent to conduct their own affairs. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) went on to censure his right hon. Friend for having made a gratuitous attack upon the Marquess of Salisbury. He wished to tell the hon. Member that, in his opinion, there was no such thing as a gratuitous attack on the Marquess of Salisbury, because the Marquess of Salisbury, by his extraordinary violence of language, invited all the attacks which he had received. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) began his speech that evening by making his main point hang on the speech which his right hon. Friend made on the Bank Holiday in August in Birmingham. That speech was itself a reply called forth by the previous speech of the Marquess of Salisbury. In his speech at Lillie Bridge, the Marquess of Salisbury used these words—" There is no great and violent public pressure." His right hon. Friend gave a temperate warning to the House of Lords, founded on that sentence of the Marquess of Salisbury, and in reply to the statement that there was no evidence of " great and violent public pressure." The right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) also referred to that speech, and his explanation of the phrase " horde of ruffians " scarcely made the matter one bit better, but rather, as it seemed to him, a great deal worse. The noble Viscount the Member for North Shropshire (Viscount Newport) had stated that, in the knowledge of his gardener, 70 roughs had been employed on the Liberal side at the meeting at Birmingham. It was desirable, however, to have other evidence than merely second-hand statements of that kind. It would be much more satisfactory to have some of those persons produced, or, at least, their names given up. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had had a long time to get up his case, and was it not likely that some evidence in support of it would have been forthcoming if it could have been produced? He (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was Chairman of the meeting at Kensington in May last, which was disturbed by hired Conservative roughs. [" Name ! "] That was exactly what he was asking hon. Gentlemen opposite to do. His Colleague had already stated that evening the names of the persons and the name of the Association by whom the roughs were paid. They were told that some day or other the names of these persons would be produced; but a long time had elapsed, and the matter had been referred to over and over again at Question time. The noble Lord had now had a long time to get up his case, and the attack had at length been made that night. It had, however, entirely failed; it had more than failed; it had proved to be an absurd *fiasco*, and the House was now promised that some day or other evidence would be produced which ought to have been there that night. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said that what had occurred at Birmingham was only a small part of the question. But it was a very large part of the question a few days ago. By anticipation they had been been told that it was the whole question to be discussed that evening; but now it was said to be only a small part of the matter. In the opinion of the Liberal Members it was a small part of the matter in one sense of those words, because the action of hired persons to break up those meetings, which had been conclusively proved by his right hon. Friend to have come from the other side, was part of a system which had prevailed throughout the country, and which could not be too soon or too conclusively proved to exist, in order that it might cease to exist for the future. It was essential that this should be so, if the free rights of public meetings were to continue to exist in this country. It was the Liberals who would be most affected, because they were always able to bring together the largest number of persons at their meetings. ["No!"] That was a fact so well known that it could not be disputed, and they were therefore most interested in observing the free right of public meeting. Liberals had had evidence, over and over again, of the hiring of persons to attend meetings, and this was a practice absolutely tending to the destruction of the freedom of public meeting. On this occasion, when it had been brought against Liberals as a charge, that charge had broken down, and not a single case had been proved against them. On the contrary, the charge had recoiled against those who made it. He had nothing more to say on this occasion except that he, for one, was glad that the noble Lord had brought this matter before the notice of the House. He should be disposed to doubt whether the noble Lord was quite as glad as he professed to be. No doubt, the noble Lord had been pleased with his speech; but he certainly seemed much less pleased while listening to the reply of the President of the Board of Trade. At all events, they on that (the Ministerial) side of the House had no reason to complain of, or to be dissatisfied with, the manner in which the matter had been gone into that night; and if the Motion were pressed to a Division, he could not but think the House would, by a large majority, vindicate the course which had been taken by his right hon. Friend and the Government.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he wished to apologize to the President of the Board of Trade for the interruption he had made in the course of the right hon. Gentleman's speech; but he had thought it important that the House should ascertain the nature of the documents he was referring to. The right hon. Gentleman had described them as depositions, and to his (Sir Hardinge Giffard's) great surprise had read the names of the Commissioners appended to them. They had evidently been drawn up by a lawyer, from the phrases used in them, and they must have been drawn up in such a form deliberately, so that the persons making the statements would be responsible to no tribunal for the truth of what the documents contained.

An hon. Member: They were sworn.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he hoped the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council would forgive him for saying that he, at any rate, had not undergone that over-pressure on the brain which was alleged to take place in some of the elementary schools.

Mr. MUNDELLA: The hon. and learned Member is labouring under a misapprehension. I did not make a remark at all.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The documents were sworn.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, he was afraid the right hon. Gentleman did not know what the meaning of swearing in a judicial proceeding was.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN remarked, that possibly he and the hon. and learned Gentleman were not talking about the same thing. He did not pretend to have the same technical knowledge in these matters as was possessed by the hon. and learned Gentleman. All that he had meant to assert was that the documents were sworn in the ordinary way on a Testament. He did not know whether there was any other way of swearing.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD said, that the personwho drew up the documents must have been a lawyer, and he had evidently drawn them up with the deliberate knowledge that if the witness made a statutory declaration before a magistrate not on oath, he would be liable to prosecution if his declaration was false; but if he went through the form of taking what was called a voluntary oath, he would be liable to no tribunal, even if he stated what was false. After having gone through the form of kissing the Testament and taking what was called an oath, these persons had shielded themselves from any responsibility at all. It was for that reason that he had asked the right hon Gentleman, across the Table, in what proceedings those documents were sworn. He did not accuse the right hon. Gentleman of being a party to the transaction, because it was obviously devised by someone familiar with legal matters, and with the deliberate intention of not making the persons who made the so-called depositions as responsible if they were made in one form as they would have been if they had been made in another. He was extremely surprised that any Commissioner, authorized to administer oaths in legal matters, should have condescended to such a proceeding as to allow such an oath to be taken, and he said that as the foundation for another observation he desired to make. These oaths, as the right hon. Gentleman termed them, had been taken on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the present month. The statements, as he understood, which they were meant to support were made before any of the depositions were made, and he wanted to know when, where, how, and under what circumstances they were obtained? The right hon. Gentleman himself, he dared say, could not answer the question; but he should like to know if he had any information on the subject. He should like very much to know from whose hands they came, and he was sorry that the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) had not been allowed to give his explanation of the circumstance, so as to show from whose hands they came. One observation arose at once. There was a suspicious identity of language about them. They were now produced for the first time; they were applicable to persons who, as the right hon. Gentleman truly said, were named in them; but not one of these persons had had the opportunity of knowing the accusation against him, and they were brought under the notice of the House at such an hour of the evening that even communication by telegraph with the persons whose conduct was impugned was all but impossible. Taking them as they were, they purported to come from persons who professed to have been in the employment of the Tory Party for years for the purpose of breaking up meetings; and for some inducement or another which did not appear—he supposed by pressure of conscience—they now came forward to confess that they had been guilty of these evil practices for some years past, and that on the occasion in question they did all they could—to do what? The statement was a very remarkable one. He observed that there was a delightful vagueness about the phraseology. They were to go with the Conservative Party. In what respect? To tear off the badges of the Liberal Party, which, by some hypothesis, they knew the Liberal Party were going to wear on entering the meeting; and then what were they to do? They were to get upon the platform, and, with chairs and other instruments, were to endeavour to prevent gentlemen from storming the platform. Was it known beforehand that the platform was to be stormed? And that was what they appeared to have been doing. He would like to ask one or two questions of the persons who made these voluntary oaths for which they were not responsible. He confessed that he should not have thought the matter of so much importance in itself if it had not been that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, who had just addressed the House, had described these statements as conclusive proofs that the Conservatives were the people who organized all these riotous interruptions. It was rather remarkable that none of these persons professed to have had anything to do with the knocking down of the wall through which the President of the Board of Trade said 15,000 Liberals had poured. He said they had pulled off the coping of a wall, forsooth!—a wall nine feet high—together with a substantial breach in it, which was likely to cost the ratepayers £125 for the damage done. What had that to do with these conclusive depositions? None of these persons professed to have had anything to do with that part of the transaction. It seemed that these injured Liberals were so distressed by the conduct of the hired ruffians that they found it necessary to "take a little of the coping off," and to make a breach in the wall. That was the tone in which a Minister of the Crown thought it right to speak of an invasion of that sort. But if 15,000 men entered the grounds as a counter-demonstration, it was not surprising that such a riot should have occurred.

Though the right hon. Gentleman had told them something about his being in Birmingham for three or four days while the right hon. Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) was there, there was one point to which he had made no reference, although it was referred to by the noble Lord. If there was to be such a meeting calculated to create animosity owing to the false pretences which it was said the Conservatives were about to put before the country, and if there was to be a counter-demonstration of 15,000 people, such as the right hon. Gentleman had described, separated only from the other meeting by a wall which could be knocked down by a ladder put against it, and which was, of course, accidentally fixed there, had it never occurred to the President of the Board of Trade that a collision might take place between two opposite parties so brought together and so hostile to each other? But if it had occurred to the right hon. Gentleman that this might happen—and it was part of the case of his noble Friend—there was another thing to which he had made no reference, nor had he said anything about. Had the right hon. Gentleman done nothing between the Saturday morning when he saw the counter-demonstration announced and the Monday night? Would any man of common sense, knowing the hostile spirit which existed at that time in different parts of Birmingham and elsewhere, deliberately say now that it was a safe experiment to bring 15,000 angry men, excited by an alleged fraud upon the public, within sight of the other meeting? Was there nothing that could have been done? Did no one take sufficient interest in the transaction? He thought that the right hon. Gentleman greatly undervalued his influence in Birmingham. He might have said—"We will expose the fraud, but do not go too near the meeting, because there is sure to be a breach of the the peace." The Government of which the right hon. Gentleman was a Member had exhibited from time to time its belief in that common-sense view in regard to Ireland by prohibiting the holding of counter-meetings, and refusing to allow one demonstration to be brought in close proximity to another. He thought that the case made out by the noble Lord had not been broken down, and had not been answered by voluntary depositions, which had never been subjected to any test at all, and which the persons incriminated had had no opportunity of replying to. He could not help thinking that the Motion of the noble Lord went upon more important grounds, and might, perhaps, include others beside the President of the Board of Trade. It appeared to him, from the language of the right hon. Gentleman and of others, that it was possible, by subterfuge and innuendo, to suggest violence and outrage, and yet not directly to recommend it. If anyone were to tell a large multitude of excited people that they were being kept out of their rights by irresponsible and unworthy persons, that those persons were actuated by unworthy motives, and that the only way in which they could obtain their rights was to exhibit the courage which their ancestors had possessed in order to sweep away all puny obstacles, it might be ingenious, but what would the multitude suppose he meant? With reference to the Marquess of Salisbury, one expedient by which violence and outrage might be suggested was to misrepresent what he had said. What the Marquess of Salisbury had said had been over and over again misrepresented before public meetings; and if he were permitted, he would read what it was that the Marquess of Salisbury really did say. What the noble Marquess said was this—

> "We know that there are plenty of Radicals in this country; and if it pleases them to walk up and down the roads, and spend their Sundays in the Parks, and to do other things, from which they may derive wholesome exercise, and exhibit themselves in the open air, we know that that gives no indication whatever of the real opinion of the majority of the constituencies, which is the only opinion for which we care, and by which we are bound."—(3 *Hansard*, [290] p. 468.)

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Hear, hear!

SIR HARDINGE GIFFARD: Yes, the right hon. Gentleman said "Hear, hear!" But was that the mode in which the right hon. Gentleman had represented the Marquess of Salisbury to the country? The right hon. Gentleman, by way of explanation, not by exact quotation of the Marquess of Salisbury's words, but by a sort of innuendo—by expansion of what he choose to consider to have been in the noble Marquess's mind—had attributed to him what, in fact, he did not say—that he did not believe in any public feeling unless it was accompanied by violence and outrage. The Marquess of Salisbury never said anything of the sort. He defied the right hon. Gentleman to quote a word from the Marquess of Salisbury by which that accusation could be supported. But those observations had been repeated here in a perfectly unqualified sense by the right hon. Gentleman and a Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman. A noble Earl had, indeed, given a warning, predicting to the Marquess of Salisbury how his words would be regarded. For his own part, he agreed that the distinction between a warning and a threat, made under certain circumstances, was very small. The noble Earl to whom he referred—the Earl of Derby—said, on the 8th of July—

> "No one who has heard or read the debate here will be likely to suppose that you object to the extended franchise; but do you suppose that the classes who have power—the present electors, or those who are to be electors—read long debates? Not they. If anybody tells them that the Opposition Leaders have said they were not fit to be trusted with a vote, they will swallow it to a man."—(3 *Hansard*, [290] p. 391.)

He did not suppose the noble Earl who used that phrase would imagine that his own Colleague would be the first to act upon the hint. Who was it who, at meeting after meeting, and in speech after speech, had attributed to the House of Lords a desire to withhold the franchise from those who were not in the possession of it now? Of course, the Government must not ask the concurrence of the Earl of Derby in those statements, in regard to which the noble Earl told them that no one who had listened to or read the debates could be misled, but the class who were to exercise the power would swallow them to a man. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade was very angry and indignant at the different interpretation which his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had placed upon his Welsh speech from that which he had meant; but what did the right hon. Gentleman mean by that speech? What did he mean by asking his audience what they would do if orderly meetings did not prevail with the House of Lords? What was the intended antithesis to orderly meetings? How were his auditors to act? How did the right hon. Gentleman suggest that his Welsh audience were to turn out the House of Lords? What was in his mind? What did he intend his audience to understand? When he said, as others had said, "turn them out," did he mean by due course of law—by orderly legislation, to which the House of Lords itself would consent? He had not said so to-night. Had that observation been made by a private person, it would have been an improper one, and, if used in Ireland, it would have subjected the speaker to prosecution for sedition; but the cardinal importance of the person who made the observation must not be overlooked. It was made by a Cabinet Minister invested with the Executive government of the country, who went about the country using language which 99 out of every 100 persons would understand to mean this—"We, the House of Commons, have determined upon a certain measure, and if you, the House of Lords, do not acquiesce, you will be extinguished as a branch of the Legislature, and by force, if necessary." [*Ministerial cheers.*] He quite understood the cheer from that quarter. Hon. Members below the Gangway opposite made no concealment of their views; they spoke in plain language; but the language of the right hon. Gentleman was not plain, and what he complained of in the right hon. Gentleman's speech was that he did not speak in plain language. He spoke up to the point of how it was to be done, and then he left an excited audience to fill up the blank for themselves as to how they were to get rid of the House of Lords. Instead of appealing to the constituencies, which was what the Conservative side had always demanded, he appealed to violent mobs, and made threats of violence, more or less veiled by specious phrases and innuendoes, to the effect that the House of Lords was to be stamped out of existence if they would not submit to the dictation of an imperious Minister.

MR. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY expressed his approval of a very large portion of the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The noble Lord had made some remarks on the parallel to be drawn between the utterances of the President of the Board of Trade and some of those of the Irish Leaders. No speeches of Irish Members had been more open to accusations of violence or of inciting to violence than those of the President of the Board of Trade; and yet hon. Members who sat on that side of the House had been condemned to a plank bed, and to all the ignominy and suffering which the Liberal Government could subject them to. The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), the Leader of the Irish Party, for replying to an exceedingly violent and unjust speech of the Prime Minister, had been condemned to a long term of imprisonment. The President of the Board of Trade, in the opening part of his speech, had complained of the unfairness of holding a speaker responsible for any crimes which might have been committed because he did not at once deny the allegations which had been made against him. The Irish Members knew that the hon. Member for the City of Cork had been attacked over and over again, because he would not reply to the accusations that were made against him by unscrupulous and mendacious men—because he did not incessantly get up in that House and say that he was not in sympathy with murderers or with assassins. It was historically evident that the Liberal Party were willing to avail themselves of violence if they thought that by so doing they could further their views. It was well known that at the time of the Reform Bill of 1832 many of the Whig Leaders were ready to proceed to violence in order to accomplish their views, and endeavoured to induce Sir Charles Napier to lend them the support of arms. In 1866 the Reform measure was materially aided by violence. It was the violence which broke down the Park railings that eventually carried the Bill; and who was the leader and instigator of that violence? It was a gentleman named Edmond Beales; and when the Liberal Party came into Office how did they treat that instigator of violence? So anxious were they to reward him that they made this veiled revolutionary a County Court Judge. As a rule, the Irish Members took little more interest in the controversies between the two great Parties of the House than in the struggle of the Guelphs and the Ghibellines; but, in this case, Irish interests were distinctly touched. If it were a breach of the law for an Irish Member to deliver a speech which could be twisted into a violent interpretation—and many inoffensive speeches had thus been construed into breaches of the law—it ought to be a breach of the law for the President of the Board of Trade to make a speech which could equally be construed into an incitement to acts of violence. On these grounds he should have great pleasure, if the noble Lord went to a Division, in following him into the Lobby.

Mr. NEWDEGATE said, that he would detain the House for a very short time; but his own Colleague (Mr. P. A. Muntz) had been honoured by the approval of the President of the Local Government Board, who said that he had stated more facts in support of the present Motion than anybody until the hon. and learned Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard) addressed the House. The reason why there was a difficulty in producing evidence in regard to the disturbance at Aston was owing to the fact that this disturbance had been managed and organized by the Caucus. The Caucus was essentially a secret Society, and yet the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade acknowledged that he continued to be a subscriber to, and intended to remain a member of, that Caucus. He (Mr. Newdegate) was quite certain that much of the obedience of the majority of the House to the dictation of their Whips was caused by their consciousness that this Caucus organization was widely spread throughout the country. Last Session he had brought before the House the measures which the Congress of the United States had passed to prevent this coercion of political liberty. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade sat opposite to him on that occasion. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to contradict the facts he had then adduced, and what did the right hon. Gentleman do? He got up from his place and walked out of the House. He did not attempt to show that the Caucus, which he had imported from America, and of which he was still a member, differed in any degree from the Caucus which the Congress of the United States had been obliged to coerce. Not one word did the right hon. Gentleman say. The same difficulties which the Americans had experienced existed in this case;

and if his (Mr. Newdegate's) own Colleague had refrained from giving the names of those who had supplied him with information, it was only because he knew that a system of intimidation was practised by the Birmingham Caucus —that abominable importation from the United States. He had already shown that night that he would attribute to no man an action that was criminal in itself, such as being present at an illegal riot; but he would say this of Mr. Tangye—that he was a subordinate of the Caucus, and that he dismissed a large number of his workmen from their work, in order that they might attend the counter-demonstration at Aston. They marched out from Soho, in South Staffordshire, to Smethwick, also in South Staffordshire, through the adjoining borough of Birmingham, and went straight to the counter-demonstration which was in Aston, that is in North Warwickshire. They were the men who principally took an active part in breaking down the wall. He was prepared to prove that they broke it down to the very ground, and admitted 15,000 men to the Conservative meeting. Instantly upon their arrival the disturbance broke out; instantly upon the arrival of those men violence was resorted to. He had known something of Warwickshire and Birmingham for more than 40 years, and he had told his friends that before the meeting was held which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) was to address—the meeting at Aston—they ought to be prepared for a disturbance, which might break out or break in. He had told them that they were too slow in their preparations, and he was afraid the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) was now somewhat too precipitate in the course he had taken. If he had waited a little longer, and had taken a little more time, he would have been able to collect more evidence in support of his contention. Opinions had been expressed in favour of appealing to the Law Courts in respect of these outrages. He (Mr. Newdegate) was sorry to say that the Caucus organization was not confined to Birmingham; its effects extended to that House, and he hoped that the majority of the House would rebel against the tyranny of the Caucus, as the majority of the Congress of the United States had rebelled against it.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: It is not my intention, at this late hour, to detain the House at any length; but I think, under the particular circumstances in which I stand, that it is my duty to say a very few words upon the subject of this Amendment. I say them chiefly because, having myself been present, and having taken part in the meeting to which reference has been made, I am able to state, of my own knowledge, some things which may, perhaps, have a bearing upon the question which has been raised. My noble Friend (Lord Randolph Churchill) has brought before the notice of the House the question whether the language used by, and the actions of, the President of the Board of Trade have not been such as to have conduced to the disturbances which took place at the Aston meeting? In reply to my noble Friend's speech, the right hon. Gentleman has made this answer—that he was not connected, in the first place, with anything that took place at Aston. But, beyond that, he challenges an answer to the question whether there was any disturbance at all on the part of the Liberals who attended that meeting? He tells us that there was nothing premeditated; that there was nothing organized; and that it was entirely owing to the stupid management of, and the intolerable provocation given by, the Conservative Leaders and the managers of the assembly, that the Liberals were obliged, in self-defence, to take certain steps, and he brings forward a number of statements which are vouched by depositions which he has read, and upon which my hon. and learned Friend (Sir Hardinge Giffard) has commented, to show that a certain number of persons on the Conservative side acted in a certain way. Now, with regard to the general question as to who gave the provocation, it is a very unintelligible theory to maintain that the provocation was given, not by those who attacked, but by those who were attacked. The Conservatives had organized a meeting; they had taken steps to obtain a place for that meeting, and they had not without some difficulty found a place. At all events, difficulties were thrown in the way of their obtaining the Town Hall, in which they wished to hold the meeting, and where it would have been more convenient to hold it. They succeeded in obtaining the Aston Grounds, and they had stated that they would be ready to dispose of a certain number of tickets to Liberals who might wish to attend the meeting. But the meeting was purely a Conservative meeting. It was intended to be a Conservative meeting. It was intended to bring together at a convenient centre large bodies of Conservatives to hear what was to be said on the questions at issue, and that they might express their opinions themselves. For these meetings provision was made for distributing a certain number of tickets among others than Conservatives, but, of course, taking care that such a number should not be issued as would deprive Conservatives of all right of admission to their own meeting. The right hon. Gentleman took upon himself to say that there was no organization on the part of the Liberals and no forging of tickets, and that the provocation came from the Conservatives. The theory upon which my noble Friend proceeds, and upon which we all proceed, is that the provocation was given by the Liberals, who, having obtained a certain number of tickets, went themselves and forged a large number more, and by means of those forged tickets obtained admission to the place of meeting, and when it was found that men were there who had no right to be there, on account of forged tickets, an attempt was made to prevent more from coming in, and then these men took the very summary course of breaking down the wall, and so getting into the meeting. It is said that tickets were not forged. My noble Friend read a statement which he says he had from a gentleman who communicated to him the information that there was evidence to prove that tickets had been forged. Well, I have in my hands two tickets that were actually delivered at the meeting. The tickets are exactly alike, and so exactly alike that they have even the same number upon them. The hon. and learned Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth) told us that some time ago there was a meeting which he attended for which the Conservatives forged tickets which differed from the others only in not having the name of the secretary on them.

Mr. FIRTH: I did not say that the Conservatives forged tickets; but what I said was that the Conservative Associations throughout London distributed many thousands of tickets.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: The only difference, the hon. and learned Member said, was that the secretary's name was not attached to them. Here the name of the secretary is printed on the tickets; the two are exactly the same, and they carry their similitude so far that they are both numbered "893." It may be suggested that this was an accident. But if I am rightly informed, a great number of cases occurred in which the tickets bore the same identical numbers. Therefore, it is perfectly evident that there were forged tickets. ["No!"] Hon. Gentlemen say "No!" but it is very strong presumptive evidence of the fact when we find that there were numerous tickets of the same number. We are told that there was no organization on the part of the Liberals. I very much doubt that statement. In the first place, I myself had some reason to believe that there was to be some such organization before I reached Birmingham. I came to Birmingham from Exeter that day, and on my way I stopped at the Cheltenham Station, where a certain number of my Conservative friends came and had a conversation with me on the platform. I declined to make a speech; but I had a conversation. One of these gentlemen said—"You are going to have a row at Birmingham to-night." I said—"Oh, are we? I have heard nothing of it." "Oh, yes," said this gentleman, "you are going to have a row, because a trainful of men have gone on from here, and they are going to break up your meeting." Now, I do not know more than what I was told at second-hand; but all these things point the same way—and the probabilities point the same way—that there was an organized attempt to disturb the meeting. When my noble Friend and myself got into the hall we found that the hall was in a state of considerable confusion, though the fighting was practically over, and when I had to get on to the table which stood in the place of the wrecked platform and endeavoured to make myself heard, I found how the case was. Anyone with experience of public meetings very soon knows whether there is an organized resistance, or what is called a mere spontaneous resistance. It often happens, in large meetings, composed of persons of different sides in politics, that there is a certain amount of opposition and interruption, and so forth. I had in front of me a considerable number of friends and a considerable number of opponents. It was difficult enough to get attention, and yet I thought, after a time, that I had succeeded in getting their attention; but it was obvious that there were two bands of opponents—one close on my right, and another close on my left—led by a fugleman. These bands were acting in concert, and whenever there was an opportunity of speaking, and the great mass of the people were disposed to listen to what was being said, these gentlemen to the right and left set up a continuous strain which entirely drowned the voice, so that it was impossible to make yourself heard even by speaking at the top of your voice. It is really ridiculous for anybody who was there, and saw what took place, to be told that there was no organization. I am as certain that there was an organized opposition as I am certain that this is a meeting of the House of Commons. Then, after all, what is the main charge which my noble Friend has made against the right hon. Gentleman? It is this—that he, being a Member of the Government, holding that very responsible and important position, has by his language on various occasions in the speeches he has made since the decision of the House of Lords in regard to the Representation of the People Bill, availed himself of opportunities, from time to time, for using language of an inciting character—of a character calculated to incite those people whom he addressed, not only against the House of Lords, but against all who were prepared to support the House of Lords. I have no doubt whatever that he is prepared to contend that for everything he has said he can find pretty strong sentiments expressed by somebody else on the other side of politics, or that some of the statements he has made may be more or less explained away. But, as was so powerfully put by my hon. and learned Friend just now, the great mass of the people attending the meetings addressed by the right hon. Gentleman would take his opinions in the rough, and as they were expressed. The language of the right hon. Gentleman had one meaning, and one meaning only—call it the meaning of warning or menace, or whatever you please—it was the meaning of a threat. When the right hon. Gentleman referred to the 100,000 men who proposed to march up from Birmingham to London in 1832, he said that after all that was a very moderate thing, because the intention of those 100,000 men, if they had marched up, was of an entirely peaceful and moral character. That may have been so; but it is not the impression that people generally will entertain. Generally, when that march of 100,000 men is referred to, people suppose that that march is mentioned for the purpose of intimidating and overawing the Legislature. That is the impression conveyed, and when the right hon. Gentleman mentioned it that must have been the impression produced. I am convinced that 99 out of every 100 of his audience must have had that view. My noble Friend says that is conduct on the part of a Minister of the Crown which deserves and ought to have the rebuke of this House. It is a matter of a serious character, for the question is, as the Government say, a burning question, and one upon which there is likely to be misunderstanding, and heated and angry feeling. Surely, of all persons in the world, Ministers of the Crown are those who ought to allay such a feeling, rather than stir it up. The right hon. Gentleman cannot deny that he used the language charged against him with the view to forward and press on a measure which he is desirous of promoting, and that he wished to attain his object by appealing, not to the reason, but to the fears of his opponents. That is the real meaning at the bottom of all those observations and speeches of the right hon. Gentleman to which reference has been made. It is the general and uniform tenour of the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman since the month of August upon this question. It seems to me that my noble Friend has done entirely well and was quite right in calling attention to this matter; and although the speech of the President of the Board of Trade was one of great ability and great power, yet it seemed to me that he entirely missed the point of the attack and comments upon his conduct, and that all the charges he brought against the Conservative Party in Birmingham and other places, and all the arguments he used to show that he was not personally connected with any of the proceedings which took place at Aston, are entirely beside the question as compared with the consensus of the tone of the speeches. The speech of the 4th of August clearly pointed out that meetings in the streets were to be the kind of agency which was to be employed for promoting the measure he was anxious to promote. He appealed to the people in a manner and with references which were calculated to excite the feelings of those who were appealed to, and he spoke to them in language which would have had the effect, in former times, of shaking Ministries and overthrowing Monarchies. From first to last the language used by the right hon. Gentleman has been of the same character. He must be well aware that on this question of the Representation of the People Bill we are treading on red-hot cinders. It is a question of considerable delicacy, and one upon which the position of Ministers of the Crown ought not to allow them to be led into speeches which, in their tendency to alarm and threaten, may carry away people from processes of reasoning to processes of violence and intimidation. We desire to record our opinion that such language as that, on the part of a Minister of the Crown, is language to be deeply regretted.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I entirely agree with the right hon. Gentleman—and it is a sentiment which no motive of temporary convenience would induce me to suppress—that Ministers of the Crown are under special obligations in regard to the language they may use in addressing large bodies of people. There is no doubt that I myself have been greatly ridiculed, and persistently exposed to ridicule from the organs of the Party opposite, for contending that great responsibility attaches to Ministers of the Crown for the language they use. I might use that statement for the purpose of retort; but I do not make such use of it. I quite agree that while it is a gross offence on the part of a public man to use language—and I shall have to come to that question presently—calculated to produce disorder, that offence is still more gross if committed by a Minister of the Crown. The right hon. Baronet appeared to me rather to confuse what was made most clear by my right hon. Friend in his extremely powerful speech—namely, the distinction he drew between the portion of that speech which he made in vindication of, or apology for, his constituents, and the portion which referred to what concerned himself personally in respect of the speeches he had made. And the right hon. Baronet did this, although my right hon. Friend, in the production of evidence at great length and with great force, spoke in defence of his constituents in respect of a course of action with which personally he had had nothing whatever to do, and with which the noble Lord (Lord Randolph Churchill) hardly made a serious attempt to connect him. Now it is necessary, as the conduct of that great community has been before us, to say something on that matter. It has been assumed that some days before the meeting was held there was reason to anticipate a serious collision between the demonstration and the counter-demonstration. Now, Sir, I contend there was no such reason at all. The right hon. Gentleman forgets the facts. The facts were these—that 10,000 tickets were distributed by the agents of the Conservative Party to Liberal Associations and Associations of working men. What was the effect of that? Obviously to set forth to the country—and I make no complaint of such attempt—that a meeting virtually open was going to be held, that masses of Liberals obtained tickets from authoritative sources; and we have the proof quoted by my right hon. Friend—namely, that a newspaper, the chief Conservative organ in Birmingham, boasted beforehand that this was no mere Party meeting, but that it was a representative and universal meeting, whose opinion was to go forth to the country as that of the community of Birmingham at large. Therefore, the right hon. Baronet totally failed in his contention. And I admit I am very much obliged to him—he is the only person who in the course of this debate has produced one ray of evidence in support of the contention that forged tickets were used. He has produced two tickets, one of which is presumed to have been forged, and on which undoubtedly *primâ facie* presumption arises that some forged tickets were used. But with regard to the tickets that were issued. First of all, a vast mass of tickets, stated definitely by my right hon. Friend, were distributed by the Conservatives themselves to Liberals and others by Conservative agents. And my right hon.

Friend states that gentlemen and ladies who obtained tickets from Conservative authorities were refused admission, and were in some instances subjected to immediate violence on presenting those tickets. The right hon. Baronet has not attempted to deal with these facts, nor, indeed, with any fact brought forward in my right hon. Friend's elaborate and most earnest speech. There was no reason to anticipate a collision. Why were the Liberals of Birmingham to be in a bad humour when an open meeting was to be held? They were confident that in an open meeting their opinions would have full play, and they were willing to bear the result. And what is the evidence of the right hon. Baronet? As I understand him, the right hon. Baronet says that at the railway station on the day on which the meeting was to be held he was told by someone that a train had gone by full of persons who were going to wreck the meeting. And what did the right hon. Baronet say? He said he had heard nothing of it, which, I say, shows that up to a very short time before the meeting was held there was no reason in the world to anticipate a collision; and the opinion which my right hon. Friend entertains of the respect for law and order which prevails at Birmingham—["Oh, oh!"] It looks very well for hon. Gentlemen opposite to sneer at those whom the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) is endeavouring to make his constituents. I am speaking of the respect which my right hon. Friend believes is entertained by the people of Birmingham for law and order, and with that respect it would have been ludicrous, it would have been absurd, if, when he knew that a meeting was going to be held for which 10,000 tickets had been issued to Liberal Associations and working men by the agents of the Conservative Party, he had anticipated an angry collision. Sir, I say it was intended, it was professed, to be a meeting of an universal and representative character. ["No, no!"] That is our contention, and we state this fact—that 10,000 tickets were issued to Liberals. You produce to us two tickets with regard to which, you presume, they were forged. We tell you the names of persons who presented themselves with genuine tickets—Scripture readers and others—who had their tickets taken from them and torn up, and who in certain instances were subjected to violence. Well, Sir, I have not a word to abate from what I said on a former night on the subject of violence. I knew when I used that language I should be supported by my right hon. Friend and by all my Colleagues. I said I would never consider provocation or incitement for the purpose of extenuating violence. Provocation and incitement, however, are very considerable temptations. The right hon. Baronet says that the provocation in this case was intolerable. I admit that we have not got yet to the bottom of the circumstances with respect to the nature of these declarations, and I will not attempt to gain any unfair advantage; but we have before us the particular persons. I remember one, whom my right hon. Friend named Coleman, was, for the simple offence of appearing with a badge with my ill-omened features upon it, struck violently on the head and felled to the ground by some of the regulators of the Conservative meeting. My right hon. Friend says that the persons who suffered this violence went over to the counter-demonstration, and everyone knows how intelligence of an event of the kind spreads like the electric fluid through a large assembly. I understand my right hon. Friend distinctly to say that that demonstration was assembled at the time, and if they were then assembled, I say that the news of that sort of violence offered to a respectable man who presented a genuine ticket, and who had conformed to the rules and usages laid down, would cause that state of excitement which leads to dangerous acts, and I think those acts which my right hon. Friend has detailed — the ill-treatment of persons presenting genuine tickets—is largely chargeable with the events which took place. Now, Sir, let us look at the evidence in this case. The noble Viscount the Member for North Shropshire (Viscount Newport) thought it a great piece of evidence to allege something which he learned from his gardener, and it would have been a good piece of evidence, no doubt, if it had been a matter within the knowledge of the gardener; but it did not purport to be within the knowledge of the gardener, and the whole object of the noble Viscount's speech was to convey to the House what he thought most important—namely, that a person, whom his gardener did not name, and whom, as far as I can judge, his gardener did not know, had said that he was a Liberal rough on the occasion in question employed with others in breaking up the meeting. That is the evidence offered by the noble Viscount the Member for North Shropshire (Viscount Newport). It is evidence of a certain kind, and I hope it will be examined. [Mr. NEWDEGATE: I will examine it.] I am glad to hear the hon. Gentleman the Member for North Warwickshire say he will go into it. The hon. Gentleman says—"I am sorry, but if we had had more time we should have produced better evidence." Yes, Sir; but they are the accusers. I have heard of defenders pleading for more time, which is sometimes allowed; but it is indeed an extraordinary case in which that plea has to be put forward by the accusers.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I never said I wanted time.

MR. GLADSTONE: It was the plea which the noble Lord's hon. Friend made in his behalf. But I understand the noble Lord to say that if he had more time he could not have made a better case.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I did not say so.

MR. GLADSTONE: If it be true—and it is true—that Ministers of the Crown are under special responsibilities and obligations, there ought to be some discrimination and some consideration and care exercised in the nature of the case which is brought forward to impeach them. What evidence has the noble Lord about these meetings? The hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Sir Hardinge Giffard), speaking with great authority, has deducted considerably from the value of the evidence produced by my right hon. Friend. I do not mean to say that he is right, and I should be sorry to say he was wrong; but I say that the papers read by my right hon. Friend are of some consequence, inasmuch as those who signed them give the names of the persons concerned, and do not scruple also to give the names of those by whom those persons were apparently bribed. That is a presumption, at all events, and it affords better evidence—evidence of a stronger character than has been given to us by the noble Lord, because there is not a single case of a name being given.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I gave the particulars of four gangs. I know that my speech was a long one, and I cannot blame the right hon. Gentleman for not remembering; but I gave the particulars of four gangs, and also several names, especially of three men—Martin, or M'Martin, and the brothers Reed, two notorious pugilists, each of whom received £20.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not the least doubt of it; the noble Lord gave the names just as he gave the name of my right hon. Friend; but he had no vouchers. He had not a shred of evidence to produce. Why did he not give some confirmation of his statement? How can we base a case against my right hon. Friend upon evidence so vague, upon mere information conveyed to the noble Lord by no one knows whom?

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: It was given by the solicitors.

MR. GLADSTONE: Yes, by a gentleman professionally employed; and that gentleman so employed has been careful not to supply the noble Lord with anything in the nature of proof, when he was in an excellent position to know that, if they were to be of any value, he must give something to vouch for the truth of the statements. I trust that full knowledge will be obtained on this subject; and I must say that while I think my right hon. Friend has shown evidence of great imprudence on the part of the Conservative Party in Birmingham, in professing to hold a representative meeting which it appears now, on the highest authority, they did not intend to be representative, and in respect of the intolerable wrong committed on those persons, simply for the offence of wearing a badge not proscribed by the rules of the meeting, and which, consequently, was no infringement at all—I think, under these circumstances, great provocation was given, the bearing of which on the acts of violence committed I will not undertake to measure, but which in itself constitutes a great offence, and one which I hope the Conservative Party in Birmingham will be careful not to repeat. The point I put is this—that no person has in the slightest degree succeeded in showing that there is any action of my right hon. Friend for which he can be impeached, as he is impeached in this Motion. My right hon. Friend has explained how difficult—how impossible—it was for him, as a Minister of the Crown, incessantly occupied with the labours of his Department and of the Government, to maintain that local activity for which, before he was distinguished in this House, he was so honourably known in the great community to which he belonged. I submit that there is not a shred of evidence before the House, and the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down did not allege that there was any action of my right hon. Friend which could be regarded as an incitement to interference with the meeting or to disorder; and now, on the contrary, he is going to vote that not only the speeches, but the actions of my right hon. Friend incited to violence and disorder. Well, Sir, I submit he has shown nothing to justify that part of the allegation of the Motion which impeaches my right hon. Friend not only for speeches, but for actions. Then with regard to the speeches of my right hon. Friend, what has been said and what is to be said? [*Opposition cheers.*] You will hear what is to be said. What said the hon. and learned Member for Launceston (Sir Hardinge Giffard)? He said that, without using actually inflammatory language, my right hon. Friend had left the inflammatory part to be filled up by the audience. Well, Sir, that might be a good form of speech for a peroration; but allow me to say respectfully that it expresses a mere theory.

Sir HARDINGE GIFFARD: I quoted the speech of the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Chamberlain) in Wales.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The hon. and learned Gentleman made no quotation which was of such a character as to be in the slightest degree in point. Sir, I am going to refer to and quote the speech—it is impossible for me to go through all the speeches; but my right hon. Friend himself made a very full statement to the House with regard to them—I am going to refer to the speech which, as far as I understand, is that upon which reliance is principally placed, and that is the speech with regard to the march on London. I must say that what my right hon. Friend said has been cruelly misrepresented. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes, cruelly misrepresented. I do not ask you to believe what I say; but I ask you to hear with respect what I have to say on the subject. Here I must refer to the speech of the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour). He said he wished that, instead of animadverting upon the Marquess of Salisbury in the Provinces, my right hon. Friend had asked Earl Granville to make the attack upon the noble Marquess in a place where the noble Marquess could have replied. Well, Sir, I have been long in this House, and it has been my fate to have been over and over again the subject of prolonged attacks and invectives in the House of Lords; but down to this night I have never imitated the example that has been thus set me. I concur with my hon. Friend the Member for Hertford, and I wish that attacks upon public men were always made in the place where those attacked could defend themselves; but, unfortunately, it is the constant practice of the Marquess of Salisbury to attack those who are not present, exercising his great powers of speech in censure and invective upon persons in this House belonging to the Government. Well, Sir, it is not in self-defence; but in this particular case in which my right hon. Friend has been made the subject of attack it is absolutely necessary I should refer to it. Now, Sir, as to the march upon London. What was the passage spoken by my right hon. Friend with respect to the march upon London? The speech was made on the 4th of August, and the passage as to the march on London was—it is with difficulty I can read the print—

> "100,000 men in Birmingham and the surrounding districts who were sworn to march on London, if need were, in defence of their liberties. The peace was broken in many parts of the country, and there were at Derby, Nottingham, and Bristol fierce outbreaks of popular passion, accompanied by a great destruction of property."

Now, Sir, that is the recital, and that is the basis of the assault on my right hon. Friend. What words did my right hon. Friend use immediately after that recital in his speech? After saying there was to be a march on London, after saying that there had been these breaches of the peace in the country, he went on to say—

> "He had hoped that we had left those days of disorder far behind us."

[Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Had hoped?] Certainly, "had hoped." I am quoting from something in the third person—

> "He had hoped that we had left those days of disorder far behind us."

A most natural and simple explanation, and one which ought to have been exempted from the slightest criticism. What did the Marquess of Salisbury do? ["Read on!"] Does the hon. Gentleman who cries "Read on!" know what follows? No, Sir; he does not. My sight does not enable me to read, so, without knowing what follows, he calls "Read on!" simply for the sake of causing me embarrassment if he can. Well, Sir, what says the Marquess of Salisbury upon this? At Kelso, on the 13th of October, the Marquess of Salisbury began by speaking of another speech of my right hon. Friend, in which he had said—

> "I think that these Gentlemen in the House of Lords presume on your patience, on your love of order, and on your hatred of violence."

And then he says—

> "That the English people had shown courage and resolution."

And that statement is treated by the Marquess of Salisbury as an incitement to violence. Do you think, Sir, that, under these circumstances, it is the duty of Ministers, or of anybody else, to go to the people of this country, when they have the formidable obstacles in their front that they have now, and say to them—"Love order and hate violence?" It is certainly one's duty to advise the people to love order and hate violence; but am I to say nothing else? Am I to make no appeals to them? Am I never to remind them of the dignity and the force that attach to the well-considered resolution of a great nation? Are we to cast aside all the natural, legitimate, and powerful weapons of our warfare? I would go all lengths to exclude violence, and on that ground I object to the speech of the Marquess of Salisbury. But while I eschew violence, I cannot—I will not—adopt that effeminate method of speech which is to hide from the people of this country the cheering fact that they may derive some encouragement from the recollection of former struggles, from the recollection of the great qualities of their forefathers, and from the consciousness that they possess them still. Sir, I am sorry to say that if no instructions had ever been addressed in political crises to the people of this country except to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been obtained. The Marquess of Salisbury goes on to say—

> "I only hope that if Mr. Chamberlain incites the people to riot, he will head the riot himself."

Is that a wise method of speech? ["If!"] Right hon. Gentlemen opposite think it is a wise method of speech; I think it is a most unwise method of speech. Even if the words of my right hon. Friend fairly bore the character attributed to them, the speech of the Marquess of Salisbury is an aggravation of the incitement; it is extending and deepening the mischief; and, therefore, it is not a speech which ought to have been made by the Leader of a great Party in this country—

> "I only hope that if Mr. Chamberlain incites the people to riot, he will head the riot himself. I hope that if he is going, according to his threat, to march to London from Birmingham, we may see him at the head of the advancing column."

I believe the reference in that passage was to the speech of the 4th of August. Then the Marquess of Salisbury did not scruple to say that Mr. Chamberlain had threatened to march on London, when Mr. Chamberlain had recited the intended march upon London in a series of facts belonging to the year 1832, with reference to which he immediately said—

> "He had hoped that we had left those days of disorder far behind us."

[Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Had hoped?] Had hoped; certainly, had hoped, and nothing was more proper than for him to say "he had hoped," when the Marquess of Salisbury had come into the field to revive this painful and dangerous subject by charges which were utterly groundless. He had hoped that these things had been universally abandoned; but he now found that a great Nobleman, the Head of the great Tory Party, was prepared to revive them. That is my comment on your "had hoped." Well, Sir, the Marquess of Salisbury, having expressed the hope—

> "That Mr. Chamberlain may be sent at the head of the advancing column,"

he goes on to say—which I suppose is a warning and not a menace—

> "and my experience is that those who will have to receive him will be able to give a very good account of him."

Having forced upon him this declaration, which he never made, of an intention to march upon London, the Marquess of Salisbury makes another declaration—namely, that when my right hon. Friend marches upon London he will be met by another column which will be able to give a very good account of him—

> "And that Mr. Chamberlain will return from the adventure with a broken head if nothing more."

Sir, I have made solemn declarations on the subject of violence; and I want to know whether hon. Gentlemen opposite think that that language is wise language, prudent language, tolerable language, when used by a man in the position of the Marquess of Salisbury? Now, my right hon. Friend, on a late occasion, adverted to this passage from the Marquess of Salisbury's speech. It may be that he did so in a spirit of banter; but, in answering the speech of the Marquess of Salisbury, he pursued for a little the thought, and used expressions assuming that the events of which the Marquess of Salisbury had spoken were to take place. My right hon. Friend has said to-night that he anticipated the House would not approve of this language of the Marquess of Salisbury; and that if the House disapproved of the provocative remarks which drew forth his retort, he was perfectly willing his own words in answer should pass away, and should, in like manner, be subject to the censure of the House. My right hon. Friend is not at all a defender of such language, and I am very sorry that, for the first time, I have been compelled to take notice of words spoken by a person in the other House; but they grew so essentially out of the main charge against my right hon. Friend that I could not avoid doing so. My answer to the charge is, that it has not, upon the report of my right hon. Friend's speech, a shadow of foundation. When he made that speech he himself supplied the barriers against the possibility of mischief by speaking of these proceedings as proceedings which he had hoped—he had hoped until he heard what a person to whom I will not further refer had to say—he had hoped that such things were left far behind, and were never to be heard of again; and I therefore submit that my right hon. Friend, upon this point, upon this passage in his speech of the 4th of August, has afforded no ground for criticism; and that if there be any ground for criticism in what followed, he has expressed how content he would be that the answer which he made should be abandoned. There is no ground for such a Motion as the present. Every hon. Gentleman is asked to pledge himself that the actions and the speeches of my right hon. Friend deserve censure. My right hon. Friend has, as to his actions, shown that there is in what he has done nothing that can possibly be construed into incitement to riot and disorder. As respects his speeches, I think he satisfied the House as to their character when he went over them; and I have myself stated to the House what I believed to be the acts principally relied upon. The House, I trust, will do justice in a case of this kind; and, while guarding to the best of its ability, and guarding impartially—guarding, not against Liberals alone, but also against misled and misguided Conservatives—the principle that no encouragement is to be given to violence in any shape or form, decline to pronounce an unjust sentence upon one who does not deserve it.

MR. GORST: I am not going to attempt to make a speech. I only wish to ask leave to read a telegram, in justice to a gentleman who has been accused, without Notice, of very disgraceful conduct. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, on the strength of these sworn documents, accused a Mr. Jarvis, of Birmingham, a candidate for the representation of one of the wards of Birmingham, of having hired roughs to exercise violence to Liberals attending Conservative meetings. I hold in my hand a telegram which was sent at midnight from Birmingham by Mr. Jarvis, and I desire to read it to the House. It is addressed to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and is as follows:—

> "Just seen telegram of Mr. Chamberlain's charges against myself in the House of Commons to-night. They are a deliberate fabrication, which I will swear on oath."

MR. O'DONNELL: I am sure that, in view of that communication, the indulgence of the House will be given to the Prime Minister, if he has any further remarks to make.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 178; Noes 214: Majority 36.—(Div. List, No. 2.)

Main Question again proposed.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Mac Iver.*)

Motion *agreed to*.

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow*.

## *MOTIONS.*

—o—

### FACTORY ACTS (EXTENSION TO SHOPS) BILL.

On Motion of Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Bill to extend certain provisions of the Factory Acts to Shops, *ordered* to be brought in by Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Mr. BURT, Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, and Mr. PELL.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 23.]

### GROUND GAME ACT (1880) AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MUNRO-FERGUSON, Bill to amend "The Ground Game Act, 1880," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MUNRO-FERGUSON, Dr. FARQUHARSON, and Mr. ANDERSON.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 24.]

House adjourned at a quarter after One o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday, 31st October,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered — First Reading* — Private Bill Legislation* [25] Copyhold Enfranchisement* [26].

## *QUESTIONS.*

—o—

### EGYPT—THE RAILWAY BOARD.

DR. CAMERON asked the Surveyor General of the Ordnance, If his attention has been called to the following statement from its Egyptian Correspondent, published in *The Times* of October 21st:—

> "The [Egyptian] Railway Board consists of Mr. Le Mesurier, an English resident; M. Zimmerman, recently rendered famous as the self-styled representative of France; and a Native Pasha. I have reason to believe that Sir Andrew Clarke recently telegraphed to Mr. Le Mesurier asking whether the staff was sufficient to work the increased traffic. Mr. Le Mesurier promptly replied in the negative, and stated the nature of the aid required. Sir Andrew Clarke despatched a certain number of mechanicians at the cost of the British Government. M. Zimmerman refused to allow them to be employed. At the present moment I can certify that four men are now in Alexandria receiving pay varying from £50 to £65 monthly, the latter sum being £10 less than the pay for a month of the General Commanding in Alexandria, by whom these men are employed as messengers. I should add that they might be employed in the Soudan: but the men decline to go there, as their contract was to serve in Egypt proper;"

if he would say whether this statement is correct; and, if so, whether the men in question are being paid by the British or Egyptian Government, and what office drew up the contracts under which they engaged?

MR. BRAND: I will give the hon. Gentleman all the information I have. The facts are as follow:—On the 4th of September a telegram was sent from the War Office to Mr. Le Mesurier inquiring as to the condition of the railway between Cairo and Siout, and asking if anything was required from England to perfect the line, either material or *personnel*. On the following day Mr. Le Mesurier telegraphed through the General Officer Commanding in Egypt to the War Office requesting the Secretary of State to send a certain number of *employés* to assist the administration of the Egyptian railways in meeting the pressure likely to result from the transport of troops and supplies for the Expedition to Khartoum. Steps were immediately taken to meet this demand. Civilian *employés* were engaged and sent to Alexandria. Their terms of engagement were for service in Egypt for three months certain from the date of embarkation at varying rates of pay; and, in reply to a further inquiry, the General was informed that the salaries of these men would be chargeable on the funds of the railway administration, seeing that they would be employed on the railway, and that a considerable profit would be realized by the railway from the increased traffic caused by the transport of the Expedition. This is how the matter stood so far as the War Department was concerned. With reference to the paragraph from *The Times* quoted by the hon. Member, I have to say that, my attention having been called to it on October 21, I requested Sir Andrew Clarke to telegraph to the General Officer Commanding in Egypt, asking if the facts, as stated, were correct. The reply was as follows:—

> "Four civilians sent to Le Mesurier have been employed at Alexandria as traffic inspectors, not messengers, at pay £25 monthly, except one man at £50. Two of them were placed at the disposal of General, who now reports that boats having been passed he had no further use for them."

This reply not having been deemed complete, the following further telegram was sent on the 28th instant from the War Office to the General Commanding in Egypt:—

> "Please ask Le Mesurier whether extra railway civil staff not employed as reported in *The Times* and why. Wire reply."

To this the following reply was received from the General yesterday:—

> "Telegram was sent after interview with Le Mesurier. Statement in *The Times* incorrect. Letter follows."

## PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—POLICE PROTECTION — SIR AUGUSTUS STEWART, RAMILTON, CO. DONEGAL.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Is the police protection granted to Sir A. Stewart, Ramilton, county Donegal, charged to the district; and, what outrages have been committed in the neighbourhood to justify this?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker), in reply, said, that police protection had been granted to Sir Augustus Stewart, of Ramilton, as several outrages had occurred in the district. It was not considered that at present the police could be safely withdrawn, as last month Sir Augustus Stewart received a threatening letter.

## LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—ARREST OF CHARLES MATHERS.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Is it the fact that Charles Mathers was arrested on board a vessel at Queenstown on July 10th, when absconding with the funds of the Dublin Bakers' Trades Union (£81); that he was allowed to escape from the local bridewell; has he been recaptured; if not, what steps have been taken to discover his whereabouts; who is to blame for his escape; have the money (£31 10*s*.), passage ticket, watch, &c. found on his person been detained by the authorities; why are they not handed over to the Trades Union, seeing that its officials gave security for it in event of Mather's re-arrest; and, what are the intentions of the Government?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker), in reply, said, that Charles Mathers had been arrested at Queenstown on the 12th of July on a charge of embezzling the sum of £80, the property of the Dublin Bakers' Union. The sum of £28 10*s*. found upon his person had been handed over to the Bakers' Society.

Mr. HEALY: When?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, that he had not the date. The prisoner had also a gold watch and chain and a passage to America in his trunk, with some clothing, and for which no application had yet been made.

Mr. HEALY stated that he had put this Question at the request of the Bakers' Society. If the authorities handed over the money, why did the Society wish the Question put, and when was the money handed over?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I will inquire.

## PUBLIC MEETINGS (IRELAND)—THE RIOTS AT PORTADOWN.

Mr. O'CONNOR POWER asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, How many persons are to be proceeded against in connection with the recent riots at Portadown; will the cases be tried under the Prevention of Crime Act; is it true, as stated in the Belfast papers, that the resident magistrate, Captain Whelan, and the Sub-Inspector of Police, were both off duty on the night of the riot; and, if it be found that Captain Whelan was off duty, whether the Government will direct an investigation into the cause of his absence, before he is allowed to take any part in adjudication upon the case?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, it was intended to proceed against 80 persons charged with being concerned in the Portadown riot. An explanation had been called for from the Resident Magistrate and the Sub-Inspector, who, as alleged, were both off duty on the occasion.

### CUSTOMS (IRELAND)—EXAMINATIONS FOR OUTDOOR OFFICERS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary to the Treasury, When the examination of candidates, by Civil Service Commissions, for situations in the Customs in Ireland, will take place?

MR. COURTNEY: I presume the hon. Member alludes to the examinations for outdoor officers. These are held simultaneously in the Three Kingdoms when required. At the present time there is an excess of such officers, and there is no immediate prospect of a competition being required. Due notice will be given when one has been arranged.

### COMMISSIONERS OF NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—SALARIES OF INSPECTORS.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether any circular or document has been issued by the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, to their Inspectors, reprimanding those gentlemen for agitating for increased remuneration on the basis of salaries paid to the English Inspectors; and, whether the Irish Inspectors were further reprimanded for seeking the support of Members of this House?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, that the Circular issued by the Commissioners of National Education to their Inspectors did contain a reprimand for those who did not seek increased remuneration through the National Board. His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant considered that the proper channel for those connected with education was mentioned in the Treasury Minute of 1867, which required that there should be no attempt to influence private Members of Parliament.

MR. HEALY: May they bring public influence upon Members of Parliament?

[No reply.]

### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SUB-INSPECTOR MARTIN.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether a number of complaints have been made from many persons in Killeshandra against Sub-Inspector Martin; and, whether, under the circumstances, the Government are prepared to remove him to some other county?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) in reply, said, that there had been complaints made against Sub-Inspector Martin, which had been reported to the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary, who, however, considered that that officer had always endeavoured to do his duty. Sub-Inspector Martin had, however, applied to be transferred to another district; and his application would be acceded to on the first vacancy.

### CITY OF DUBLIN LICENSING SESSIONS —MR. THOMAS W. RUSSELL.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, at the licensing sessions in Green Street, Dublin, a person named Thomas W. Russell, secretary of a temperance association, is allowed by the presiding Recorder, the honourable Frederick Falkiner, to make objection to any application he desires, and to occupy the time of the Court in delivering statements against applicants; whether the said Mr. Russell has any locus standi to make objection in cases where he is not a parishioner; whether the Recorder invariably asks Mr. Russell's advice to guide him in his decisions; whether, at each session, a large number of applications are struck out of the lists without being heard; whether the said Recorder has publicly stated his determination to cancel every licence he can; and, whether, if he holds such views, the Government will relieve him of the business of the licensing sessions, as they have done in the case of the County Revision Court?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, the Recorder was not answerable to the Government for the way in which the Licensing Act was administered. The Government had no knowledge that the Recorder ever had entertained or expressed the opinion suggested in the

Question. There was no intention of altering his duties as proposed.

### EXPLOSIVES ACT—STORAGE OF DYNAMITE AT CANVEY ISLAND.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether nine vessels loaded with dynamite are moored in a Thames creek off Canvey Island, and are guarded by a small number of Coastguard men who have other duties to perform; and, who is responsible for the control of the storage of this explosive matter?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: This matter to which my hon. Friend's Question refers has engaged my attention for some time. I was quite aware of the danger of these stores, and I have requested the Local Authority to take charge of them; but I have not succeeded. I have induced the Admiralty to take some charge of them —though they are not responsible for them—through the Coastguard. These being floating vessels, the men on land can do but little. When my hon. Friend asks who is responsible for the storage of explosive matter, I am sorry to say I cannot answer that Question. I will refer to that matter, if I may be allowed to say a word about it, because a good deal of attention has been given to it lately, and some complaints have been made of the action which it is supposed I am inclined to take upon it. The real truth is, that the Explosives Acts were drawn mainly with a view to prevent mischief from explosions of dynamite to neighbouring houses and persons, and they were pointed in that direction; but recently a danger which does not seem to have been sufficiently contemplated has arisen, and that is the theft of dynamite from these stores. All over the country a great number of stores were built which have been carefully surveyed, certified, and inspected. A great quantity of dynamite was left in these stores, and no one was there to take care of them. There was no reason why anyone with a bad purpose should not go in the night time with a cart and take away as much dynamite as he liked simply at the cost of knocking off a padlock. It seems to me that is a very unsafe condition of things; and it also seems to me that persons who engage in a dangerous trade of this kind, and who keep magazines, ought to have some responsibility for the safe custody of them. I know very well that there is a great alarm on the part of the trade that this would be very costly and injurious to them. While this circumstance must, of course, be considered, yet the paramount interest in this matter is the interest of the public. All the inspection and Inspectors, and everything else, are a farce, if you take no precautions to guard the places where this dynamite is kept, and if any unauthorized person can go and carry it off in any quantity he likes. At Limerick, in the dead of the night, the whole contents of a store, amounting to 595 lbs. of dynamite, were carried off; and, again, there was a theft of dynamite recently at Greenock. I am considering as carefully as I can about the interests of the trade, and how to provide some better means of protection to prevent those stores being left entirely unguarded.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN: May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman if he does not consider that it would be better to place all the stores of explosive matter afloat under the control of the Admiralty?

Mr. HEALY was understood to ask whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman would take care that legislation on subjects of this kind would not be hurried through the House without ample consideration?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I shall be glad to avail myself of any facilities which the hon. Member may offer to pass any Bill which I may contemplate.

Mr. HEALY: I did not oppose the Explosives Act.

### THE MINISTRY—THE CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE LORD LIEUTENANT OF IRELAND.

Mr. FIRTH asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, in filling up the vacancy in the office of Chief Secretary for Ireland, consideration has been given to the possibility of securing the services of any Irish Member of Parliament familiar with the requirements of Ireland? In regard to this Question I desire to make a personal explanation. I do not put this Question with reference to any Member of this House. I do not yield to anyone in my appreciation of the high personal and public qualities of the Gentleman recently appointed to the Office.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR: I should like to ask the First Lord of the Treasury whether any Irish Member has raised any question with regard to the nationality of the Chief Secretary; and whether, in his opinion, the nationality of the Chief Secretary makes any difference as long as the present relations between this country and Ireland exist?

Mr. GLADSTONE: The opinion of the Government is that when a vacancy occurs in the Chief Secretaryship for Ireland, or in any other political Office in which it is their duty to advise Her Majesty, or to arrive at a decision themselves, their obligation is plain and simple. It is to endeavour to place in that Office the Gentleman who, all things taken together, and all circumstances bearing on the case taken into view, seems to them to be the fittest person for it. They go on much wider grounds than those suggested by the hon. Gentleman, who seems to think that there is some peculiarity in the present connection between England and Ireland, which makes it necessary to have regard to the nationality of the Chief Secretary. They consider that to draw a distinction between Scotchmen, Irishmen, or Englishmen, to the prejudice of one or the other, would be a most unwarrantable assumption on their part, and detrimental to the public interest. My right hon. Friend who has just been appointed Chief Secretary for Ireland, by the favour of Her Majesty, has been chosen on the grounds of his personal merits and qualifications, without the slightest disparagement to the great ability of any other Gentleman who might have been placed in that position. It appeared to me that, in giving that advice, we best discharged our duty. With respect to the choice of Irishmen, I do not think there is anything which gives us greater pleasure than to be able to advise their appointment to great posts. We have recently had the great satisfaction of advising the appointment of Lord Dufferin to one of the highest places which it is in the power of Her Majesty to confer.

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—LOWER MIDDLE CLASS EDUCATION.

Mr. ROUNDELL asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to issue a Royal or a Departmental Commission, to inquire into the state of the Lower Middle Class Education, and to report as to the steps to be taken for making suitable provision for the education of the classes of children at present unprovided for by either the Public Elementary or the existing Secondary Schools?

Mr. MUNDELLA: I can assure my hon. Friend that the Education Department is fully alive to the importance of the subject of lower middle-class education, and is watching with interest and sympathy the efforts that are being made to supply the serious deficiencies in this branch of education. We do not think, however, having regard to the facts of the case, that it is immediately desirable to institute a public inquiry into the subject. We have already before us, as my hon. Friend is aware, the Report of the Departmental Commission for Wales; and we are anxious, as soon as we have an opportunity, to pass a measure which will make provision for intermediate education in the Principality. In Scotland the Educational Endowment Commissioners are applying themselves vigorously to the revision and better appropriation of Scotch endowments; and I believe that with their aid, and with the powers already in possession of the Education Department, efficient secondary education in Scotland may be provided without further legislation. England alone remains to be dealt with; and here it must be admitted that the supply of intermediate schools is inadequate, and that the organization of secondary education is one of the most urgent questions of the time. But I hardly think that information on the subject is what is required. We have the elaborate Report of the Public Schools Inquiry Commission of 1867, consisting of 20 volumes, the recommendations of which have not been nearly carried out. The Government is pledged to the appointment of a Committee next Session to inquire into the working of the Endowed Schools Acts. This will necessarily cover much of the ground which will be traversed by such an inquiry as that suggested.

## LAW AND POLICE—THE CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS, CUMBERLAND.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the report, in *The Carlisle Journal* of the 28th October, of the evidence given, at the Cumberland Assizes, by John Douglass Sempill, superintendent of police and deputy chief constable, upon the trial of a man named France, who was acquitted of complicity in the dynamite explosion at Cleator Moor; whether Mr. Sempill stated that, while France was under remand at Whitehaven, a constable from Longtown, named Tomer, whom the witness described as "an experienced detective officer," was put into the prisoner's cell, in plain clothes, for several hours; whether the witness stated that Tomer was shut up with the prisoner for the purpose of taking care of him, but that "if the prisoner had made any statement, he should have inquired into it;" whether France states that the detective officer represented himself as a fellow prisoner, pretended to be drunk, swore at the police, and attempted to inveigle him into a statement respecting the charge against him; and, whether an inquiry will be held into the conduct of Tomer, and of the officers responsible for directing his visit, and admitting him to the cell of an untried prisoner?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had had heard nothing of this matter until he saw the hon. Member's Question yesterday. He had sent it to the Chief Constable in Cumberland for inquiry, and he would answer the hon. Gentleman when he had received the information.

MR. O'BRIEN said, he would renew the Question on Monday.

## POST OFFICE (IRELAND)—ACCELERATION OF MAILS, CO. MONAGHAN.

MR. HEALY asked the Postmaster General, If it is the fact that no benefit accrues to any town or district in Monaghan by the acceleration of the mails from England, and why no provision has been made for extending the benefit to this portion of the Country?

MR. FAWCETT said, the hon. Gentleman was under some misapprehension in supposing that there was no acceleration to Monaghan. For instance, take the town of Monaghan. The day mails arrived there at 12.15 now instead of at 1.30, and at Glasslough they arrived at 12.40 instead of at 1.40.

MR. HEALY remarked that the Postmaster General had only mentioned one town and a village; and he wished to point out that, except in regard to them, the entire county had practically not the smallest benefit from the acceleration of these mails.

## CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—TRIAL OF CORNWALL AND KIRWAN.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If it is the fact that none of the jurors who came up to be sworn in the conspiracy case of the Queen against G. C. Cornwall (late Secretary to the General Post Office, Dublin), and Martin Oranmore Kirwan (late Captain, Galway Militia), were challenged or directed to stand aside by the Crown; and, whether the Crown will pursue a similar course in the cases of Mr. P. M. Fitzgerald and the Tubbercurry prisoners? The hon. Member further asked, whether the Solicitor General had any information of the course pursued by the Crown this morning in the case of James Ellis French; did the Crown order any jurors to stand by?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, that he had no information showing what took place this morning; and in regard to the trial of Cornwall, he believed it was the fact that no juror was ordered to stand aside.

MR. HEALY: One Roman Catholic.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): He could not bind the Crown in regard to their action in the Tubbercurry cases; but he had no doubt the only desire of the Crown was that a thoroughly impartial jury should be obtained.

MR. SEXTON: I beg to give Notice, as I do not share the opinion of the hon. and learned Gentleman about the desire of the Crown, that I shall feel obliged to proceed with the Amendment to the Address which stands in my name.

## ARMY—ROYAL HIBERNIAN MILITARY SCHOOL.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for War, with reference to the subject of equalising the rates of pay of the Educational Staff of the Royal Hibernian Military School, Dublin, with those of the Royal Military Asylum, Chelsea, If he is aware that the interpretation put upon paragraph 489 of the Royal Warrant of 10th June 1884 is that the past services of the Staff of the Royal Hibernian Military School shall be ignored, and the new scale of remuneration take effect only from the present year; whether he is aware that each member of the existing Staff has completed more than the prescribed term to entitle him to the maximum rate of pay sanctioned by the Warrant; and, whether he is aware that the head master, after a service of thirty-nine years, has been given £60 per annum less than is laid down in the new scale, and the second and third masters only the initial rates, though they have served seventeen and fourteen years respectively; and, if he will take steps to have this grievance removed?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Each of the masters referred to has had a substantial advance of pay, and the Regulations of the Treasury preclude the grant of more than the minimum rate allotted to an appointment by a new Warrant when that rate is in excess of the salary or pay previously held.

## THE LAW COURTS—SEATING AND LIGHTING.

MR. HORACE DAVEY asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether it is the fact that boilers used for lighting the Royal Courts of Justice were removed only one week before the opening of the Courts, and that there are now no means of heating the Courts; whether the apparatus for lighting the Courts with electric light has not also been removed, and there are now no means of lighting the Courts except oil lamps; why the opportunity of the Long Vacation was not made use of for making the necessary repairs and alterations; and, when he expects to be able to provide light and heat for the Courts?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the heating apparatus of the Law Courts had been in perfect order since the beginning of the present term. The boilers referred to were for the purpose of the electric light, the machinery for which had previously been in a temporary building outside, but was now to be permanently placed in the crypt inside. Whilst the works were in progress the building could be efficiently lighted by the ordinary lamps.

## SOUTH KENSINGTON—THE INTENDED EXHIBITION OF INVENTIONS.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, having regard to the recent admission by the Director of Army Contracts as to the inability of Her Majesty's Government to supply themselves with a necessary munition of war without resort to Foreign manufacturers, stated to be in sole possession of a protected "secret composition," he can see his way to safeguard the commercial interests of exhibitors of inventions at the exposition now being projected by the authorities of the South Kensington Museum for the ensuing year?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN said, the Exhibition proposed to be held at South Kensington next year would make no difference in the *status* of inventors. Inventions already patented would be protected, provided the steps mentioned in the Patent Act were taken. The exhibition of unpatented inventions would not for a reasonable time prejudice the right of inventors to apply for a patent.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD gave Notice that, in consequence of the reply of the right hon. Gentleman, he should take an early opportunity of calling attention to the subject.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS — CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS.

MR. HEALY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he has made or will make himself acquainted with the dying depositions of two men executed with Myles Joyce; whether they were taken by and before a resident magistrate; whether each deposition was made independently by each of the condemned men in his own cell without any knowledge or communication of what the other had said or done; whether any copies of the depositions have been made; if not, in whose custody do the originals remain; and, will any steps be taken to secure them from being mislaid or lost?

MR. GLADSTONE: This is a Question which resolves itself into many points. In regard to the first of them —whether the First Lord of the Treasury had made or would make himself acquainted with the dying depositions of two men executed with Myles Joyce—I may remind the hon. Member that I had not, in the course of the debate, assumed to make the smallest authoritative reference to the contents of those dying declarations. I took them simply as they were presented in the accounts given by Irish Members, who believed themselves to have obtained substantial information about them, and any argument I made was made simply on these accounts so presented to me. With respect to my own acquaintance with those documents, or with any other documents bearing on the Maamtrasna case, I really think it is going a little beyond the ordinary functions of a Questioner to cross-examine a particular Minister as to what are the Papers which he has or has not read, and in what particular manner he has fitted himself to enter into the case. I think the hon. Member will see that he has unconsciously gone a little beyond the proper limits in putting his Question to me; and I must respectfully, in all courtesy, decline to answer what Papers I have read or not read. It might be, on some subjects, a Question not easy to reply to. I do not say that that is so in the present case; but, on the principle I have stated, I must decline to answer. As to his third and fourth Questions, which relate to the depositions themselves, I would say that any Questions of that kind should, properly speaking, be put to the Representatives of the Irish Government in this House; but I do not think the Government are prepared to give information with respect to the contents or the particulars of these depositions. The Prerogative of mercy has never been a branch of the Executive power that has been cast *in medio* before the whole Cabinet. It has always been the special and responsible function of the Home Secretary on this side of the water, and of the Viceroy on the other side; and it is my opinion, and I believe the opinion of my Colleagues, that in that concentrated and very solemn responsibility there is, on the whole, a much better security for the judicious exercise of the Prerogative of mercy than if the cases it involves were to be dealt with by the whole Cabinet. That is the reason why I am unwilling to do what tends to bring the Prerogative of mercy under review, and also of my disinclination in this particular case to recede from what we feel to be our duty in all cases of the administration of justice in that great branch of justice—namely, the Prerogative of mercy. As to the Question whether steps will be taken to secure the safe custody of those Papers, I think I can assure the hon. Member that there is no reason to apprehend their being lost from any want of due care. Certainly, they are Papers for the safety of which it is the duty of the Irish Government to have peculiar regard.

MR. HEALY said, he wished to disclaim any idea of cross-examining the Prime Minister on his speech; but he had put his Question because he understood the right hon. Gentleman to have said that he had a mind open to conviction.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the chief warder of Kilmainham Prison has been questioned as to the statement alleged to have been made by Thomas Casey, the informer in the Maamtrasna case, that after Philbin, the other informer, had had an interview with Mr. Bolton, and when Casey had made no communication, they were put out alone into the prison yard?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The chief warder had been questioned, and Casey's statement was without any foundation.

MR. SEXTON inquired if this warder was the same as the warder mentioned in James Ellis French's letter?

[No reply.]

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF THE BROTHERS DELAHUNTY—DYING DECLARATION OF PATRICK SLATTERY.

MR. KENNY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Upon what grounds the Irish Executive has decided to ignore the dying declaration of Patrick Slattery, in which he stated that he had been used to suborn false testimony against the brothers Delahunty, upon which evidence they were convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for life; and, if, as in the case of Kilmartin, the Lord Lieutenant will consent to an inquiry, for the purpose of sifting the evidence, and guarding against a miscarriage of justice?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, that the Lord Lieutenant had carefully considered the declaration in question. His Excellency had already fully considered the case, and had been advised that there was no ground for any further action in regard to it.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE DUBLIN MURDER TRIALS—COMPENSATION TO MR. FIELD.

MR. WARTON (for Colonel KING-HARMAN) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is true, as stated in *United Ireland*, that the payment of the special rate struck for compensation to Mr. Field, under the Crimes Act (Ireland), was refused by the proprietors of that paper, and by the proprietors of *The Nation* newspaper; and, if this be true, what steps the Irish Government have taken, or intend to take, in the matter?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that there were some arrears uncollected in that case, including certain sums due from the persons named in the Question. Steps would be taken to collect those arrears.

### ARMY—SERGEANT INSTRUCTORS IN MUSKETRY.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, If it is the intention to promote the Sergeant Instructor in Musketry to the rank of Quartermaster Sergeant, in a similar manner to that adopted in the case of Paymaster and Orderly Room Sergeants, viz. after three years' service in the appointment, or to classify them as prior to the Royal Warrant of July 1881; whether it is the intention to deprive the non-commissioned officers and men now serving of their deferred pay on completing twenty-one years' service, although they enlisted as boys, and had completed twelve years previously to the issue of the Royal Warrant of July 1881; and, whether it is also the intention to deprive them of a halfpenny per diem of their pension for every year served as boys?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: There is no intention of altering the *status* of sergeant instructor of musketry from that of colour sergeant which he now holds. He still belongs to the combatant ranks, and has promotion in them to look to. The orderly room sergeant and paymaster sergeant serve under different circumstances, and have no prospect of combatant promotion. It is not contemplated to deprive any class of non-commissioned officers or soldiers of any of their deferred pay. As regards boy service, the effect of recent Regulations is precisely opposite to that implied in the Question. Formerly, service under age did not count in any way towards pension. Now it is allowed to count; but a halfpenny is deducted from the pension for each year under age. Thus, a soldier can now claim a pension, though somewhat reduced, earlier, by the amount of his boy service, than he formerly could; while, if he serves to the time at which he could formerly claim pension, he would retire on an increased pension.

### FISHERIES (IRELAND)—THE INQUIRY AT PORTRUSH.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he will instruct the Fishery Commissioners, who are to hold their inquiry at Portrush on the 4th November, to inquire and report on the facts and decision of the magistrates in Coleraine on the 25th July, and affirmed by the Recorder, Mr. Neligan, without costs, on the 25th inst.—the fishermen declare that the boundary line defined by the Recorder is unintelligible to fishermen?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, that he did not think he would be justified in giving any direction; but he would communicate with the Fishery Commissioners, and ask whether they thought the matter called for any action on their part.

### LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—PROCEEDINGS AGAINST PUBLICANS AND OTHERS AT SKIBBEREEN, CO. CORK.

MR. DEASY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, By whose orders proceedings were instituted against certain publicans in Skibbereen, county Cork, by the police, for having displayed flags from their windows on the occasion of the recent visit of the Baroness Burdett Coutts to that town; whether he authorised such conduct on the part of the constabulary; if not, whether any notice will be taken of it; and, what steps will be taken to prevent its recurrence?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, he had been informed that no proceedings were taken against certain publicans in Skibbereen for displaying flags from their windows. The District Inspector, on his own responsibility—and he thought inadvisedly—prosecuted some persons for lighting tar-barrels. The cases were dismissed. The District Inspector had been reproved for his action.

## DEBATE ON THE ADDRESS (OCT. 30)—LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL AND MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I wish to ask the President of the Board of Trade one or two Questions with reference to the documents which he read to the House last night. I wish to know whether I am right in understanding that he is in possession of other documents than those which he quoted of the same character? I do not know whether I should call them sworn documents, as they were of a doubtful nature. Has the right hon. Gentleman any more of them besides those which he quoted to the House? If so, can he say how many they are, and give the names of the parties who fabricated them? I would also ask him whether he will cause me to be furnished with legally-attested and certified copies of all the documents of that kind which he possesses, in order that the parties who are aggrieved by the statements made in them may be enabled, without the slightest loss of time, to take immediate criminal proceedings against the parties concerned in fabricating and procuring those documents?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I think, Sir, that, in the course of my speech last night, the noble Lord made an interruption, and I replied that I would be very happy to place at his disposal copies of any documents I read.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Legally-attested copies?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: If the noble Lord interrupts me it is impossible that I can answer his Question. I said that I would furnish him with copies of any documents that I used, or was going to use, in the course of my speech. The noble Lord, after my speech was concluded, communicated with me, and asked me to carry out my promise and furnish him with copies of those documents. I told the noble Lord that the documents that I had used had gone to the Reporters' Gallery; that probably they would appear verbatim in the Press, and that that might be sufficient for his purpose; but that, if it was not, on hearing from him again, I would give him copies. I observe that the reports in the Press are not quite verbatim; and I, therefore, understand that he would like to have actual copies. I have already directed that copies shall be made, and they will be at once forwarded to the noble Lord. He asks me now whether I will let him have legally-attested copies. I can assure him that I will not throw the slightest difficulty in the way of any legal investigation into these matters. Beyond saying that I am not inclined to go at the present moment. The noble Lord will know when he receives the copies whether any more is necessary. He asks me whether I have any other evidence of this kind.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: No; pardon me. I asked the right hon. Gentleman whether I was right in understanding him to say that he had other documents of a similar nature to those quoted, but that there was not time to read them to the House.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: That is exactly what I say. The noble Lord asks me whether I have other documents, whether I will say how many they are, and whether I will give the names of the persons who, as he says, fabricated them. The question whether they are fabrications or not is one which I hope will shortly be tried. But, in answer to the noble Lord's other Questions, I say that I have in my possession a good deal more of similar evidence; but I do not think it desirable or necessary, under the circumstances, and with the probability of a further inquiry being held, to furnish him with copies of that at the present time. I am sure that he will have quite enough on which to base the investigation which he has promised.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I think that the right hon. Gentleman does not quite understand the Question that I have put to him. The reason why I have asked him for legally-attested copies of his documents is because by no possibility could legal proceedings be founded on them unless they were so attested. Then I further ask him whether the documents which he quoted were the actual original documents, or were only copies; and, if they are only copies, who are the persons who are at present in possession of the originals? Again, I ask him whether it is correct that he has other documents of a similar nature, implicating members of the Conservative Party in Birmingham in offences of a like character; whether or not he will produce, for the purpose of inquiry into this whole matter, all the documents which he has in his possession, and will keep nothing back from the House and the public?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: In reply to the noble Lord's Questions, my answer, in the first place, is, that I think it a most extraordinary thing that the noble Lord, who has made charges himself, and has never produced one tittle of evidence in support of them, should ask me to disclose, not only all the evidence on which I rely for the statements that I made in this House, but also all the additional evidence I may have for other charges, which, at some future time, it may be my duty to make. Sir, I decline that altogether. In regard to the Question whether I will supply the noble Lord with legally-attested copies of these documents, I have to say I do not think it necessary that I should be put to the expense and trouble of doing that at the present time. I am not a lawyer; but if the noble Lord or his friends institute legal proceedings in this matter, I believe they will be able to get an Order of Court, or whatever it may be called, to obtain the documents in the formal shape which is necessary to base proceedings upon them. But I can assure the noble Lord that, as far as I am concerned, no technical difficulty shall be allowed to stand in the way of any legal investigations that may be instituted.

Mr. LEWIS: I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade whether the originals of the documents he produced yesterday are in his possession?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: Some of the documents which I quoted were copies, and others were originals.

Mr. GORST gave Notice that on Monday next he would ask the Attorney General, Whether his attention had been called to the conduct of Messrs. Horton, Hooper, and others, who had taken the depositions of J. Walsh, Enoch Bird, T. Hadley, Peter Leverson, and others, at Birmingham; and whether the administration of oaths for the purpose of providing sworn documents to be produced in that House was not prohibited by Section 13 of the Act 5 & 6 *Will.* IV. c. 62, for the suppression of unnecessary oaths; whether such disobedience to a Statute was not a misdemeanour; and, if so, what steps Her Majesty's Government would take to bring these offenders to justice, and revoke the commissions to administer oaths which they had thus abused? In consequence, however, of what had fallen from the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, if there was any reason to suppose that this subject would be a matter of judicial inquiry with regard to the conduct of the Commissioners, of course he would not put such a Question?

Mr. LEWIS gave Notice that on Monday he would ask the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he would be good enough to specify which, if any, of the originals of the documents mentioned on the previous day had been in his possession?

### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—KHARTOUM.

Mr. REPTON: I beg to ask the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any further intelligence from Khartoum to day?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: None whatever.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

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### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [SEVENTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [23rd October,] "That, &c."—[See page 69.]

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

### AMENDMENT (MR. MAC IVER)—DEPRESSION OF TRADE.

Mr. MAC IVER said, he rose to move an Amendment to the Address in the following words:—

"But humbly to direct Her Majesty's attention to the depressed condition of commerce and agriculture, and regret that Her Majesty's gracious Speech contains no reference to a subject of such paramount importance."

Nothing could be further from his wish or intention than by his Amendment to anticipate the demand for an inquiry that was being made into the depressed state of agriculture. It did seem to him, however, that, as representing a large and important trading constituency, he had some right to be heard on a question such as that raised by his Amendment; and it also seemed to him that, as no one else stood forward, it was his duty to do so under the present circumstances, which were only too well known, not alone at Birkenhead, but in many other centres of industry. The shipping of the Port of Liverpool was greater than that of the Port of London; and as one-half of the port of Liverpool was in his constituency at Birkenhead, he add not think that he was unreasonable in asking the House to join him in in expression of regret that at a time like this the condition of commerce should not have been considered important enough to justify any mention in the Queen's Speech. His, he ventured to think, was not the only constituency where, to those who were out of work, the means of living were of more importance than any consideration of the Franchise Bill. At Birkenhead, so far as he knew, they cared little or nothing about what the Prime Minister described as "the great object for which Parliament had been summoned." The all-important question to people who were out of work was—"How were they to live?" And, although it might be very bad political economy, he (Mr. Mac Iver) was very much inclined to agree with the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Gourley) that the Government had other duties more important than legislation, and that the very first of those duties was to take such reasonable means as might be in their power "to provide the people with bread and cheese." He regretted that the Government had been so blind to the condition of matters around them in every centre of industry as to suppose that they could satisfy starving men with a Franchise Bill. He wished to approach the consideration of this question entirely from a non-political point of view, because it seemed to him that in the House of Commons they thought sometimes too much of Party questions and not enough of those great social problems such as that which he wished now to bring before the House. He wished to say that he had the greatest sympathy with the Question which had been addressed to the First Lord of the Treasury by the hon. Member for Sunderland with reference to shipbuilding in the Royal Navy; and knowing as he did the present condition of our Navy, and that ships could be now cheaply and advantageously built at those ports where there was so much distress, he thought that the hon. Member had been justified in asking that the Government should take some such steps. But, in reply to the hon. Member's Question, the Prime Minister went out of his way to administer a severe rebuke to his devoted follower for venturing to raise a question of this kind. The position was now far too grave to be treated as a Party question. Manufacturers and those engaged in agriculture were bound up in each other, and neither could prosper without the other, a truth that was too often forgotten. Agriculture was still the greatest pursuit in this country, and more people depended upon it for a livelihood than upon any other source; but manufacturers sometimes forgot that, and, unfortunately, there were mischievous politicians whose occupation would be gone if they had not a fertile field in which to sow trouble and to foment jealousies. He was not engaged in agriculture, and had nothing to do with it; but, whatever might be the outcome of the proposed inquiry, he would wish that any change that was made should be a change that would be fair all round to every industry in the country. Cheap food might be bought too dear, and the ruin of agriculture meant the destruction of our home markets for manufactures. Surely the incidence of taxation, the removal of our own burdens, and the endeavour to place those burdens upon foreign producers rather than upon producers at home, were subjects which to-day ought once more to be calmly considered and not left to angry controversy. He had no sympathy with those politicians whose political existence depended upon setting class against class, the manufacturing artizans against the agricultural labourers, and who saw in a state of affairs such as this a field for sowing dissensions. When speaking in "another place," Lord Kimberley had argued that there was distress all over the world, and that the condition of other countries was worse than our own. That was partly true. No doubt, trade was not good in the United States or on the Continent; but it was impossible for any Member of the Government or the House of Commons to make any accurate comparison as to the state of trade here and elsewhere. Those who were opposed to him pointed triumphantly to the statistics of the Board of Trade; but, for his own part, he was inclined to doubt the Board of Trade statistics; he had less faith in statistics and in newspaper information than was the case with many hon. Members opposite. There were certain practical considerations which had more reality about them than any amount of Mr. Giffen's statistics or of newspaper paragraphs, from whatever source they might be contributed. He had practical experience of the depression in trade now existing all over the country. He was a shareholder in some woollen mills in Cheshire; and he had received, a short time ago, a communication announcing that they were in liquidation. The fact was, anyone connected with the management of shipping had the opportunity of knowing exactly whither the trade of the world was going. For example, he was interested in certain steamers running to and from the River Plate, a great part of whose business was the carrying of wool. It was impossible at that moment to load a cargo of wool for importation into England; the demand for wool came from France and Belgium, and not from this country. Again, shipbuilding in France, though not in a very prosperous, was in a fairly prosperous condition; their shipyards were not empty as the English yards were. He knew this from his own experience, though, in answer to a Question he had put to him, the President of the Board of Trade confessed that he did not know what the state of the shipping trade in France was. That fact, in itself, was sufficient to justify his Amendment. The Suez Canal Returns, published on the authority of the Leith Chamber of Commerce, showed that, owing to the bounty system, French shipping passing through the Suez Canal had doubled, while British shipping had only increased 7 per cent.

Mr. MUNDELLA: What is the relative proportion?

Mr. MAC IVER said, he had not the figures then with him; but he was perfectly ready to furnish them to any hon. Member who wished to see them. For his own part, he had been a good deal about the Mediterranean, and had noticed that there had been a remarkable increase in the number of French steamers trading in that quarter—that, whereas formerly they only saw an occasional steamer carrying the French flag, at the present day that flag was seen everywhere. Would the House believe the statement that under our economical Post Office, which went to Germany for the materials for its post-cards, the people of Malta were, at the present moment, actually dependent on French and Italian steamers for the conveyance of their English mails? Of course, a good deal of money was saved; but there were national considerations which ought to take precedence of all others in regard to matters of military and naval importance connected with a great naval station like that of Malta. He held in his hand the Report of a Steamship Company with whose management he had nothing to do, but in which he had the good or ill fortune to be a shareholder. In that Report the Directors stated as a reason why they were unable to pay a dividend that one all-powerful factor was Free Trade, the definition of which, as far as this country was concerned, might be described as the giving away of every privilege and receiving nothing in return, in consequence of which they saw the foreign trade being gradually absorbed by other countries, under a system of bounties and protective duties. The Report went on to say that the agriculturists, though blessed with an abundant harvest, could only sell it at ruinous prices, while the markets of the world were closed to England by the system of duties and bounties, and the labouring classes, though getting bread more cheaply and abundantly than before, were unable to obtain employment, without which cheap food was no blessing. He strongly and emphatically blamed the President of the Board of Trade for much of this. He would not say the President individually, because he had not the slightest personal feeling towards him, but the Department over which he presided. He would remind the House that one evening last Session, when, after many attempts, he (Mr. Mac Iver) was fortunate enough to get the first place on the Notice Paper for a Motion to inquire into the constitution and functions of the Board of Trade, he was at once "counted out" by hon. Members opposite, and thus deprived of the opportunity of bringing the matter before the House. Many persons thought the President of the Board of Trade had met the case by proposing the appointment of a Royal Commission on Merchant Shipping, and that one of its duties would be to inquire into the functions of the Board of Trade. But this was not the case, the fact being that the Reference to the Commission was of a much narrower character; and they still had in that Board a Department which he (Mr. Mac Iver) maintained entirely failed in its duty, which, in point of fact, was not a Board of Trade at all, and was certainly not a Department in the sense in which that House had passed its Resolutions in favour of the appointment of a Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. He might describe the Board of Trade as useless and mischievous, and as something which ought to be abolished. The view he took of the Department was, he felt sure, pretty much the view taken by those engaged in the sugar trade, as well as by the shipowners, and he might also say by the sailors. The shipowners had a keen appreciation of the state of the law under which our British shipping was handicapped. They knew how the existing law hindered and hampered the British shipping trade, while protecting the foreigner, to the injury of the English owners. As to the sailors, he might state that he was not long ago invited to be present at a meeting of British seamen, who, instead of supporting the Board of Trade, wanted to denounce the President of that Department as an enemy of his country. The ground of their denunciation was that they were in want of employment; and the state of the law was such that they, as British seamen, were placed at a great disadvantage, while foreigners, who really were not sailors at all, came over and successfully competed with them. He would here say it was too much to assume, as many did, that the taxes on importations were necessarily borne by the consumers. [*Laughter from the Liberal Benches.*] Hon. Members below the Gangway laughed; but could they produce other authority for their incredulity than newspapers inspired by the Board of Trade? Every commercial man knew that the import tax was not necessarily paid by the consumer. It was not long ago that he was lunching at Liverpool in company with Mr. Paul, a partner of the firm of Ross T. Smyth & Co., and a loyal supporter of Her Majesty's Government, and that gentleman had said, in reference to the question what would be the effect of an increase or diminution in the rate of freight on the corn trade, that whenever the rate of freight went up, those abroad who had to sell their wheat were obliged to accept a lower price, while, at the same time, nothing came from the consumer. Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, Vol. 2, p. 405, said—

> "The imposition of a tax on a commodity almost always diminished the demand, and it was laid down as a principle that a tax on imported commodities, when it really operated as a tax and not as a prohibition, almost always fell partly on the foreigner who had the goods, this being a mode in which a nation might appropriate to itself at the expense of the foreigner a larger share than belonged to it of the increase of productiveness."

Mr. Mill added—

> "Those were therefore right who maintained that taxes on imports were partly paid by the foreigner."

He thought there was no one in the House who would not agree with him that what was called Free Trade had somewhat disappointed everybody. It had certainly not worked out as its original promoters had hoped. Still, there was a tendency on the part of the Government to dispute this. He wished to put before the House three propositions — first, the Amendment he had placed upon the Paper; secondly, to concur with him in the reasonableness of the demand for an inquiry; and, thirdly, he was ready to suggest, though he did not think that the right occasion, a remedy. But supposing his remedy took the form of a tax on imports, he maintained that there were many imported luxuries about the taxing of which there ought to be very little doubt. We imported last year of silk fabrics alone to the value of £12,000,000, of artificial flowers to the value of £500,000, of musical instruments to the value of nearly £1,000,000. What our imported manufactures amounted to was a point of some importance, because here there was a real dispute. He had heard the President of the Board of Trade speak of their annual value as £25,000,000, the Prime Minister had spoken of it as £45,000,000; it appeared to him that it was as much as £107,000,000. The figures on which he relied were at the service of anyone who liked to see them; but how could the same figures yield such different results as £25,000,000, £45,000,000, and £107,000,000? The explanation of the discrepancy lay in the mode in which Mr. Giffen and his assistants at the Board of Trade prepared their accounts. Sugar, for example, which we imported to the amount of £20,000,000, came, according to Mr. Giffen's classification, under the head not of manufactures, but of articles of consumption; and so, likewise, did oleomargarine. He thought he had said enough to justify the Amendment which he had put on the Paper. It seemed to him that our present commercial system was wrong altogether. There was one other matter to which he thought he should be justified in making a reference. An idea very widely prevailed that certain Members of the Government, as well as certain Members of Parliament, were interested in firms abroad who had entered into competition with British manufacturers. He did not know whether it was true or not, but perhaps the hon. Member for the West Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Holden) would inform the House if there was any foundation for that allegation. Then a similar rumour prevailed with regard to the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella), who was credited with being connected with a foreign firm, and he (Mr. Mac Iver) thought it was only due to the right hon. Gentleman that his attention should be called to the subject. Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman would say whether it was a fact that he had no connection at the present time with the firm of A. Mundella & Co., Chemnitz, Saxony, which had been established in opposition to manufacturers in this country? Another point to which he (Mr. Mac Iver) would also desire to call the attention of the House was this. A great portion of our Revenue was now derived from Income Tax. A great deal had been heard about our investments abroad, and it seemed to him that many of these investments escaped Income Tax altogether. That, at least, was the inference to be drawn if the description of these investments given by Mr. Giffen were true. The burden which those investments ought to bear was borne wholly by the industries of this country. In conclusion, the hon. Member urged that the question was deserving of serious consideration, as a very large balance of Income Tax on foreign profits was still unaccounted for. He begged to move the Amendment which stood in his name.

Mr. ECROYD, in rising to second the Amendment, said, he desired to disclaim any intention of discussing the question on Party grounds. It could not be denied that there was at the present time a very large amount of industrial depression. Such a state of things affected closely the interests of the working population, and the subject ought, therefore, to interest equally hon. Members on both sides of the House. He accordingly invited the co-operation of hon. Gentlemen opposite in the discussion of the subject. His hope was that the Government might remedy the omission in the Queen's Speech, and take into consideration, without delay, the desirability of proceeding to appoint either a Royal Commission, or a Joint Committee of both Houses of Parliament, to consider this question in all its bearings. The depression in trade was almost universal. There was, however, one great branch of trade which must be excepted—namely, the worsted and woollen trade, which was now in a better condition than it had been in for some time. That was, no doubt, due to the influence of the previous long-contined and tremendous depression, which had the effect of largely reducing the number of firms engaged in this trade. The reality of the grounds on which his hon. Friend based his Amendment was made plain in the communication from a Trade Unionist, which appeared in *The Times* on Thursday. The writer of that article said that the depression was very widespread"; that trade was evidently declining; that profits were becoming less; that wages were being reduced; that in many industries short time was being resorted to; and that in many places the works were being closed. He thus gave a gloomy forecast for the coming winter. The writer also pointed out that the great industries of Lancashire, Staffordshire, the Midlands generally, and of South Wales were in a very unsatisfactory condition from the point of view of Trades Unionists, and that in the Metropolitan area 30 per cent of the dock labourers were out of work. Such a state of things, the writer argued, indicated that it was incumbent upon Parliament to consider favourably any Motion that might be brought forward for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the distress that existed among the industrial population in all parts of the country. He hoped that the Amendment would not be pooh-poohed by the occupants of the Treasury Bench, and that they would not be put off by references to statistics in regard to the decrease of pauperism, the maintenance of the receipts from Income Tax, and the increase of the rateable value of property. Pauperism had, no doubt, diminished, but the diminution was in great measure due to the manifest spread of temperance and thrift, and to the existence of Friendly Societies and other organizations of that kind which afforded assistance to working men when out of employment. Then before the increase in the rateable value of property was taken as evidence of internal prosperity, it must be borne in mind that formerly property was much undervalued, and it was also necessary to consider what proportion of rateable property was occupied by persons connected with foreign industries, and how much of it by persons who derived their wealth from foreign investments and undertakings. Neither were the Income Tax Returns a real index to the changes which took place in the industrial earnings of the country. It was well known that occupiers of land paid Income Tax at a fixed rate whether their profits were large or small, so that whether a farmer made a profit of £200, or suffered a loss of £300 upon his year's trade, he paid the same amount of Income Tax. The same thing often occurred in the case of persons engaged in manufacturing industries. Many small tradesmen and manufacturers made a return which, when accepted, was maintained through good years and bad years. Then the Returns of Income Tax were swollen by incomes derived from foreign property owned by persons living in this country, and from income the source of which lay in the external trading operations of the country. Now, with reference to the question of agricultural distress, in spite of the late good season, all must admit that the English farmer had little reason to congratulate himself on his financial prospects. It was true he had had a harvest, which, although not abundant in quantity, had been excellent in quality; but, on the other hand, he was receiving for his grain the lowest price he had ever received, and he had to contend with a great depreciation in the value of his cattle and sheep. If these matters were taken into consideration, it would be found that the agricultural depression was pressing as severely on the occupier of the land as it had done at any time during the last seven or eight years. From the national point of view, a reduction of rents would be no remedy whatever for this state of things, because a considerable reduction of the incomes of landowners would be as greatly felt by the nation as if the loss had fallen on any other class. A reduction of rents, or of the value of building land, was an indication of decay in any country. It was not only a consequence of adversity, but a herald of coming adversity. A reduction of the income of property owners necessarily told upon trade throughout the country, and stopped expenditure upon the improvement of the land itself. The result of that in the long run was to throw out of work a vast number of labourers, artizans, and manufacturers of various kinds. It increased the indisposition of the wealthy to embark more capital in property of which they believed the prospects to be exceedingly doubtful, and it induced a disposition to "hedge" to some extent by investing money in foreign lands and property. Thus the money that ought to have been, and would have been, invested in this country was now being used to increase the means of that competition abroad which was reducing the income of all classes connected with the industries of this country. He looked with apprehension at the probable effect of the great disappearance of profit, and shrinkage of rent, which had taken place during the past 10 years, and were still going on, for the same thing which had happened to the owners and occupiers of land had happened on a large scale to the owners of property connected with trade, commerce, and manufactures, and to those who were conducting the operations of our varied industries. He was thankful to acknowledge that the position of the workmen themselves had thus far been better maintained relatively than had the position of the owners of property and the conductors of industries, whether agricultural or manufacturing. But they could not lose sight of the fact that if depression first of all took away profit from the cultivators of the soil and from the conductors of industries, it compelled them to appeal for a reduction of rent, and make that a condition for the further prosecution of their industries. Thus the owners of property were necessarily the next to suffer. Two buffers, as he might call them, had been interposed between the industrial classes and the disastrous effects of this depression. The first of these was the profits of trade and manufacture; and it had practically disappeared. The second was the rent, not only of land, but of buildings; and with the exception of a few centres where foreign productions were imported and distributed, or where accumulated wealth spent itself in a thousand ways, there had been a serious reduction of value in that description of property. In the end the depression must fall upon the industrial classes. One effect of the agricultural depression and of foreign competition in our tillage area was that it had displaced labour on a large scale. A short time ago he had a conversation with a farmer of 1,000 acres or more, who told him that he had only one man in his employ under 30 years of age. The reason, he said, was that all the younger people believed that tillage farming in this country was done for. That appeared to open out a very serious prospect. The farmers had suffered under extreme depression during the past few years; but they were now threatened with another serious difficulty—namely, that of obtaining labourers, as men were now unwilling to engage in what they believed to be a sinking and doomed industry. The rural districts had been the fountains from which a healthy population had been drawn into our towns, and if they were depopulated, the first fatal blow would have been struck against the future success of the industries of this country. He regretted that in this condition of affairs Her Majesty's Speech contained no word of sympathy for those industries which were so deeply depressed, no promise of inquiry, and, what was still more important, no indication of relief from that unjust burden of local taxation which, in spite of the emphatic votes of that House, was still pressing on our industries, agricultural and manufacturing, and disabling them in the terrible competition with foreign countries. It was a remarkable fact that since 1870 the two occasions on which wheat had reached the highest price were those periods in which our industries had been best employed, and when there was a tendency to an advance in wages. In 1871-2-3, when the average price of wheat was 57*s.* 6*d.* per quarter, all industries were most active and wages were higher than they had been before. In 1879 and 1880 there was again a higher price of wheat than had prevailed previously. Wheat rose to 45*s.* and 48*s.* per quarter, and again there was a movement in our industries, a gleam of hope, and, to a certain extent, an advance of wages among our industrial population. On the other hand, on every occasion during those 14 years when the price of wheat had been at its lowest, there was extreme stagnation of trade and a gloom hanging over all our industries which resulted in a reduction of wages. He hoped, therefore, they had heard the last of the ancient superstition that the sale of produce at prices so low as to contribute to the ruin of those who produced it could conduce to the general welfare of the country. If our present system had not proved good for either our agricultural or industrial interests, in Heaven's name in whose interest was it maintained? It was maintained in the interest of the consumer, who did not happen to be also a producer; it was maintained in the interest of that class who, living in this country, employed their capital in foreign countries where Protection prevailed, and profited by that Protection which was directed against our own industries. The depressions of trade had become chronic, and the prophecies of Free Traders were no longer believed by any class. They had so often been falsified that they would not be believed again by the great mass of Englishmen. In the face of a Dissolution which could not be far distant, he hoped the Government would so far cut the ground from under the feet of their opponents as to grant a complete investigation. Periods of depression had become of more frequent occurrence and of longer duration than they used to be. The recoveries had become more transitory, and, like a flash in the pan, the gleam of hope had disappeared directly. This had been the state of things for the last eight or ten years. He appealed to the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) to say whether among the agencies which had contributed to the demoralization of the industrial population of this country anything had been so far-reaching as the violent and sudden fluctuations produced by foreign tariffs? An instance was given the other day by the President of the Board of Trade. The French Shipping Bounties having permitted the import of foreign-built vessels for a fixed period, the effect had been to increase for that time the amount of shipbuilding in this country; but the moment that period terminated shipbuilding for France was stopped here, and repairing was transferred to the French shipyards. A more notable example was furnished by the trade in iron rails with the United States. An enormous demand there produced an activity of trade here; but at the slightest contraction of demand the duty, like a sharp knife, cut off the trade of this country, to the demoralization of the workpeople in our great centres. First, wages were rapidly advanced; the temptation to expenditure was irresistible; and the result of the sudden check was seen in destitution like that of "starving Jarrow," as it was described in a newspaper heading. The manufacturers of mixed fabrics at Lyons and St. Etienne had been using English cotton yarns, the supply of which was cut off under the violent system of Protection adopted by France, which must be injurious to the well-being of the country and of its manufactures in the long run. Some thought that the solution of the difficulty would be that the French Government would be obliged to admit English yarns at a reduced duty, or, possibly, free of duty; but all past experience taught them that the ultimate solution would be the establishment by the French of fine spinning mills under English overlookers. We must now look at these matters in the light of past experience, and give up dreaming of a state of things continually promised and never realized. We were told, on the one hand, that our manufacturers experienced difficulty in meeting foreign competition, and, on the other hand, that the imposition of a duty on foreign goods would weaken our own competition with those foreign rivals. These propositions were absolutely contradictory and mutually destructive. The foreign rivals whose goods displaced our own belonged to Protected nations, and worked under import duties. Now, if the imposition of Protected duties incapacitated and disqualified manufacturers for foreign competition, how was it that French and German textile and iron manufacturers were successfully invading this free market? We were suffering not only from positive Bounties given, but also from Protective duties imposed. If 30 per cent were levied in Germany upon imported woollen goods, the manufacturer there had created for him an artificially profitable internal market, whose profits furnished him with resources to invade the free market of England, and to undersell those who were working under Free Trade. Thus, foreign manufacturers were enabled to dispose of goods for which, under a system of Free Trade on both sides, they could not have succeeded in finding a market in this country. Our industries, agricultural and manufacturing, had ceased to grow with the growth of our population. It was perfectly certain that to a large extent the new concerns which were started were more a displacement of old ones than a real increase in our productive industries. The export of coal, taking the five years from 1869 to 1873, and comparing them with the five years from 1879 to 1883, had risen 45 per cent in quantity. It was a remarkable fact that in regard to steam engines and all kinds of machinery there had been an immense increase in our exports. As compared with the five years 1869-73, the five years 1879-83 showed an increase of steam engines exported amounting to 40 per cent, and of other machinery and mill work the exports had increased 55 per cent. But the discouraging side of the question was that we had been exporting the implements of production instead of the products of our own industry. In cotton piece goods, for instance, our exports had diminished nearly £3,000,000 in value. There had been practically no growth in our exports of cotton manufactured goods in the last five years as compared with 10 years ago. All healthy growth had absolutely ceased. So in woollen and worsted goods there had been a diminution of our exports in 1879-83 compared with 1869-73 amounting to 30 per cent in value. In cutlery and hardware the diminution was 15 per cent, in earthenware 3½ per cent, in linen 6¼ per cent. [Mr. JESSE COLLINGS: Raw iron and wool?] If less was received for raw iron, it followed surely that less was paid in wages. In the same years which witnessed these large diminutions in our exported manufactures there was an enormous increase in the export of coal, steam engines, and machinery, in spite of the deline in prices. But there was no healthy growth; there was positive diminution in the exportation of the articles which we manufactured. Were reductions in wages ever before so prevalent with food so cheap and raw material so abundant? With wheat at 32*s.* a-quarter, and sugar at 2*d.* a-pound, was industry ever so depressed? All this indicated that we had entered upon a different period, a different order of things from what had ever previously existed. He did not advocate any particular remedy; this was not the proper occasion for doing so; but he had made out a case in favour of a full, complete, and impartial inquiry. We were overwhelmed with manufactures, which were the fruit of a lower standard of comfort than prevailed among our own workpeople; with imports of wheat, which were the fruit of a less skilful and scientific agriculture than our own. He commended these considerations to the hon. Members for Morpeth (Mr. Burt) and Stoke (Mr. Broadhurst), who represented labour in that House. Those Gentlemen were anxious to prevent undue competition within this country; but how long were we to be subject to one-sided and unfair, and, therefore, ruinous competition from outside the country? The low prices of imports benefited to a small degree even our artizans in their capacity of consumers. But how high a price did we pay for this in the depression of rents and profits, and the inevitable depression of wages which must certainly follow? In every centre of industry the consequences of this unlimited competition were being felt, whilst a comparatively small class of persons were making enormous incomes by foreign investments. There was no part of the United Kingdom upon which this grossly unfair system had produced more unfortunate results than Ireland, which depended so largely upon home productions. Then we had lately been discussing the important question of the dwellings of the poor; but no improvement of their dwellings could be either general or permanent unless they were fully employed and fairly paid. He had been informed that in the East End of London 30 per cent of the labouring population were unemployed. What wonder that they were badly housed! We should be told that we were not suffering more than the Protected nations, and that we ought to be thankful that we were not worse off than they. Had it come to this, then? Was that all that could be said after 40 years of our one-sided Free Trade, and in face of the fact that we possessed a Colonial and Indian Empire with which those nations had nothing to compare? The question was of so complicated a character that it could only be adequately dealt with by a Royal Commission or Joint Committee. He asked for nothing more than a fair field and no favour. Less than that he was sure that the country would not endure. The policy of allowing one industry after another to be destroyed, and the employment and remuneration of our working classes to suffer, was a policy not worthy of the spirit and energy of this country. He would suggest that the development of the resources of India might be stimulated by a carefully considered system of differential duties. He would also be glad to see a much larger outlay on railways and roads, so that the products of that country might more easily be exported, and India become a rival of the United States. He would gladly welcome an expenditure of £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 per annum in that direction, which would ultimately be largely productive of profit to our Indian Empire. There was no question that the present condition of affairs was alarming in the extreme. There was no doubt that the inhabitants of nearly all our great centres of industry were united in believing that some means must be taken by the Government to remedy the present depressed condition of our industries and manufactures. These at present were fiscal questions; but they could easily become social questions of the most dangerous character, leading to demands entirely inconsistent with the firmness of the foundations of the security of property of every kind. In conclusion, he sincerely hoped that so deep an interest might be shown by hon. Members in these great questions affecting the condition of the labouring poor, that they, being assured of the sympathy of those whom Providence had placed in a position of greater influence and comfort, might desire not to undermine, but to sustain, the foundations of property, assured that in so doing they were best securing a full share for themselves of those good things, now so abundant, which had been created for the benefit of all.

Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "but humbly to direct Her Majesty's attention to the depressed condition of commerce and agriculture, and regret that Her Majesty's gracious Speech contains no reference to a subject of such paramount importance."—(*Mr. Mac Iver.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. MUNDELLA said, his object in rising was to refer to a personal matter which had been brought before the House by the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver). He wished, however, first to say that he differed entirely from almost all that had been said by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), whom he greatly respected in fields other than the field of politics, as he knew of his hon. Friend's relations with his own workmen, and of the zeal with which they served him. He should have taken no part in this debate, but as he was leaving the House, this morning, between 2 and 3 o'clock, the hon. Member for Birkenhead tapped him on the shoulder, and said he was going to call attention to the fact that he established foreign industries abroad in competition with British industries at home. He thought it was deplorable that they could not conduct their debates without these constant references to personal matters. It was deplorable to see that they were, night after night, discussing personal questions when they had the Business of this great Empire to attend to. The hon. Member for Birkenhead stated that he had set up foreign industries with the view of their competing with British industries. The hon. Gentleman mentioned, in addition, that the hon. Member for the North-West Riding carried a great deal of British capital abroad. He thought, on the contrary, that his hon. Friend had brought a great deal of foreign capital to England. As far as he personally was concerned, he was almost ashamed to make a statement to the House. The facts were these, and he would show the House what use was made of them up and down the country. Hon. Members opposite had denounced him by name, in the most unmeasured terms, as as employer who carried his machinery and capital abroad. Indeed, he believed it had been alleged that his object in advocating the Factory Acts was to limit the hours of labour at home, so that advantage might be taken of the long hours of labour abroad. This was the revival of an old story, circulated at the time of his original election for Sheffield, nearly a quarter of a century ago. In 1853 he was a partner in an old-established concern in the town of Nottingham. Having thrown all his energies into the business, and he had worked very hard—as he always did in connection with everything he took up—his health broke down completely, and he was ordered to go abroad. During his absence the concern was converted into a Joint Stock Company, and when he came back he took his share in the undertaking, and continued his active connection with it till a short time after he became a Member of the House of Commons. It happened that in 1860, or 1861, when the American War broke out, there was an old-established business in Nottingham, which had a branch in Germany, where the old handlooms were very widely utilized for German and American business. But the German and American business came to a standstill, and his firm bought the whole of the plant and machinery of the concern. He went over to see the business in Germany, and he thought it would be a very good thing to continue it, because it gave an opportunity of insight into the whole system of German manufactures and education. He wished more manufacturers would make themselves acquainted with the method of their foreign rivals. He had already told the House that his active connection with the business ceased soon after he became a Member of Parliament. He had since been a small shareholder, but his maximum interest in this foreign enterprize never at any time reached the sum of £3,000. As he did not know to what extent the large business in Nottingham had gone on increasing, though he knew they had greatly extended their business, he had telegraphed that day to know how much they had increased their English capital and plant, and a gentleman very well known in Nottingham, and a good supporter of hon. Members opposite, replied that the Company's capital had trebled since the foreign concern was acquired—that was the capital applied to English industry. The building and plant had increased four-fold. He had now shown how far he was a manufacturer abroad, and how far he had injured English workmen by his connection with foreign affairs. But why was it wrong to import anything from abroad? How was it on the other side of the House, and among the advocates of Fair Trade? He found that noble Lords and hon. Gentlemen were proprietors of great stretches of land and cattle ranches in foreign countries for the purpose of manufacturing food. He did not say that the noble Lords and the hon. Members opposite who owned large tracts of foreign land were wrong in sending the produce of their square miles of American territory to this country, becase anyone who imported cheap food into England was a national benefactor; but it was rather strange to see them taking their place among the most prominent friends of the English farmer. He left hon. Members opposite to reconcile the consistency of those two facts. Having disposed of the personal question, he should wish to say a few words upon the general question before the House. Both the hon. Members who had addressed the House from the opposite Benches had spoken as though the Resolution on the Paper was one asking for a Committee of Inquiry; but the fact was that there was no question of inquiry before the House. He would just like to inform the House of the facts which had been brought to his notice as to the state of things in foreign countries. The argument of the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) was that we ought to have Protection all round; but could the hon. Member point to a single foreign country where Protection was in force that was better off than ourselves? During the Recess he had seen a good deal of the condition of the manufactures, commerce, and agriculture in the different States of Europe, and he had ascertained that Europe, as a whole, had been suffering from depression during the last 10 years, and that that depression was increasing year by year. The Chamber of Agriculture in their Report for 1882 said that it was impossible to say whether the immediate causes of agricultural depression were permanent or not, because good and bad seasons appeared to come in cycles, and with them agricultural prosperity or depression. What was the state of agriculture in France? Everybody who had the most elementary knowledge of the matter knew that matters were far worse in France than they were in this country, and that they were equally bad in Germany and in Switzerland. In the latter country, indeed, the rate of interest on money lent on mortgage had been obliged to be reduced from 4½ to 2½ per cent, for fear that the mortgagors should throw up their mortgages. That was the condition of things all over Europe. In some districts he had been assured that not a good barrel of wine had been made there for the last 20 years, while in others it was said that they had not had a good crop of cereals for the last 10 years. [An hon. MEMBER: There was a good crop this year.] Yes, this year, for the first time for years; but it was not yet harvested. In Belgium the state of the iron trade was infinitely worse than with us. The miners there were working half-time, and their wages were something less than 10*s*. a-week. But while there was distress in every Department in in France, there was no demand for Protection, except among the agricultural classes, who had already got it. The difficulty with French workmen was to get food, and the French Government was sending every week 50,000 francs here or there to keep these people alive. The writer of an excellent article in the

October number of *The National Review*, on the subject of the depression in France, said that the demand of the French working men was for cheap food and the admission of British cotton duty free, and that all that was required to restore prosperity to France was the reduction of taxation upon all the necessaries of life. Was that the direction in which hon. Members opposite desired that the Government should proceed? In this country we imposed but a small duty upon the necessaries of life; and for his own part, instead of increasing that duty, he should be glad to see it abolished altogether. If we could put the labouring classes in a position to get more food for their money, we should, in effect, be increasing their wages. What we in this country wanted was to export our products, because the home trade would not suffice to take our manufactures. Then the hon. Gentleman had said that the amount of French shipping passing through the Suez Canal had nearly doubled, whereas the amount of English shipping had only increased by about 7 per cent. He had never heard a more extraordinary statement than that. In considering that, it must be remembered that the increase in French shipping was mainly due to purchases made in this market, and that the increase of 7 per cent in English shipping was a vastly different thing, and represented a much larger increase than was represented by the doubling of the French shipping, for at least 80 per cent of the shipping passing through the Canal was British. From a statement of the shipping which he had in his hand it appeared that the total tonnage of British ships clearing in cargo or ballast in British ports in the years 1878-9 and 1882-3—that was to say, the two last years of the late Government and the two first years of the present Government—was in 1878, 35,291,000 tons, and in 1879, 37,434,000 tons, while in 1882 it was 43,607,000 tons, and in 1883, 47,039,000 tons. The foreign shipping, on the other hand, was in 1878 only 16,304,000 tons, and in 1883, 18,000,000 tons, so that there had been a much smaller proportionate increase in foreign shipping. Then the hon. Gentleman had said that the cotton trade was a declining industry.

MR. ECROYD explained, that he had not said that the trade was declining, but that it had ceased to develop a healthy growth.

MR. MUNDELLA said, that the hon. Gentleman had compared the periods between the years 1869 and 1873, and the years 1879 and 1883. But that period comprised those tremendous years of inflation when steel rails, now selling at £5 a-ton, were selling at £20 a-ton, and when iron was three times its present price. It also included the period of the Franco-German War, when, in fact, the whole manufacture of Europe was thrown upon this country, and, therefore, it was hardly fair to compare those two periods. Within the period 1879-83, every kind of manufacture was lower than it had ever been in the memory of man. In the cotton trade the quantity of raw material imported in 1878 was 1,176,500 lbs.; in 1879, 1,173,326 lbs.; in 1882, 1,461,900 lbs.; and in 1883, 1,510,600 lbs. As to the exports, of course, the price of shirtings and such articles depended on the price of the raw cotton at Liverpool; and in 1878 the quantity of cotton piece-goods exported was 3,618,665 yards; in 1882, 4,349,391 yards; and in 1883, 4,538,889 yards; so that regularly in that department of industry there had been a large increase in the exports. Then there was an enormous increase in the annual amount of the deposits in the Post Office and Trustee Banks. In 1878 the amount was £19,344,000; in 1879, £19,547,000; in 1882 it rose to £23,354,000; and in 1883 to £24,123,000, or an increase of nearly 20 per cent. Then, again, what were the facts with regard to the Income Tax? In 1879 the returns under Schedules A, B, C, D, and E amounted to £578,000,000, and in 1882 to £601,000,000. Now, he would give the other side of the picture and give some account of France, which was a Protective country, and had been for some time carefully nursing her trade. During the eight months ending August 31, 1882, 1883, and 1884, the value of the principal manufactured articles exported from France was £48,895,000, £45,836,000, and £41,493,000 respectively; and the total exports, including agricultural produce, were, in 1882, £92,217,000; in 1883, £87,611,000; and in 1884, £81,617,000. Let them look at the contrast of the two countries, and see which system was producing the better results for its people. The hon. Member had said that the nation had been fed upon promises for the last 40 years. All he could say was that anything more terrible than the general suffering of the population 40 years ago, it was impossible to describe. When he was a youth it was for the handloom weavers a life of chronic starvation; they never had enough to eat, and the condition of the artizans in the Midland counties was one of terrible and constant suffering. This did not begin to amend until the Corn Laws were repealed. The wages earned at that time on the average by a man and his family were about 7*s.* a-week; while the sons and grandsons of those same men were now earning from 30*s.* to £2 or £3 a-week. That, he believed, applied to the whole of the working classes of the country. Besides that, let hon. Members contrast the consumption of food per head in France with the consumption of food in this country. They would find the preponderance largely in favour of England, showing that our people could afford to buy more food than their French neighbours. They all knew that at the present moment there was a great depression. They could not expect that the results of the last 10 years should pass away at once. He believed that the present cheapness of food in this Kingdom was the one thing that would carry it through this crisis better than any other nation in Europe. At Sheffield, lately, the Board of Guardians contracted for bread at 14 lbs. for 1*s.* The farmers' friends would, no doubt, say that this was deplorable. He thought that farmers themselves would benefit by this. They would grow some other things that would pay them better than wheat. It was the improvement in the means of the people that created the demand for meat, and this was due to Free Trade. It had been stated that when the price of food was high, then the industries of the country were prosperous. That was not his reading of history.

Mr. ECROYD explained that what he stated was, that during the years 1871, 1872, and 1873, which were prosperous years, wheat was at 57*s.* 5*d.*

Mr. MUNDELLA said, that this was on account of the Franco-German War, which inflated all prices. The hon. Member for Birkenhead suggested that we should tax imported luxuries, such as silk. What would come of that? Would it be fair that the farmer's wife or daughter should have to pay more for their ribbons and silk dress — if they could afford one — while the farmer's wife got no more for her dairy produce? If they once began they must tax all round. This had been clearly shown by the right hon. Baronet (Sir Stafford Northcote). At present many of our Colonies and foreign countries came to the London markets to buy their silks, and coming to buy silks they bought something else. And silk being bought here employed our ships to bring it here and take it away again. London became a depôt market. Now, what was the remedy for the depression? They must make Englishmen the most intelligent, the most thrifty, and the most competent workmen in the world, and then they would have nothing to fear from foreign competition. They must extend the scientific training, not only of workmen, but of manufacturers and manufacturers' sons. He warned the House that if we neglected this higher education, so surely would our industries suffer as the French industries had suffered in the contest with Germany. To mention one instance, Professor Roscoe very clearly pointed out that by far the larger proportion of the raw materials used in the manufacture of colours were imported from Germany and Switzerland, which themselves imported our gas refuse, and subjected it to the necessary chemical processes; £3,000,000 were thus lost to us. In the case of sugar, the technical skill which was brought to bear in Germany enabled them to extract a larger proportion of saccharine matter than any other nation, and as the result they had beaten the French out of their own markets. Was it not also humiliating that the English people were obliged to go to Germany for their gunpowder? Hon. Members opposite, he supposed, would not put a Protective duty on that. They would not deprive British guns of the best gunpowder. What science could do for Germany, science could surely do for England. The success with which science was in Germany brought to bear on manufactures, had led to the remark that in this matter Germany was preparing for France a Sedan, which would be more disastrous to her industries than Sedan was to her arms.

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, that the question before the House was far beyond anything of a personal character, and he was sure the time of the right hon. Gentleman might have been better employed had he attempted to reply to the able, exhaustive, and statesmanlike speech of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd). He thought the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) was justified in bringing this Amendment before the House, and in calling attention to the fact that Her Majesty's Government, in the Speech from the Throne, had thought it proper not to refer in any way to, or to show any sympathy with, what he might call the exceptionally depressed state of every British industry at this time. They knew from what they had seen and heard that not only were wages being reduced and short time being adopted by most of their manufactories, but that their markets were glutted, and that the profits of many of their manufacturers amounted almost to *nil*. He should like to say a few words with reference to the state of agriculture, which, after all, was the oldest, the most important, and the most necessary of all our national industries. He did not hesitate to say that agriculture at this moment, although they had had a good harvest, was in quite as depressed a condition as it had been for several years past. The last good harvest they had in this country was in 1874. It was an average good harvest. They were not suffering very much at that time from cattle disease, and their competition from foreign agriculture was not quite so intense as it was at present. Last summer had been the best season they had known for many years. The ingathering of the harvest had been the best he could remember, and there was almost an immunity from cattle disease. But what they had to contend with was low prices and foreign competition; and the effect of those prices had been to cause agriculture to be more depressed at the present time than it had been during the nine consecutive years since 1874. He should place a few figures before the House in relation to this view. In 1874 wheat was 55*s.* a-quarter; in 1884 it was 32*s.* This meant a difference of 23*s.* a-quarter. Any practical agriculturist in the House would know that a fair average crop was about three-and-a-half quarters per acre, and, therefore, the loss as between 1874 and 1884 was £4 per acre. He reminded the House that the price of wheat in 1846, when the Corn Laws were abolished, was exactly the same as it was in 1874—namely, 55*s.*; and they were told at that time that there was no probability of their seeing wheat at a lower figure than 55*s.* [*Cries of* "No, no!"] That was stated at the time. How did the case stand with regard to barley? Barley in 1874 was 45*s.* a-quarter; in 1884 it was only 31*s.* 9*d.*, a difference of 13*s.* a-quarter. Was that the effect of the abolition of the Malt Tax? If so, he thought he might say that its abolition had been of no advantage to the agriculturists, or even to the poor man. Oats in 1874 were 28*s.* 10*d.*; in 1884 the price was 18*s.* 11*d.*, or a difference of 10*s.* a-quarter. He thought that anyone who had had any practical experience of agriculture must see that, under such circumstances, profit on the cultivation of cereals in this country was altogether hopeless. We in this country were heavily handicapped by rates and other burdens which were not paid in other countries. The soil and the climate of other countries were so much more favourable than ours that it was perfectly hopeless for the British agriculturist to compete with the foreign agriculturist. It was formerly said that freights were a protection of the agriculturist; but that protection was now gone, and the amount of freight was no element in the calculation. What was the future of stock? He thought they ought to be very thankful to the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) for the arduous efforts he had made in order to protect the cattle of stock-breeders from foreign disease; and he did not think that in this connection they ought to forget the other much-abused House of the Legislature. In 1878 the Conservative Government brought in a Cattle Protection (Disease) Bill. There were no more vehement opponents of that Bill than the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, the President of the Local Government Board, and one or two others, and he might say the bulk of the Liberal Party. That Bill contained almost precisely the same provisions as were embodied in the Act passed last year. He wanted to ask hon. and right hon. Gentlemen what would have been the difference to the agricultural interest if, during that interval of six years, they had had the same immunity from disease which they might have had by the Conservative Bill of 1878? How many hundreds of thousands of cattle had been sacrificed, their breeding and dairy qualities destroyed? How many hundreds of farmers had been reduced to bankruptcy and almost to beggary? The responsibility for those farmers who had failed owing to losses through cattle disease rested on the Liberal Government. He did not hesitate to say so. Cheap meat depended more on the healthy condition of the home stock than on the importation of live stock or dead meat. Store cattle at this time did not sell at the price it would have fetched last year, and yet the farmer had had to keep and feed it during the interval. What were the remedies suggested for this state of things? In the first place, they were told to convert the whole of their arable land into pasture land. That, however, was sooner said than done. The House must remember that this process was going on very rapidly. But it was really a very questionable benefit in a national point of view. He did not hesitate to say that one acre of arable land would produce far more for man and beast than an acre of pasture land. The House must also bear this in mind, that if they were going to convert all arable land into pasture, the question had to be faced as to whether they were to be entirely dependent on the foreigner for their daily bread. What was to become of the agricultural labourers, for whom hon. Gentlemen opposite manifested such a profound interest? If they looked at the Census of 1881, they would find that the agricultural labourers had been gradually diminishing in point of numbers. In the last 10 years the agricultural population had been reduced 10 or 12 per cent. If, therefore, they were going to convert arable land into pasture land, there would be less demand for the services of the agricultural labourer, and he must drift into the towns. He did not think that would be a happy result. Then with regard to the question of Protection. He had never advocated Protection; he had never attempted to deceive anyone that Protective duties would be adopted in this country; but he maintained that the Liberal Government had made no greater mistake than when they reduced the 1*s.* duty. That duty was paid by the foreigner. It was a registration duty, and the price of bread had not been increased the one-hundredth part of a farthing by it. What would have been the effect of the 1*s.* duty had it prevailed now? We imported last year 16,000,000 quarters of wheat and about 4,000,000 quarters of flour—20,000,000 quarters in all The 1*s.* duty on that would have amounted to £1,000,000. In all cereals we introduced something like 37,000,000 quarters, including maize, oats, and barley. The 1*s.* duty on that amounted to £1,850,000. He asked any hon. Member whether it would not have been fair and just if that amount had been given in alleviation of exceptional burdens which the agricultural interest now bore? It would have cost the country nothing. The poor man would not have paid the one-hundredth part of a farthing more for his bread than he now did. It was true that he had advocated some readjustment of our local burdens. He did not for a moment suppose that any re-adjustment of local burdens would be a compensation to the agricultural interest for the distress it now suffered. It was, however, a matter of justice; that was the reason why he advocated it. They contended that when Protection was taken away from them another promise had been made that they would be relieved from the exceptional burdens which were imposed upon them, because they enjoyed certain privileges. Those privileges had been taken away, but the burdens had never been removed. They had peculiar claims on the Liberal Party, who had not only taken away Protection—of which he did not complain—but had imposed all those exceptional burdens on them, such as the police, the lunatics, the highways, sanitary matters, and last, but not least, education. It was true that the Conservative Government had given them some subventions; but the Education Rate had absorbed all those subventions. When the Education Act of 1870 was brought forward he had ventured to oppose it, because he said he did not believe in the limits which the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) and the Prime Minister indicated as those of the probable charge; and he had himself predicted that in 12 years' time it would amount to about £2,000,000. Well, the Education Rate was now £1,995,000.

MR. MUNDELLA asked how much of that sum was paid by the rural districts?

SIR MASSEY LOPES said, he was speaking of the whole amount for the urban and rural districts, and it was of the exceptional burdens on real property that he complained. The right hon. Gentleman had referred to the Royal Commission. Now, that Commission, which was not a Party one, alluding to the repeal of the Corn Laws, stated that the pressure of foreign competition had far exceeded the apprehensions of those who were in favour of the Corn Laws and the expectations of those who had opposed them. That was a valuable admission. Why, he asked, had the Government not considered the recommendations of the Royal Commission? One of those recommendations was that the cost of the indoor poor, including the lunatics and the district schools, should be transferred from the ratepayers to the Consolidated Fund; another was that certain local licences should be given to the local authorities in alleviation of local burdens. Why had the Government ignored those recommendations? Some time ago, a Resolution was carried in that House in respect to a Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. And what had the Government done? They had appointed a Committee of five or six persons. He never believed in a Committee; it was like a Corporation, it had no responsibility. They were told that the Lord President answered for Agriculture in the other House, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in that House. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster seemed to have "flitted," and to have gone to a serener atmosphere, and they were told that his place was to be taken by a right hon. Gentleman than whom no one more deserved promotion. But what did his right hon. Friend know of practical agriculture? Surely, they ought to have a Minister with some experience of agriculture. The only alteration that had been made was that they had scratched out the word "veterinary" and put "agricultural" on the door, and they had altered the colour of agritural statistics from blue to buff. He believed they had got another clerk, but what he did nobody could find out. He would refer to the case of butter. With that article, butterine, oleomargarine, and half-a-dozen other odious compounds came into competition. Surely, the Department of Agriculture ought to see that those compounds should not be sold in this country, at least unless they were clearly designated, and their true character was made perfectly plain to all, so that they should not come into competition with genuine home produce. In New York it was made penal to manufacture oleomargarine, and it was sent over here. He did not see why it should not be made equally penal for anybody to make those compounds here, or, at all events, if they did they should be required to designate them. The want of union and unanimity was the bane of the agricultural interest. They were as sheep without a shepherd, and their opponents, who knew it, sowed dissension among them on the principle *divide et impera.* There was no interest in this country of a tenth part of the importance or with a tithe of the grievances of agriculture which would not have more influence. And why was that? Because other interests could combine and agitate, and because, unfortunately, no concession was obtained except by means of agitation. The admittedly just demands of the agricultural interest had been continually shunted and shelved and indefinitely postponed. The promises and pledges made to them had been broken or remained unfulfilled. What they complained of was, not only that the Government had refused relief to them, but that they had, in defiance and in spite of what had been done in that House, totally disregarded the deliberate judgment of Parliament. Knowing that agriculture had now for a long period of years been seriously depressed, the Government, during the whole time they had been in Office, had denied them a word of sympathy or of condolence, and they had ignored an industry which, he believed, was the foundation of this country's greatness, and which he hoped might long continue to be its chief mainstay.

MR. DUCKHAM said, he had been very interested by the able speeches which had been delivered that evening, and he felt, like every other speaker who had addressed the House, a difficulty in pointing out a remedy for the very serious depression under which both agriculture and trade alike suffered. The inquiry which the Royal Commission on Agriculture held was most exhaustive, extending over three years. The voluminous Report of that Commission had been long in their hands; but he failed to see that any part of that Report pointed to a return to Protective duties. As a matter of fact, the people of the country would never submit to have their food again taxed for the advantage of the owner of the soil, and so long as that was the case, agriculturists could never submit to the taxation of imported manufactured articles. The imposition of Protective duties on imported manufactured articles would simply cause a rise in the price of manufactured articles to the agriculturists and others, while agriculturists, with the produce of the soil, would have to compete with all the world. Therefore, to look to Protective duties as a means of redress for the present state of things, was illusory. It was well known that when Lord John Russell introduced the Bill for the repeal of the Corn Laws, the noble Lord said that a readjustment of local taxation must take place. That readjustment, however, had never taken place; but, on the contrary, imposition after imposition had been heaped upon real property. At the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws, and for five successive years, there was a severe depression experienced. The depression was as severe then—possibly more severe—than it was now. He, for instance, sold wheat at that time at 4*s*. 8*d*. a-bushel. It was quite true that was not so low a price as the present; but then good fat wethers were sold at 4¼*d*. per lb. These prices were ruinous to the producer, and he only mentioned them to show the severe depression under which agriculture laboured in 1849-50-1-2-3. At the outbreak of the Crimean War, the price of wheat went up from 5*s*. to 11*s*. a-bushel, and that brought about a very severe competition for farms, a competition which was fostered under the cruel and arbitrary Law of Distress—a law, thank God! now very materially altered. After the Crimean War, came the American Civil War, then the Franco-Prussian War, and then the Russo-Turkish War, all of which wars tended to buoy up the price of agricultural produce. The effect of the advent of the Franco-Prussian War, particularly, was that the trade of the country rose by leaps and bounds; wages rose, every kind of expense for the occupier of the soil as well as for the manufacturer rose, and now it was that we were beginning to experience the evils of the errors which were fostered at the time of the wars he had mentioned; the prices of agricultural produce increased so largely that people were induced to take land at ruinous rents. Again, the agriculture of the United States had not then been developed; it was now, however, being developed to a remarkable extent. At the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws, no one ever dreamt of the monster vessels which were now trading between the United States and England, bringing corn to this country as ballast, sometimes even paying for it to be put in their holds, thus conveying it across the ocean for less than nothing. Furthermore, for nearly half-a-century, the agriculturists of the country had had to fight against severe losses in their flocks and herds. Those losses entrenched upon capital, and many men were ruined. When the Cattle Diseases Bill was before the House last Session, he urged the necessity of the measure being passed, and he was thankful to say that the result of the adoption of that Bill was that the flocks and herds in Great Britain and Ireland were now healthy. The importation of meat was greatly diminishing, a fact which ought to be satisfactory to all those who were possessed of the idea that foot-and-mouth disease was indigenous to the soil of the country, that the disease had become acclimatized, and that no effort of the Legislature could free the country from the disease, or guard against its importation. Only that day he was informed, at the Agricultural Department, that not a single case of foot-and-mouth disease had been landed in Great Britain since the passing of the Act; but he had just been told that that state of things was not the consequence of legislation. He, however, maintained that it was the consequence of legislation. He did not mean to say that there had been any absolute interference. There was no necessity for any interference. All that the Agricultural Department of this country had done was to send to foreign countries, warning them that if they sent any animals here suffering from foot-and-mouth disease their importation would be prohibited. It was that warning which had had such a salutary effect. Our trade was now free, we had meat cheaper, and our importations were less by £1,500,000 sterling in the first nine months of the year compared with the corresponding nine months of last year. It had been said by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) that this country should endeavour to send more rails to India, so that that great country could be opened up and its products brought to us. Why, in point of fact, it was the importation of Indian wheat that was now lowering the price of wheat in this country, so that we could not possibly compete with it. It was even driving the United States out of the market, and the more India was opened up the more severely should we feel the effect in the price of our bread corn. It was said by the hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) that the harvest this year had been the best in respect to the yield of corn that had been known for many years. The hon. Baronet's experience was very different to his (Mr. Duckham's), or that of anyone connected with agriculture with whom he was acquainted. He (Mr. Duckham) wished the fact was as stated. The hon. Baronet also made a rather marked allusion to some efforts of his (Mr. Duckham's) upon the occasion of the Division which took place two years ago upon the Motion with regard to Local Taxation which was made by the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell). He (Mr. Duckham) voted against the hon. Member for South Leicestershire, because the Government promised relief of local taxation, coupled with the establishment of County Government Boards. He had been an advocate for County Government Boards for many years, and, in the belief that they would have the two measures combined, he supported the Government as against the hon. Gentleman's (Mr. Pell's) Motion. It had been said that the Liberal Government had done nothing for agriculturists. He had known some little of the world for many years, and for the last half-century he had paid some attention to political affairs, and he maintained that the present Government had done more for the agriculturists than had been done for them during his lifetime. Take, for example, the repeal of the Malt Tax. [“Oh, oh!”] Yes; hon. Members opposite might cry “Oh, oh!” but he could remember working with them in favour of the repeal of the Malt Tax. He joined deputation after deputation to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to urge the advisability of the repeal of the tax; indeed, for very many years the Malt Tax was used by the Conservative Party as a war cry; and now, as soon as the Act was passed, it was jeered at and laughed at, and it was said to be nothing at all in favour, but rather against, agriculturists. As a matter of fact, the repeal of the tax had not done the amount of injury to the farmers some people asserted it had. Owing, however, to the altered habits of the people, there was not the same amount of beer drank as formerly. The harvests had not been as good as formerly, and the same quality of barley had not been grown. Those who happened to grow a fine quality of barley could command a high price. Following the repeal of the Malt Tax there was the Ground Game Act. How many hundreds of farmers had been ruined through the devastation of their crops by ground game? He maintained that the Act which gave to the tenant the right, the inalienable right, to the ground game, which so destroyed his crops, was one of the finest measures which ever passed through the House of Commons in favour of the occupier of the soil. Following the Ground Game Act, they had the Corn Averages for regulating the payment of tithes. That measure was greatly wanted; before, all was chaos and confusion. Up to that period the tithe averages were regulated by the Imperial bushel; but almost every market in the Kingdom had its own conception of a bushel. As regarded weight — wheat, in some markets, was sold at 60, others at 62, and others at 80 lbs.; but now there was a standard weight for wheat, barley, and oats, so that, if the Excise did their duty, there could be no mistake in the regulation of tithe payments. Again, there was the subvention of 25 per cent towards the maintainance of the main roads, which proved a great boon to agriculturists. They were told that the subventions that were given by the late Government were all that were given for the relief of local taxation; but the subvention of 25 per cent in respect to the main roads was something substantial. Then, Sir, the late Government passed a measure giving compensation for agricultural improvements; but it was a permissive Act, and, therefore, was barred on all sides. The Agricultural Holdings Amendment Act, passed by the present Government, was compulsory, and no matter what capital a man laid out on his farm with discretion, he was sure to receive compensation for it. Then the Law of Distress was one of the most cruel and arbitray laws that ever existed in the country. The Law of Distress was no longer such an oppressive measure as it formerly was. It always appeared to him arbitary in the extreme to give power to the landlord to seize agisted stock, and sell stock belonging to another person for rent due from the tenant. Again, the landlord could not now distrain for the full amount of rent due without first deducting the just claim of the tenant for improvements effected upon the holding. Much had been said about the Minister of Agriculture. He should certainly like to see the Agricultural Department made more complete. An interest of such magnitude ought to have a Head with a proper title; but he supposed that, like other things, the appointment was a work of time. The success of the Cattle Diseases Act was due to the manner in which the Agricultural Department had acted since the passing of the measure; and too much praise could not be given to Earl Spencer, as the Head of the Department in Ireland and the Heads of the Department in England, for freeing the country from disease, and for maintaining the health of our flocks and herds. In conclusion, he would express the opinion that no good could arise from the adoption of the Amendment now before the House. That Amendment had, no doubt, provoked a very interesting discussion; but its adoption could have no good result, especially when the House could do nothing more than had been done to meet the depression which existed. It was now a matter between landlord and tenant, beyond the necessity of that substantial relief which had been promised to be given to the local burdens, and he trusted that such relief might be given at no distant date.

Mr. MARUM said, that he felt bound to support, upon behalf of the Irish Parliamentary Party, the Amendment of the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) in the following form :— As an Amendment to the Address, to add—

> "But we humbly direct Her Majesty's attention to the depressed condition of commerce and agriculture, and regret that Her Majesty's gracious Speech contains no reference to a subject of such paramount importance.

He would first refer to the depression of agriculture in Ireland, as they were almost entirely an agricultural community, with but little trade save in Ulster. He held in his hand the official statistics, which certainly presented a lamentable picture of our home husbandry.

GENERAL SUMMARY OF CEREALS, GREEN CROPS, &c.

| | 1883. Acres. | 1884. Acres. | Increase in 1884. Acres. | Decrease in 1884. Acres. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Cereal Crops .. | 1,678,691 | 1,599,629 | — | 79,062 |
| Green Crops .. | 1,230,283 | 1,221,413 | — | 8,870 |
| Flax .. .. | 95,943 | 89,197 | — | 6,746 |
| Total under tillage .. | 3,004,917 | 2,910,239 | — | 94,678 |

Now, statistics of agriculture showed that the continuing decrease of the number of acres under tillage had been going on for a good many years, and between this and last year the decrease had amounted to no less than 94,678 acres. In 1846, the beginning of the Free Trade period, of the entire surface of Ireland there were 9,000,000 out of 15,000,000 acres under a rotation system of farming; now that rotation system was reduced to about 4,500,000; so that they had declined in this regard some 50 per cent, to say nothing of the reduction of the population. This would be all very well if the land so changed in its aspect were suitable for the change; but there was, unfortunately, now a quantity of land suitable for arable purposes, but not suitable for grass, and, in point of fact, at present quite unproductive. As to the condition of tillage, he quoted the language of a high authority on the subject to the effect that not since "Black 1847" had the prospects of the Irish farmers looked so gloomy as at the present time—as the year which, for agricultural purposes, might be said to have closed, was one of the most disastrous on record. Its dire effects had not yet made themselves felt; but, given a hard winter to cap the climax, and then it would be seen that stock would be in a state of semi-starvation, and the small farmers and the agricultural labourers of the country in no better plight. Of wheat there was very little sown; and, since the unfavourable accounts they heard of the price, it would affect but very few; and the same remark applied to barley, which was more than an average crop where sown, but, as its cultivation was utterly ignored, save in a few districts, the fact of its being good or bad would not affect the common weal. The oat crop had been fearfully short in most places, both as regarded corn and straw. Even on the fine plains of Tipperary the oat crop was never worse since 1826; but even that was easily accounted for, as the limestone substratum absorbed the heat to such a degree that vegetation utterly collapsed, and it was a moot point in most districts whether one single barrel of corn would be available for market, if the farmers were only to keep what would support themselves and their families until next harvest. Of the root crops, mangolds and turnips might be written down as a complete failure, particularly the latter, the average of which would not exceed six tons per acre. Potatoes were a fair crop in many districts, and were, as a rule, free from disease, while their table qualities were never better. In quantity they were far below the average of the previous four years; but their immunity from disease counterbalanced that drawback, and they were now nearly all dug out, and stored and pitted dry, which was a great desideratum. Pigs carried a poor price throughout the entire summer months, never once touching £3 per cwt, while most of the time 10*s.* per cwt. less was about their figure, and now the quotation was only 45*s.* The hay crop was a very poor one, and hence it was fetching a high price now; and, given a few hard, winterish days, there was every prospect of its going up to a much higher figure. Then, as to the condition as to stock, he would remind the House that in the 1846 period the cattle in Ireland, when there were 6,000,000 acres of pasture, amounted to a fluctuating quantity, averaging about 2,500,000, of black cattle; the sheep numbered from 3,000,000 to 5,000,000, at which latter figure they stood in 1868; and horses about 500,000. Now, in 1884, with 11,000,000 acres in grass, there were 4,000,000 of cattle, 3,243,000 sheep, and about the same number of horses as before; so there was very little more stock on 11,000,000 acres than there were in 1846 on 6,000,000 acres. That was a very alarming fact. But it would be said—Let man and scientific industry disappear; let the country merge into a purely pastoral condition. He would not here discuss the matter on the mere ground of the loss of wealth and population to the State itself; but he would appeal to the self-interest of the Irish land classes themselves. About 35 years ago, at the Free Trade epoch, on their 15,000,000 of acres of cultivable land of the Island—they had over 8,000,000 of inhabitants, with 9,000,000 acres under a rotation system of scientific husbandry. They now had under 5,000,000 acres under such husbandry, with some 5,000,000 likewise of inhabitants. Were the reduced number better off now than the larger number had been? Secondly, what was "covering" the 4,000,000 acres now let down into permanent pasturage since 1846? In 1868 they touched the highest figure of sheep—just 5,000,000. In 1883 they were just above 3,000,000 of sheep. They were stationary at about 4,000,000 of cattle. Such appeared their maximum production. Other live stock was in sympathy with these data. When the rainy seasons, which culminated in 1879, set in, the farmers were very hard hit; but then one section at least of them escaped altogether. Those were the graziers; but that section of the farming community had been the hardest hit of any this time, as cattle were worth a trifle less now than they cost in the spring months; and, with a lot of their cattle still on hand, a hay famine, or nearly equivalent to it, in the country, the outlook of the graziers was anything but an enviable one. Those whose main dependence was on sheep were no better off than their beef-raising neighbours, as the sheep, too, had been fearfully depreciated in value, in many cases fully 33 per cent under former years' quotations. Good butter was sold in 1879 at 80*s*. per cwt. During the past summer it was not quite so low; but the "make" was fully a fourth below that of the year above. named. Now, the question arose, had any remedies been proposed by the Government? So far from that being so, he regretted to say that no single step appeared to be contemplated in that direction. About three years ago mention was made in the Queen's Speech of the agricultural depression; since then the question seemed completely to have dropped out of the Royal mind. He, like the preceding speaker, did not ask for Protectionism, though he observed that at the Cobden Club one speaker maintained that if we had Free Trade in one thing we ought to have it in all, and, therefore, in land. Let them have universal Free Trade or Protectionism. They had Free Trade now with a vengeance as to the products of land; let them have the Law of Primogeniture and Entail repealed, and all costs of transfer of land abolished, so that land itself could pass in small quantities, and as free as its products from hand to hand. He had little faith in the Government principles of partial Free Trade, whilst feudal restrictions kept the land out of the hands of the people, and amongst a privileged class alone. What he professed was that Free Trade principles should be fairly tested; but he by no means admitted that obliterating the land classes would be beneficial to Nationality or Imperialism, or that reducing the population of the United Kingdom to the level of mere "Cosmopolitans" would tend to the stability or maintenance of the British Empire. On the contrary, the Free Trade principle tended to teach the population that, provided a man grubbed and vegetated well, it was immaterial under what flag the land of his habitation flourished. The land classes were the kernel and bulwark of the individuality of nations. Under agriculture nations rose and commerce beheld their decline and fall in the history of mankind. So early as 1636, Lord Stafford made a Report to the King and Council, in which he expressed his fears that—

> "They (the Irish) might beat us out of the trade, by underselling, which they were able to do."

In 1672, Sir William Temple, writing to the then Lord Lieutenant, says—

> "Regard must be had to those points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with any main branch of the trade of England, in which case the encouragement of said trade ought to be declined, or moderated, and so give way to the trade of England."

And in 1698, in reply to an appeal from the English Parliament, William III. stated—"I will do all in my power to discourage the woollen manufactures of Ireland;" and he kept his word. In the Reign of Queen Anne an Act was passed allowing Irish manufactured goods to the West Indies, provided they were sent in English ships, subject to duty. Again, in the Reign of George I. Acts were passed "for the more effectual suppression of the woollen manufactures of Ireland," and so on till the Volunteers of Dungannon inscribed on their cannon, "Free Trade or else——" He (Mr. Marum) contended that some compensatory equivalent was due from this country to Ireland. They must now look at these things in the light of past experience, and give up dreaming of a state of things continually promised and never realized. They were told, on the one hand, that their manufacturers experienced difficulty in meeting foreign competition; and, on the other hand, that the imposition of a duty on foreign goods would weaken their own competition with those foreign rivals. Those propositions were contradictory, and mutually destructive. The foreign rivals whose goods displaced their own belonged to protected nations, and worked under import duties. Therefore, if the imposition of protective duties incapacitated and disqualified manufacturers of foreign competition, how was it that French and German textile and iron manufacturers were successfully invading this free market? They were suffering not only from positive bounties given, but also from protective duties imposed. If 30 per cent were levied in Germany upon imported woollen goods, the manufacturer there had created for him a profitable internal market, and the trade there furnished him with resources to invade the free market of England, and to undersell those who were working under Free Trade. Thus, foreign manufacturers were enabled to dispose of goods for which they would otherwise have difficulty in finding a market. Hon. Gentlemen were anxious to prevent undue competition within this country; but how long were we to be subject to unrestricted competition outside the country? The low prices of imports benefited, to a small degree even, our artizans in their capacity of consumers. But we paid a high price for this in the depression of rents and profits, and there was going on a depression of wages also. In every centre of industry the consequences of this unlimited competition were being felt, while a small class of persons were making enormous incomes by foreign investments. There was no part of the United Kingdom upon which this grossly unfair system had produced more unfortunate results than Ireland, which depended so largely upon home productions. So much as to commerce. Now, as to home agriculture, the Richmond Commission, which made a very exhaustive inquiry, recommended certain remedies, not one of which had been applied. They reported that bad seasons and foreign competition were the two great causes of the agricultural depression. With regard to bad seasons, the hon. Member for the City of Dublin (Dr. Lyons) had made proposals for planting trees, which, if adopted, would have the effect of checking the effects of rainfall, and benefiting the climate and increasing the productive power of the country; and Irish Members had pressed for arterial drainage, which also would have a very considerable effect on the soil and climate of Ireland; but in neither case was anything done. And as to foreign competition, when the hon. Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) carried Motions in two different years for the relief of local burdens, nothing was done. The gross valuation of Ireland was £10,500,000, and her local taxation was £3,500,000, or about 33 per cent. That was on the nominal value; but local taxation in Ireland was about 50 per cent of the actual or marketable value at this moment. The shifting of some of the local burdens by the re-adjustment of local taxation was one of the recommendations of the Richmond Commission; but it was entirely ignored; and how was it that a Motion on the subject twice carried in successive years in the House was also entirely ignored in a Constitutional country? Now, that Commission, which was not a Party one, alluding to the repeal of the Corn Laws, stated that the pressure of foreign competition had far exceeded the apprehensions of those who were in favour of the Corn Laws, and the expectation of those who had opposed them. That was a valuable admission. Why, he asked, had the Government not considered the recommendations of the Royal Commission? One of those recommendations was that there should be a transference, under the Poor Law, of the indoor poor relief, including the lunatics and the district schools; another was, that certain local licences should be given to the local authorities in alleviation of local burdens. Why had the Government ignored those recommendations? Some time ago a Resolution was carried in that House in respect to a Minister of Commerce and Agriculture. And what had the Government done? They had appointed a Committee of five or six persons. In Ireland they had lost within 30 years a population equal to that of one European State—Switzerland—nearly over 3,000,000 of the pick and flower of the people, who went to enrich and develop the resources of every country but their own. The loss of that industrious population left their inland towns falling into decay; it took away so much local demand from their local shopkeepers and traders. The shops of the South of Ireland were empty of customers by the depopulation of the country, the resources of which were but half developed. And the Government, instead of trying to keep the instruments of labour at home, and furnish customers for their shops, were anxious and ready to grant £1,000,000 sterling to promote further emigration. Take the county he had the honour to represent—Kilkenny. At one period the population was 202,000 souls; it was now under 99,000 odd. Shopkeepers now had but one-half of their former customers, instead of having the number doubled, as would be the case if the Government of any other country of the globe, not to speak of ourselves, was ruling our destinies. What was the valuation of the population lost? Why, they had emigrated at the rate of 100,000 for 30 years past.

The slave was sold for £80 to £100—nay, the bounty paid during the American Civil War ranged from £80 to £150. Viewed as industrial elements at £100 per head, they had suffered a drain of £10,000,000 sterling per annum during that period, which, if capitalized, would represent one-third of the National Debt. Trade in Ireland was paralyzed; instead of the Government taking hold of their railways to counteract the effect of foreign competition by low internal rates, it allowed the population of this impoverished country to be fleeced by high charges, to the destruction of home commerce and agriculture. He would give the tables. As regards the passenger traffic the following facts and calculations appeared—

| | Number of Passengers. | Journeys per head of Population. | Receipts per Passengers |
|---|---|---|---|
| England .. | 612,972,444 | 23 | 8½*d.* |
| Scotland .. | 52,069,451 | 13·6 | 11*d.* |
| Ireland .. | 19,308,292 | 3·8 | 16*d.* |

Here, again, Ireland presented a bad appearance—on paper. It would thus appear that, as far as passenger traffic was concerned, railway facilities were utitized in England nearly twice as much as in Scotland, and seven times as much as in Ireland. But the Richmond Commission recommended a very considerable re-adjustment of railway rates as well as other rates, now that America was brought absolutely as a town park within reach of the great English centres of population; but nothing had been done. Ireland was a purely agricultural country, and should be legislated for on agricultural principles, and not from a simply commercial point of view. Its economic interests were, to a great extent, antagonistic to those of England. But when that and like considerations were put forward, the House should not imagine that Irish Members were altogether absorbed in a mere hostile separation idea. He, for one, maintained that unless they had an opportunity of legislating from an agricultural standpoint, and as long as they were legislated for from a purely commercial point of view, they could have little hope of prosperity. If the principles of Irish Government were not altered, Irishmen naturally desired to alter the governing power itself.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH: The discussion which has taken place has had the effect of eliciting a very interesting speech from the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), and also one from the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella). I think it is highly desirable that the question of the depression of trade should occupy the attention of the House for at least one evening, when it is remembered how much suffering there is in all our large commercial communities, and how natural it is that people who are out of work and starving should think that Parliament ought to consider this sad state of affairs, and devise the best remedies possible. I will go so far as to say that the proceedings of this evening will be read with much greater interest by the great mass of the people than even the exciting proceedings of the night before, and I think it is a far more legitimate thing to expend time upon. As to the depression from which we are suffering, I may speak, as representing one of the largest commercial communities in the country, with some degree of personal cognizance of the facts; and I am sorry to state that in the great community of Liverpool we have scarcely ever before experienced so severe a crisis as that through which we are at the present time passing. I have known of more acute crises lasting for a few months; but the present depression is not of that kind. It is a dull, weary, dragging period of bad trade, affecting specially the shipping interest, and also every trade in which the community is engaged. We have, indeed, been passing through a very stagnant state of trade in England for many years past, and the serious nature of the crisis arises from the fact that it has been more or less prolonged for a period of 10 years. I think I am within the mark when I say that the great manufacturing trades of the country have, with little exception, had bad times for 10 years past. The great cotton trade of Lancashire, of which I have had some experience, is certainly enjoying but little of its former prosperity. There have been long periods of depression when the bulk of the manufacturers have not been covering cost. It is vain to ignore the fact that the prosperity of the country has received a very severe check during the last decade, such as has not been known since the introduction of Free Trade. That great buoyancy which distinguished British trade for the 20 years that followed the repeal of the Corn Laws has entirely disappeared, and the profits of all classes of manufacturing and commercial adventure have been almost *nil* for some time. I have made a rough calculation as to the average profits on manufacturing business during the past 10 years, and I question whether all the manufacturing and mining industries throughout England have yielded more than 2 or 3 per cent per annum on an average. During that time several concerns have had to live without paying any dividend to the shareholders at all. This is a serious state of affairs, and one that ought to engage the attention of the House. Personally, I do not feel so much interested in it from the side of the capitalist as from that of the labourer. The labouring class of this country is at present suffering very severely, and in all the great centres of population large masses of people are unemployed in whole or part. A friend of mine told me only the other day that recently he visited one of the large schools in the East of London, and that he was informed 400 children came to that school without breakfast, their parents being out of work. Further, I was told that on the public wharves of London four times as many men sought for employment as were able to get it. This is a state of things too common throughout the country. There are, however, brighter sides to the picture. Thus the woollen trade has at last, after long depression, taken a start. I think, too, I see some signs of improvement in the cotton trade, and I am told some of the minor industries are beginning to look more cheerful. But the fact has to be faced, that this great commercial country, which for years made such wonderful progress by leaps and bounds—as the Prime Minister in one of his speeches described it —has for some years past shown a tendency towards retrogression. There are, no doubt, many causes for this that lie upon the surface—one of the principal is, that we have lost that unique supremacy which we had for so many years. The Great Napoleonic Wars gave great advantages to this country. We were the first to introduce steam machinery, and, up to 30 years ago, had almost a monopoly of the great trades of the world; but the Continental nations, and especially the Germans, through their devotion to scientific education, their industry, and their admirable technical schools, have come quite abreast of us, and anyone who reads the valuable Report of the Technical Commission will see that all the apparatus of industry on the Continent is equal to our own. We have also to admit the fact that the Free Trade policy of this country has not been imitated by the rest of the world. Nearly all the great civilized nations have clung most pertinaciously to the system of Protection, and many of them have even gone backwards by raising their tariffs. The general condition of British trade now may be said to be this. That we have only the control of the neutral markets—India, China, and the Colonies, and the less advanced States of the world, such as the South American ones. But as to the great civilized countries—the United States, France, and Germany—we have less trade with them than we had at an earlier period. In fact, we have much less command of their market than we had 20 years ago. Now, as to the remedy for that state of things; I have listened with much interest to my hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), and have before had occasion to read with attention some of his pamphlets and speeches on this subject. I think, though I cannot agree with him in his views, that the country is indebted to him for the very original manner in which he brings under discussion fresh views, to some extent, upon our commercial relations compared to those which existed before. I will go to this extent with him—that if it were possible to bring about reciprocal Free Trade in a statesmanlike and practical manner, there is a great deal to be said for it. ["Hear, hear!"] No person not blinded by prejudice can deny that reciprocal Free Trade is better than one-sided Free Trade. [*Conservative cheers.*] I am afraid, however, I shall not receive the same amount of applause when I proceed a little further. After carefully considering the solution, I am not able to see that there has been any practicable scheme put forward. The fact is, the position of our country, speaking broadly, is that of a large importer of the first necessaries of life. Nearly half our population live by foreign food. Nearly half the raw materials of our trade are produced by foreign labour, and it is of the utmost importance to us to have cheap food and cheap raw materials. It is not possible to tax such articles without injuring ourselves far more than we injure those against whom the tax is directed. On the other hand, this country is the largest exporter of common articles of manufacture. We are excelled by some foreign countries in articles of taste; but it is vital to us to be the cheapest producer of the coarser manufactures. The only condition on which we can hold our predominant position is that we are the cheapest producers. Therefore, as respects the largest part of our trade, it is not possible for us to go in for a system of restriction or Protection; but I cannot see the strong objection which the right hon. Gentleman below me (Mr. Mundella) has to taxes on imported articles of luxury. I consider this to be a fairly debatable question; and I think that with such articles as, say, silks, articles of taste and *vertu*, brandies, wines, and other such articles, fiscal considerations should prevail, and I will not admit that the cry of danger to Free Trade should hinder us from placing a duty on articles consumed, or almost entirely consumed, by the richer classes. However, the relief we should thus obtain would go but a very small way in the direction my hon. Friend wishes. His views are much wider. His object is to band together all parts of the Empire into something like a Zollverein, in which exchange shall take place among 300,000,000 of people, exclusive of the outside world. There is no one who has advocated this so ably as my hon. Friend. I may, perhaps, concede this much—that if it had been practicable we might have tried it with advantage 50 years ago. If we could have foreseen our treatment by the rest of the world, and even by our own Colonies, some of whom have treated the Mother Country more like a stepmother, it might have been a very reasonable thing that it should have been made a condition that there should be absolute Free Trade between all parts of the British Empire, and that we would not undertake the protection of the Colonies on any other condition. It might have been a reasonable thing that we assured certain advantages to our Colonies on condition that they adopted this principle; and had we done so, we should be doing a much larger trade with our Colonies than we now are; and it is not altogether impossible that by the leverage thereby afforded we might, to some extent, have broken down the restrictive tariff of the United States. But, in my judgment, the time has passed away for statesmen to undertake such an immensely difficult task. Our Colonies, which were then young, have grown to man's estate. Colonies like Canada and Australia would resent any attempt to impose upon them compulsory Free Trade. A large part of our population is fed by imports from the United States, and depends upon that supply almost for existence, and it is a sheer impossibility to shut out such a supply. These are my general views as regards what is called Reciprocity; but I do not look upon the scheme as so utterly absurd as some do. I do not believe in Free Trade as a sort of "Fetish," as some do. I believe that Free Trade, like all economic doctrines, is limited and qualified by practical considerations; and I have never felt disposed to regard the United States or our Colonies as so utterly devoid of common sense in adopting the system they act upon as most of our economists do. Free Trade must be founded on practical, as well as theoretical, considerations; but, looking at this subject practically, I am not able to see how we possess in this country the leverage to bring about, to any extent, reciprocal Free Trade. We have to face the fact that the economical position of this country is determined for us by inexorable laws we cannot overleap. We are a small Island with a dense population—with the exception of two or three small countries, the densest population on the face of the globe. We draw half the food of this population from abroad, and I am sorry to think the amount of food produced at home is diminishing. We are growing less in the aggregate than we were 20 years ago. It comes to this, therefore—that the growing population of the country must be fed increasingly with foreign food. At the present time nearly half the population are so fed, and in the not distant future three-fourths must be so fed. These are facts that govern us, and we cannot, as far as I can see, alter them by legislative means; but I will glance at one point of great importance, though it is slightly aside from the main subject of this debate. I do believe that in this country there is one great leak which drains a large amount of the wealth of England. We spend in this country, in spite of the spread of the temperance movement, which we all hail with satisfaction, £125,000,000 sterling a-year in strong drink; and I shall carry the general opinion of the House with me when I say a great part of this, at least, is mere waste—as much waste as if it were poured into the Thames. It involves, further, a great waste of the labour power of the country, and adds heavily to our burden of pauperism and crime. My belief is that it is quite within the power of legislation, and opinion out-of-doors would support such legislation, to place such restrictions on this traffic as would save for the country one-third of the amount I have mentioned—say, including indirect losses, £50,000,000 sterling.

The main elements of our national position may be described briefly as follows:—We have a decreasing production of food at home; a trade nearly stationary; at all events, a non-elastic trade. We exported £240,000,000 last year, and 12 years ago £250,000,000. It is quite true the fall in prices, to some extent, accounts for this. [Mr. MUNDELLA: Much more.] Nevertheless, the trade of the country is very stagnant; profits are extremely small; and a very considerable portion of our population have the greatest difficulty to exist. Another point is that with this decrease of the means of living, as I may call it, we have a most rapidly increasing population. The House may be surprised to hear that in the last 10 years we have added to our population in this Island as many people as in the 600 years following the Norman Conquest. Unless Members have studied the question, they will be surprised at the leaps and bounds by which the population of Great Britain has increased—not including Ireland—it has risen from 10,500,000 to 31,000,000 in 1884, and by the end of the century it will nearly reach 40,000,000—that is to say, within the century we have nearly quadrupled the population of this Island. We have to face the fact that about half have to be fed by foreign food, and the time is near when they will principally depend on that source. Now, I confess to me this opens a prospect anything but cheering. It is fraught with serious—indeed, with anxious considerations for both philanthropists and statesmen, and I think this question ought to be faced and discussed far more fully than it has been. We should not wait until we have to struggle for existence with revolution or desperate Communism. We have a large margin of our labouring class in a semi-starving condition, and that margin is increasing. We shall be deceived if we look to the statistics of pauperism. Pauperism appears to decrease, because we are applying more rigorously the workhouse test; but outside the workhouse there is an enormous mass of miserable, half-fed, half-starved, destitute people. I can speak of my own constituency, and I believe I am within the mark in saying that there are 20,000 dock labourers there who for several years past have not had more than three days' work in the week as a rule, and whose average earnings have not been more than 15*s.* a-week. I am told that the case is worse in London, and in all our large towns there is the same miserable state of things. This element among our population will increase, and the pressure of existence will become greater. How can you relieve it. I have pointed out one direction where you might find a great deal of relief. Sobriety of habits will afford much benefit for a time; but it will not permanently tide over the difficulty. We have to face a growing mass of people in this country who never under any circumstances can be maintained in comfort; and for practical relief we must turn to that Greater Britain, 60 times the extent of Great Britain, where the people are now one or two to the square mile, while here we have 450 (in England and Wales) to the square mile. It is just, it is necessary, it is right that our surplus population should find a home in this Greater Britain. If the county of Kent had a population 100 times as dense as the rest of the Kingdom, should we not see the absurdity of perpetuating such a congestion of population? So it is in England, as compared with the Colonies. I am told that Manitoba alone could grow food for the whole population of Europe. I could dilate upon this, and travel far beyond the limits of this debate; but I hope at a future time I may be allowed to go more fully into this social question, which I have studied closely for 20 years. I have been in the closest contact with the suffering classes. We have a section of the population unskilled, intemperate, and incapable of earning a decent livelihood, and useless for emigration, because they have learned nothing of value in their youth. I am driven step by step to the conclusion that we shall never get rid of this helpless mass of semi-pauperism until we undertake the training of the young in a more thorough manner—until we give the children of this miserable class an industrial training which will fit them for earning a living in the Colonies if they cannot get it at home. I will not proceed further, inviting as the subject is. I am obliged to the House for having given me the opportunity of expressing some of the thoughts and feelings which lie deep in my breast. The subject is a grave and serious one, and I am thankful that the House has had this opportunity of discussing it in its various bearings; and I am sure the people of this country will be grateful to the House for taking this subject into its earnest consideration.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he thought the House was greatly indebted to the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) for introducing this question to the House, and also to his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) and the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mundella) for their most interesting speeches. He had also listened with great interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith), who possessed so special a knowledge of the subject of trade. This question was too grave a one for Party politics. Both sides of the House should look at it as part of a great and important whole, and endeavour by every means in their power to solve the difficult problem. If, some years ago, they had formed that Zollverein which the hon. Member had mentioned, no doubt it would have been an exceedingly good thing; but it was not too late even now to do something of that kind. If we found arms and muscles for our Colonies, why should we not make some stipulations in favour of our trade? All the speakers had shown how wrapped up in one another were the interests of agriculture, trade, and commerce. When agriculture prospered, trade and commerce prospered, and it was but natural when people had money in their pockets they would spend it, and no one could spend his money more profitably than in his own country. He was sorry that nothing was said in the Queen's Speech about the depressed condition of agriculture, especially when they remembered that in the Speech dismissing them for the Recess Her Majesty said—

> "I acknowledge with thankfulness the favourable season, and the prospect it affords of an alleviation of the pressure which has so long and so severely affected the agricultural industry of the country."

A word of commiseration at this time would have gone far to show that Her Majesty's Ministers were alive to the present condition of agriculture and trade, notwithstanding the magnificent harvest weather we had had, and for which, indeed, we were most deeply grateful. Let them look for one moment at the present condition of the agricultural industry and at the present price of wheat, and he would venture to say that no one could assert that wheat could be grown at a profit in this country. *The Economist* was a very moderate and fair paper; and taking its calculations, based on the present price of wheat, the loss per acre was £2. He had some other calculations by him; but they were none of them lower than £2. Were they going to allow the great industry of wheat-growing to be absolutely destroyed? Some time ago we had 4,000,000 acres of wheat under cultivation in this country; at the present moment only 2,600,000 acres were under that crop. Taking it in round terms, the yield of wheat was 9,504,000 quarters; but large quantities of that would be used as feeding stuff—as much as 504,000 at least—thus leaving 9,000,000 only to meet the requirements of this country, which were put at 26,000,000 quarters. If 4,000,000 acres were now under cultivation, as they were a few years ago, the produce would probably have been 15,000,000, instead of 9,504,000. They must remember that in case of war, if all these prophets were right who had been looking into the state of the Navy—he knew himself something of the state of the Army—they would, in case of any reverse, be beset with the greatest difficulties in regard to the food supply of this country, and what kind of an indemnity would be exacted from us under such circumstances? He meant—which God forbid!—in case of a defeat, when we had no supplies in the country. The 17,000,000 quarters of imported wheat this country would consume during the year represented £25,500,000, taking the price at 30*s.* a-quarter. How were they to get that money back from abroad? Some hon. Members with whom he talked said that investments abroad furnished the funds which paid for those imports; but he found those gentlemen who insisted on free imports were mostly men with fixed incomes derived from investments from abroad, to whose advantage it was that the highest purchasing value should be given to their money regardless of the consequences upon the condition of commerce and agriculture at home. He would turn to another point. He had before him the price of wheat for the last 104 years, and it was a very curious fact that for the last half of this year the price of wheat would be lower than any which had occurred during that period. It was quite true that in 1780 the price was £1 16*s.*, which was at present the lowest price on record; but during the first half of this year the price had fallen to £1 17*s.* 8*d.*, and for the latter it would recede below £1 16*s.* With regard to the crops, he took *The Times* report, which was an excellent one, and found the average stated at 29½ bushels per acre. He believed, however, it would not thrash out over 28 bushels per acre. They knew that barley was not an average crop; they also knew that the colour was not good, and, as a consequence, the price was not good also; they knew that oats were a bad crop, beans and peas nothing like an average crop, though potatoes were remarkably good and cheap. The truth was that farmers would get but a very small return for such of their crops as were plentiful, in consequence of their being so cheap this year. Taken as a whole, this year had not come up to even an average year. No doubt, stock had increased owing partly to the saving of heifer calves for dairy and other purposes, and partly to the difficulty of selling stock resulting from the foot-and-mouth disease, particularly in Ireland. He was deeply grateful that foot-and-mouth disease had for the time, at all events, been extinguished. No greater blessing could have been conferred upon this country than the extinction of that subtle disease, which had been brought about by the restrictions on the importation of cattle; and he hoped that the Lord President would take care that on no account should cattle be imported from infected countries. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) had said that those restrictions would make meat much dearer, whereas the fact was that meat had become much cheaper. The increase in the dead meat trade from Australia and New Zealand had far more than made up for the loss of food occasioned by the restrictions on the importation of live cattle. The price of mutton had fallen during the year from 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* a-stone, and of beef from 8*d.* to 9*d.* a-stone. Another difficulty which farmers had to contend with was the abnormally high price of store stock, which scarcely allowed the smallest margin of profit to the farmer. In his opinion, agricultural depression had never been as great as it was at the present time, and had never lasted so long. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had put the loss to the tenant farmers, caused by agricultural depression at from £130,000,000 to £150,000,000; but he was afraid that it would reach over £200,000,000. In this state of things half of the present occupiers of farms would be unable to continue in their holdings unless something were done for their relief. The great difficulty had always been to say what ought to be done. He would be justified, perhaps, in saying that it was sufficient for the farmers to put their case before the Government of this great country, and to leave them to devise a remedy for the state of things that existed. He, however, was prepared to make one or two suggestions in a non-controversial spirit. He remembered that years ago the hon. Baronet the Member for South Devon (Sir Massey Lopes) carried a Resolution in favour of the relief of local burdens by a majority of over 100, when a Liberal Government was in Office; but no notice whatever had been taken of that Resolution until a Conservative Government came into power, when certain subsidies in aid of the local rates were granted to the agricultural interest. Another Resolution with regard to Local Taxation had been carried by his hon. Friend the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell) in the last Session; but no notice had been taken by the Government of the views of the majority of the House. What he now suggested was that some more such subsidies should be granted. Relief ought to be given in respect of the main roads, the police, and the indoor paupers. An opportunity should also be given to the landowner to free his land from tithes on equitable and easy terms; but such terms should especially be just as regarded the interest of the clergy. This was a question that was rapidly coming to the front, and which deserved serious consideration. As to the question of Free Trade, he was not one of those who argued that there ought to be an import duty on corn; but at the same time he would say that a greater mistake was never made than when that 1*s*. duty on corn was taken off. He saw no reason why that 1*s*. per sack should not again be replaced, and even 1*s*. per sack. No one felt it, and it would be found a great help and leverage towards the payment of local taxation. He believed that, by a fair re-adjustment of the Customs duties on such articles as had been suggested, the taxation on Customs might be raised by something like £10,000,000 a-year without hurting the consumer at all. Was this the only wise nation in the world? He did not suppose there was a man in the House who would say that Prince Bismarck was a fool; and when they found the wisest statesman in Europe keeping his country in the strongest bond of Protection, they must admit that he had some good reason and some good cause for the course he had pursued. Surely an inquiry could do no harm. He would say to the Government—"If you are so strong in your saddles that you think you have it all your own way, and have nothing to do but shake your horse's reins in order to win in a canter, let us have the inquiry we ask for." The agriculturists would ride their horses as well as they were able, and all they asked was that a fair and impartial inquiry should be allowed them; but whether that inquiry was granted or not, he thought that, at any rate, they who sat in Parliament had a right to demand that there should be a fair consideration of the question in all its bearings, and that the agriculturists should have a fair adjustment of that local taxation which was now raised upon real property alone, which class of property was, at the present moment, least able to bear it.

Mr. W. FOWLER said, he thought there had been some exaggeration as to the situation of the country, at any rate as regarded the state of trade in the manufacturing districts. He understood that in the great Union of Manchester there never was so little pauperism as at the present moment. That did not show that the industries, round Manchester at all events, were quite so depressed as they were led to understand. He was also told that there were 2,000,000 spindles now being put up in the cotton district, which, with other facts, hardly bore out the statement of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) as to the condition of Manchester and the cotton trade. While he quite agreed that the condition of agriculture was very serious, and he might almost say naturally alarming, he did not think that they should go away with the impression that the whole country was on the verge of ruin. He thought the Government had been perfectly right in not putting this paragraph into the Queen's Speech, because it would have given the impression that Parliament could do something by inquiry to get rid of the present condition of things. But he did not believe our difficulties were such as it was in the power of this House to deal with. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin) told them the other night at Leamington that foreign competition was destroying agriculture and paralyzing trade. He was not prepared to agree with him. In his opinion, the nine bad seasons we had passed through had much more to do with it. In 1851 the price of wheat was very little higher than it was now, and meat was about half the present price, and yet the farming interest was not so depressed as at present. That showed that some cause was at work besides the mere scale of prices. Then again, as they had been told by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, the same depression existed in France and Germany and Switzerland. They could not control the seasons, and one good season would not restore a better state of things. He was free to confess that the cultivation of wheat was not profitable at the present moment. But wheat was not our only crop. He should like to ask whether those who came there to instruct them as to what was necessary for the renovation of agriculture had gone as fully into the question as they ought? He would like to point out once more how enormous was our importation of articles which we could perfectly well grow at home. Let them take only two groups from the last Returns. First, taking live cattle, sheep, and pigs. Of these, there were imported in 1864 to the value of £4,275,000; in 1874, £5,265,041; and in 1883, £11,983,754. Secondly, the import of other provisions, such as beef, mutton, pork, bacon, hams, poultry, game, eggs, butter, and cheese, amounted in 1864 to the value of £12,500,000; in 1874, £25,300,000; and in 1883, £40,500,000; and the total value of all the provisions imported in those three years was respectively £58,658,000, £112,496,000, and £157,500,000. Look at eggs and butter separately. They imported in 1883 eggs to the value of £2,732,000, and butter to the value of £11,773,000. He thought they might well consider whether more of these articles might not be produced at home. They had the best markets in the world, and, perhaps, the highest price in the world for such articles was paid in England. But hon. Members did not discuss such questions. They came demanding other remedies. Again, that evening Local Taxation had been brought forward. For his part, he asked for justice as to Local Taxation, He would join with anyone in reducing the burdens on the land if they could be shown to be unfair. But he denied that any such proceeding would act as a remedy for present troubles. The losses by taxation were as nothing compared to the effect of prices. He supposed that if all that was asked as to local taxes were given, it would not aid the farmer to the extent of 2*s.* an acre—[*Cries of* "Not 1*s.*"]—and, therefore, this question of Local Taxation was not so important as it looked. If the farmer had lost 2*s.* in the last year by taxes, he had lost 32*s.* an acre by the fall in wheat since October, 1883. But there were other questions behind far more serious. The fact was that their old friend "Protection" was at the bottom of the matter. But Protection would do the farmers no good unless they got a higher price for their corn. He should like to read a few words which, on the 11th of February, 1851, Mr. Disraeli used when speaking on this subject—

> "If I give my opinion, which I do most sincerely, that a moderate fixed duty would not raise the price to the consumer, I wish perfectly to guard myself from being supposed to suggest it as any favour to the agricultural interest."—(3 *Hansard*, [114] 410.)

He evidently did not think highly of it as a remedy for distress. And Sir James Graham, on the next day, in the course of a speech, said—

> "You may convulse the country—you may endanger property—you may shake our institutions to the foundations; but I am satisfied that there is no power in England which can permanently enhance by force of law the price of bread."—(*Ibid.* 528.)

Hon. Gentlemen opposite must, therefore, dismiss from their mind this idea of putting on a duty. It could not be done, and would not be done. The remedy must be found elsewhere—in their own skill and industry. It was not to be found in any hocus-pocus arrangement of duties. The improvement must be obtained by their intelligence, good sense, and by the power of the money which was so abundant in this country. To give the farmer the idea that this House was able to do much for him by way of legislation was to delude him; and to have put a paragraph in the Queen's Speech would have been only to deceive him. They had heard a good deal of the depression in trade. No doubt the iron, coal, and shipping trades were now, and had been for some months, depressed. But the great cause of the loss of profits which was so much felt by capitalists was the low condition of prices all round. Prices had not been so low since 1848. It had been said that times of high prices were good times; but they were sometimes bad times. There might be high prices and very low profits, and low prices and fairly large profits. At present there certainly was a great diminution of profits, and capitalists were not receiving the income for their capital which they used to do. The poor man, however, was not suffering a similar loss. His wages were not being materially reduced—certainly not in proportion to the fall in profits. On the other hand, they must remember that in the coal and iron mania of 1871-2, though wages were high, they were as nothing compared with the enormous profits that were being made. The poor man's turn had now come. His wages were not materially reduced, and he was far more comfortable than he used to be. Hon. Members might ask for the cause of this tremendous fall in prices. It had been set down to the scarcity of gold. He did not believe there was any such scarcity. But there was an enormous supply of every article. That arose from cheap carriage by land and water. The railway and the steamship brought enormous supplies of everything, and hence the fall in prices. In one year freight from America had fallen 50 per cent. Nor was this the only influence at work. The telegraph had a powerful effect. It was not necessary now to hold great stocks of goods. They could be ordered by telegraph, and the old system of business was a thing of the past. An hon. Member had told him that the old merchant was no longer needed. The telegraph had extinguished him. These things could not be altered by Parliament. Hon. Members would not, he supposed, wish to get rid of the railways, the steamers, and the telegraph; but they would like a little protective duty—a kind of differential duty in favour of our Colonies. But on what was this duty to be imposed? If it was imposed on the raw material our trade would be ruined, for we should no longer be able to compete with foreign countries. Was it to be on manufactures? If so, on which? Silk had been the only one mentioned, and the right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council (Mr. Mundella) had disposed of that. The fact was that they could not deal with this matter by any legislative Act, but by educating the people and increasing their skill, so as to enable us to compete in the race of the world. It was for the House to pass laws which should leave the people free to do their work. The people could take much better care of themselves than could Parliament. The condition of the people depended more upon their own habits and their own efforts than upon Acts of Parliament. If the people were wasteful in spending money in drink or in other things, no Act of Parliament could prevent them from coming to grief. The House of Commons could not prevent disaster overtaking men in trade who did not do their duty; and, therefore, in his opinion, it would be the greatest folly in the world for the House to hold out an expectation which it could not fulfil. The more he looked into this matter the more he was satisfied that they had done right in getting rid of the protective system root and branch, and in declining to ask a contribution from the people for the benefit of one particular class. The fact was, they could not do this thing; they could not return to this system. If any class of men ought to be protected, they ought to begin by protecting the farmer. They had taken away his protection in 1846; and if they were going to introduce Protection, they must begin by first protecting him. The landed interest were bound, however, to look after their own affairs without assistance from the House of Commons. In his opinion, the system of law by which the land had been held for centuries in this country was one which had done a great deal to repress the landed interest. He did not believe in this system of one man holding the land while the rest of the family were dependent upon him. It frequently happened that under this system the land became starved and impoverished. He did not think any alteration of the law would make a great change; but if a natural state of law had existed for the past 100 years, the state of the land would have been much better than it now was. The present position of things was one which brought one in contact with events which were rather extraordinary, no doubt; but still with events which they could not control by the power of the House. He asked the House to reject this Motion, because he believed that to accept it would be to hold out expectations which would be quite futile and illusive in their character.

Mr. CHAPLIN asked the hon. Member who had just spoken what were the remedies which he proposed for the alleviation of the present distress? The hon. Member said that if the people of this country spent their money in drink they must suffer for their misdeeds; if they were wasteful and extravagant they must pay for the wastefulness which they committed; if they were careless in trade they must suffer likewise. He ventured, on behalf of this class, to repudiate those innuendoes against the working people of this country. These were not the causes of the sufferings which prevailed so widely at present. As far as the hon. Member and his Friends were concerned in the suggestion of a remedy, the future of the working classes of the country might be one of despair. He was astonished that no Member of the Government had attempted to reply to the speech which had been made by the Seconder of the Motion. He had heard the greater part of the speech of the Vice President of the Council; but, instead of replying to the speech of his hon. Friend, the right hon Gentleman had favoured the House with a great variety of details regarding the amount of his investments at home and abroad, for what purpose he had been unable to discover. They might have been an admirable advertisement for the business of the firm with which he understood the right hon. Gentleman was connected. The defence of the right hon. Gentleman was altogether unnecessary, because he understood that what fell from his hon. Friend had been cited not in any respect as a personal attack, but simply as an illustration of the evils of the system which the right hon. Gentleman supported. It was the more remarkable that the right hon. Gentleman had not attempted to reply to the speech of his hon. Friend, because a more able, more fearless, or more valuable contribution to the discussion of the industrial crisis had never been delivered to the House. The right hon. Gentleman did not even seem to think it necessary to remain in the House during the debate; but had shown the courage of his opinions in running away, as he had done on many occasions before. He shared the surprise which had been expressed that no mention had been made of the prevalent distress in the Gracious Speech from the Throne. Apparently, the Government thought it one of the last matters which concerned them. This was on a par with all their proceedings in matters of national or Imperial importance. Never were affairs in a state more critical for the interests of our Empire in three-quarters of the globe than at this moment; and they could gauge the importance attached to those matters by Members of the Government when they remembered that only the other day a Cabinet Minister got up and described it as a waste of time to discuss the murder of a British Agent and the condition of affairs in South Africa. It now seemed that precisely the same spirit actuated the Ministry in regard to vital and urgent home affairs; and that, although thousands of working men in all parts of the country were daily reported to be out of employment, and unable to support their families, the Government could only occupy themselves with a purely Party measure; while all those far more important and momentous matters demanded the most anxious consideration. With four years' experience, however, of the effects of their rule on the fortunes of the Empire, he could understand the necessity which induced them to raise a cloud of controversy on a Party question, in order to blind the eyes and divert the attention of the people from their disastrous failures. He was glad that both the Mover and Seconder of the Amendment, who were so closely connected with the trading and manufacturing interests of the country, had so clearly recognized the most important fact that the present grave depression in trade was in the main caused by the depression which had so long affected the agricultural interest. They had had a prolonged and exhaustive inquiry into the causes of agricultural depression. The Report of the Commission spoke in the plainest and strongest possible terms of the severity of that depression; they indicated its causes, and also made certain recommendations for its relief. It was true that the main and primary cause had been the bad seasons; but they had just had one of the best seasons known for many years past, and yet the prospects of agriculture had probably never been gloomier than they were at present. Whatever the Vice President of the Council or others might say, the real and true cause of agricultural depression now was the low prices, and nothing else but the low prices, which were the inevitable result of excessive foreign competition. The Vice President of the Council seemed to charge prospectively the Members of the Commission with changing their views on that question. Well, he could not answer for his Colleagues; but so far as he himself was concerned, as a Member of the Commission, he frankly confessed that he had changed his views on the subject. He had appended a Memorandum to the Report, urging the whole question of foreign competition, because he thought it had received in the Report nothing like the attention it deserved. He expressed in his Memorandum the opinion, after weighing the evidence, that they would probably be able in future successfully to contend with any foreign competition they would have to undergo. That opinion he based upon, among other things, the latest evidence received by the Commission, and especially from one of the Sub-Commissioners whom they sent to inquire in America, and who placed before them the view that wheat could not be produced and sold in America at anything like the prices at which it had been sold up to that time. Moreover, he thought that the price of wheat had considerably risen since their inquiry began, and that it promised to be higher than it was at the present moment. He confessed that his hopes and expectations had not been realized in that respect; and unquestionably the price was lower now than it had ever been in the past 100 years. Consequently, agriculture was proportionately depressed, and that depression was likely to remain until some means were found for its relief. He now turned to the subject of trade. Trade was now depressed because the markets had been failing. The foreign market had failed for an obvious reason—namely, simply because of the hostile tariffs imposed on the goods which we should send to foreign countries, if they would only allow us to do so. Then there was the home market. Why was it failing? There ought to be a complete and searching inquiry into that subject at the present time. There might be many reasons for its failure; but the real and main reason was simply the depression of agriculture, which represented the chief element in the home market. As long as agriculture was depressed the home market was certain to fail. He was sorry the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) had left the House, because he would have liked to have asked him a question on which he wished, if possible, to elicit a frank answer from those who professed the Free Trade views of the right hon. Gentleman. The right hon. Gentleman was one of the stoutest allies of the hon. Member for Preston, because he had always told the working men of this country that the depression in their trade was the consequence of bad harvests. He would ask a hundred times if necessary, till he got an answer, if the influence of bad harvests caused such depression to other trades, what would be the condition of trade, when, instead of bad harvests, we had none at all? This was what might happen, for he denied that any human being could grow wheat at 32*s.* a-quarter in this country without absolutely losing by the transaction. Then the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler) had said that they might grow something else; but he had not indicated anything that could take the place of the great wheat-growing industry of this country. It reminded him of the advice of the Prime Minister some time ago, when he had told the farmers to produce jam. Jam was a very good thing in its way, so were market gardening, cheese, and dairy farming, and he considered that there was room for expansion in those directions; but all of them together could not take the place of that great industry of wheat growing. There was no subject which the Royal Commission had more carefully gone into than the endeavour to obtain a satisfactory reply to the question of what produce could be grown which could take the place of wheat growing if it should become unremunerative in the future. But nothing had been suggested that could take its place with any reasonable prospect of giving a profit. Some hon. Members, and especially the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), were great advocates of this view—"Change your whole system of land tenure, and divide your holdings into smaller ones, and then you will see what you will see." If the hon. Member had had any practical experience on this subject, if he had gone into certain parts of the country and witnessed the absolute failure of that system, and had seen the state of poverty and ruin into which thousands of the freeholders of Lincolnshire had been thrown, owing to the price of agricultural produce, he thought the hon. Member would abandon these Utopian ideas. They had had an exhaustive inquiry into the state of agriculture; in his opinion, the time had now arrived when they must also have an inquiry into the state of trade; and if it were done by no one else, he would himself move for such an inquiry. The hon. Member for Cambridge had told them that the meaning of the inquiry had been to raise the price of food for the people, and would say probably that that would be the object of the inquiry now suggested. But he was getting accustomed to these taunts. The same cry had been raised with regard to the proposals made last Session with respect to the importation of foreign cattle, whereas the result had been exactly the contrary to what had been suggested. The fact was, that since the passing of the Cattle Bill, from whatever cause, the price of beef had fallen.

MR. MUNDELLA: Not through that Bill.

MR. CHAPLIN: He did not say through that Bill. He said from whatever cause; but he would venture to prophecy, if that Act was properly administered by the Government of the day, it would encourage the production of meat in this country, and lead to a still further reduction in its price. It did not necessarily follow that a rise of 4*s.* or 5*s.* a-quarter in the price of wheat made any difference in the price of bread. On the other hand, a fall of 5*s.* a-quarter in the price of wheat constantly occurred without altering the price of bread. It had been found that concurrently with the higher prices of wheat the people had always been most prosperous. He remembered the time when the Prime Minister described the prosperity of the country as advancing by leaps and bounds, and yet that was exactly the time when the price of wheat was between 50*s.* and 60*s.* a-quarter. He did not suppose that, even in their most angry moments, hon. Gentlemen opposite would really credit Gentlemen on the Conservative side of the House with any intention or desire to raise the price of food for the people. Even if they had that intention and desire, they would not be able to do so. The people of this country, happily, were very much better educated than they used to be. They might have been misled at one time; they often had been in the past; but he did not think it would be very easy to do so again. They were well able to judge and weigh all these questions on their merits for themselves, and they would not be misled in the future, as they had been in the past, by the fanaticism of the bigots of Free Trade. Well, then, he would conclude his observations by heartily endorsing the views of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) when he demanded an inquiry into the present position of our trade. And when that had been granted, if it could be shown, as he thought it would be shown, that he and his Friends were right in the views they expressed, that the real cause which laid at the root of the depression of trade at the present moment was the serious depression of agriculture, it would then be for the people and for the working classes of the country to decide whether they would submit any longer to the present state of things, or whether they would not insist on some general reconsideration of the present fiscal system of the country, which should mitigate, or greatly reduce, at all events, the painful effects of foreign competition on the great industries of the country.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had commenced his speech with an attack upon the Vice President of the Council. The hon. Gentleman said that he had listened to the right hon. Gentleman for a short time, and then became tired of waiting, and left the House, having heard no reply to the observations of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd). He was quite sure that if the hon. Member had waited a little longer he would, with the rest of the House, have agreed that the Vice President of the Council had completely answered the speech of the hon. Member for Preston.

MR. CHAPLIN: No doubt, that is the view taken on that side of the House.

MR. SYDNEY BUXTON said, the hon. Member for Preston, in his interesting and eloquent speech, had asked that speakers on the Liberal side of the House should not "pooh, pooh!" the question of agricultural distress in the country. Hon. Members on that side of the House, as well as hon. Members on the other side, lamented that there should be any distress throughout the country; but they believed that the amount of distress had been, in many cases, very considerably exaggerated. He knew it was of no good arguing the question from what had always in the past been taken as tests of national progress and national wealth. At this moment they were regarded no longer by speakers on the other side of the House as tests. They were no longer allowed to congratulate themselves on the poor rate having decreased, nor were they to congratulate themselves upon the fact that the country received a larger amount in the shape of Income Tax, and that there were a greater number of Income Tax payers who now paid the tax than there were a few years ago. They were further told that the increase in the Savings Bank deposits was no test of the increase of the national prosperity; and the volume of trade, which was larger last year than it ever was before, instead of encouraging hon. Members on the other side of the House, seemed to fill them with alarm. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), in spite of the fact that last year's total exports were larger than they ever were before, except in the year 1872-3, deliberately asserted that the exports of the country had largely diminished.

Mr. CHAPLIN remarked that he had not said anything of the kind.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said, that no one would deny that trade was bad. It was bad in this sense—that there had been a very considerable amount of over-production, and that prices were very low. He confessed that he had been somewhat astonished to hear the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) suggest that we ought to adopt the French system of assisting the shipping trade, because if there was one industry in which there had been more over-production than in another, he thought it was generally acknowledged that it was the shipping trade. Nevertheless, the hon. Gentleman suggested that the Government should foster that trade, and thereby vastly increase the over-production which now existed. In this state of things there was one alleviation, and that was that, the price of everything being so low, the consumer had been gaining. He had been rather surprised at a remark which fell from the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot). The hon. and gallant Baronet made the somewhat astounding assertion that when the price of corn was high trade was good.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon; he had not said anything of the kind. What he said was, that it so happened that when agriculture flourished trade and commerce flourished also.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON accepted the explanation. He had misunderstood the hon. and gallant Gentleman, and would withdraw the observation he had made. He had, however, certainly understood the hon. and gallant Baronet to state what he had suggested. They might lament the existing state of affairs; but, after all, what were the remedies that had been proposed that evening? The right hon. Gentleman the Vice President of the Council had suggested the increase of education, and especially of technical education—remedies which he (Mr. S. Buxton) thought would commend themselves to the sense of the House. Then the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith), who seemed to have a sort of hankering after Fair Trade, but whose common sense brought him up short whenever he came in contact with the actual results of inquiry, had suggested State-aided emigration as a remedy for the evil. The only suggestion made by the other side of the House was that there should be an inquiry into the state of trade. Before they agreed to an inquiry, he wanted to know what inquiry was proposed to be made? Was it, or was it not, to be a veiled attack directed against Free Trade? They knew, of course, that the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) and the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) had the courage of their opinions; but probably some of those who were sitting on the opposite Benches were not equally as courageous as those hon. Members, because he gathered from some of the speeches which had been delivered in the course of the evening that, although they would not as yet go in for the cry of Fair Trade, it was possible that they might hereafter do so. He confessed that he had been much interested the other day by the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, in reply to a Free Trade deputation at Birmingham. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman was a very great master of the art of saying "nothing" when there was nothing to be said, and on that occasion the right hon. Gentleman carried that art to its greatest extent. But he thought that the House and the country wanted the right hon. Gentleman and the Leaders of the Opposition to say "something," and to declare what they really meant on this matter of Fair Trade. Were their minds still open, or were they closed, upon the question of Free Trade? Some hon. Gentlemen said that Party considerations ought not to be brought into the matter, and in that he fully agreed; but he thought that the House and the country ought to know what the Leaders of the Opposition, and those who were responsible, really thought upon this matter of Free Trade. Did they, or did they not, indorse the speeches the House had listened to that evening from the hon. Members for Preston and Birkenhead? The position of those hon. Members was clear enough. They told the House that practically they wanted to obtain reciprocity by means of retaliation. As the hon. Member for Preston said, he required Protection as a lever, in order to obtain universal Free Trade; and the hon. Member for Birkenhead declared that it was necessary for this country to retaliate in order that we might be able to open the ports of the world to our own commerce. There was, he (Mr. S. Buxton) thought, a good deal of loose talk on this question of Fair Trade; and he wanted to know what those who advocated it proposed to do, and how far it would really improve the state of things as they at present existed? The hon. Member for Preston had taunted those on that side of the House with being responsible for the depressed state of trade in England; but the trade of the protected countries was as bad, or worse, and he thought the *onus* of proof lay not on those who were defending the existing system, but on those who proposed to change our fiscal system. The proposition of Reciprocity, or Fair Trade, was founded on the very erroneous and exploded theory that the injury of one country was the benefit of another. It was now generally acknowledged that the benefit of one country was the benefit of all. He would not attempt to discuss the question from the point of expediency, or from the point of principle, because that had already been discussed and threshed out by previous speakers. He would prefer to point out the absolute impossibility of carrying out the proposal of the hon. Member for Preston. That proposal looked simple enough. They saw that their imports exceeded their exports, and it looked a very simple matter just to clap a duty upon the imports, in order that the foreigner might be brought to his senses, and be induced to accept our exports freely. But there was just this difficulty in the way—the difficulty of knowing upon which of the large amount of imports we could really impose a duty. One thing which had been generally acknowledged that evening, even by speakers on the other side of the House, was that it was practically quite impossible to tax articles of food. He thought it was equally acknowledged that it was quite impossible to tax the imports of raw material. Everyone admitted that that would be fatal to our power of competition in the open market. The consequence was that those two great portions of the imports had first to be eliminated before they could discover on what articles retaliatory duties could really be placed. He found that our imports amounted to £426,000,000, and that out of them as much as £340,000,000 belonged to those two great categories; and represented, to the extent of £195,000,000, articles of food, and, to the extent of £145,000,000, raw materials imported. Therefore, the small balance that was left, which they could effectually tax by retaliatory duties, only amounted to £85,000,000, and of that £85,000,000 something like £25,000,000 or £30,000,000 represented semi-manufactured articles, which were just in the same position as raw material, and were also unfitted for taxation. The remaining £50,000,000 or £60,000,000 represented imported "manufactures," on which, perhaps, retaliatory duties might be placed; though even this sum should be reduced by the amount of re-exports, and of articles of fancy wear, &c., which would not repay any imposition of duties. Granting, however, the whole of this sum, it seemed a considerable amount. But if they looked at the other side of the question they would find that, while other nations might be vulnerable to the extent of £50,000,000 or £60,000,000, we ourselves exported manufactured and semi-manufactured goods, on which duties were and could be placed, to the extent of £213,000,000, and would be liable to be attacked to that extent. So that it came to this—that for every injury we could inflict upon the foreigner by retaliatory duties, he could injure us three or four times as much. That seemed to him to be conclusive as far as regarded the possibility of putting on these duties; and, therefore, he thought it remained for those who desired to put on the duties, and who desired to re-invigorate the country by imposing import duties, to show in what way they were to impose them so as to be able to bring the foreigner to terms. It stood to reason that, unless we injured the foreigner more than he could injure us, we should fail to bring him to his senses. Being interested in protective duties, the foreigner would do his best to protect his protective duties, and for every pound imposed by us as a tax upon foreign imports he would put a similar sum upon our exports; and, as he (Mr. S. Buxton) had already pointed out, the foreigner had this pull over us—that his retaliation to our attack would be as four to one. If our trade, as the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) seemed to suppose, were almost entirely a home trade for home consumption, and if we had no foreign trade, then he thought there might be something to be said on behalf of the view of the hon. Gentleman; but, as had been well pointed out by the Vice President of the Council, at present any attempt to resort to Protection in the case of one article would necessitate Protection for others, and the cost of production would, consequently, be seriously raised all round, and not only would our power of competing in hostile markets be greatly diminished, but we should lose our supremacy in the neutral markets of the world. He would not detain the House at greater length upon this subject, and he was much obliged to hon. Members for the patience with which they had listened to him.

Mr. SALT said, that as this was really a discussion upon an Amendment to the Address, he did not think it right that he should occupy the time of the House for more than a very few minutes, notwithstanding the importance of the subject which was now raised. Indeed, it was a subject of such great importance to every interest in the country, that it ought to be considered rather upon an independent Motion than upon an Amendment to the Address. He thought, nevertheless, that his hon. Friend the Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) and his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) were quite correct in the view they entertained, that some notice of this important subject should be taken by the House and the country. He conceived from their speeches that, although they had frankly and honestly expressed their opinions, as they always did, their view did not go further than that, and that they only desired to bring the matter prominently before the House and the country. The question which naturally arose was, whether the condition of agriculture and trade was in such a state as to demand special attention at the present moment? And upon that point it occurred to him that two opinions might be held and two voices might be raised in Parliament. Speaking from his own experience, and he believed that every Member of the House who had had similar experience would say the same, for many years he did not remember — indeed, he might say he had not known — a time in which every man connected with business of any kind suffered so much anxiety. Hon. Members who listened to him must have been in communication with many persons carrying on business in different parts of the country, and they would be perfectly aware that in every quarter, without exception, there had been this expression of opinion—"We never knew such a long depression. We really do not know how to carry on. We are making the smallest possible profits, or we are carrying on our business at a loss. Sometimes we think the cloud is lifting, and then affairs relapse and become worse than before." That was the opinion expressed everywhere by people connected with business, and he had, therefore, looked into the question in order to see how far the depression of agriculture and commerce really justified that view, because it occurred to him that it might sometimes happen that they came across a few persons who were in such an unfortunate position, and possessed such a constitution, that they were in the habit of taking a despairing view of everything. There were, however, two or three tests which afforded good evidence of the condition of trade in the country. The first was the carriage on the railways, the second was the volume of trade passing in and out of the country, and the third was the state of the Revenue. He did not want to go into figures at that late hour of the night; but hon. Members, if they wished to have these three figures, would easily be able to find them for themselves. In regard to the railway returns, the condition of the foreign trade in and out of the country, and the position of the Revenue—upon all those points, if the figures were not actually disheartening, they were, at any rate, weak—they had either given way to some extent, or they were showing signs of giving way. This entirely confirmed the opinion which private individuals expressed, and, to a large extent, justified the existing state of anxiety and uneasiness. He did not say that we were in a condition in which we ought to despair. He had no desire to take too gloomy a view of the state of affairs, and, notwithstanding the returns to which he had alluded, no doubt there was still at the present moment an immense volume of trade passing in and out of the Kingdom, and an immense carriage both of goods and passengers over the whole of our railway system, and we might possibly look for brighter times; but he was bound to say that the depression had now gone on for a very long time. In 1874—just after that wonderful year 1873, which some hon. Gentleman that night had said was a great misfortune to the country—in 1874 he remembered saying himself that he believed that we were on the eve of the longest and worst depression of trade which this country had ever known, and that opinion had been more than fully justified. The question was when would that state of things be changed? It was that question to which they required an answer, and it was for that reason he conceived his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) pressed for an inquiry. His hon. Friend went somewhat further than the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver). He did not content himself with saying that this matter ought to have been noticed in the Queen's Speech, but he said also that there ought to be an inquiry. As he understood his hon. Friend, he did not press Her Majesty's Government further than that at the present moment; but he contended that the condition of trade was such as to demand inquiry, investigation, and information on the part of the Government. He (Mr. Salt) did not propose to commit himself to what his hon. Friend or anyone else had said that night; but he went entirely and thoroughly with his hon. Friend in regard to the matter of inquiry. The condition of the trade of the country during the past 20 or 30 years, and its condition at the present moment, were such that a public inquiry by an independent Commission would be a very great benefit. There were other reasons besides these. The condition of trade was peculiar in certain ways. In the first place, he had noticed the extreme length of the depression, which was altogether peculiar. The ordinary experience of the last 40 or 50 years was that depressions, when they occurred, endured for a comparatively brief period; they only lasted for six or seven years, and then the cloud lifted, and a brighter state of things was brought about; but if there had been any kind of improvement on the present occasion, it had been slow, uncertain, and short, and then things fell back again to the state in which they were before. That was one of the things in the condition of trade which was peculiar—namely, the extreme length of the depression. There was another matter that was peculiar and demanded inquiry also. It was generally supposed that when food and material were cheap it was a time of prosperity in the country; but it had not been so in this instance, and why? For this reason, that with all this great cheapness there was no purchasing power. Purchasing power was absent, and, although everything was very cheap, the people had got no money to buy with. That was quite peculiar, and not in accordance with what was generally expected in such a condition of affairs, and it was another reason, as he understood, why his hon. Friends pressed for an inquiry. There was a third reason which it was very difficult to understand without inquiry, but which he desired to point out as another matter somewhat peculiar. Anyone who had carefully watched the condition of trade during the last few years would, he thought, have observed that, while the large dealers—the wholesale dealers—had been complaining that they were unable to make profits at all, the small dealers had been making considerable profits, and were doing well. He said this with some hesitation, because it required proof; but it was not his own opinion only, other people had observed the same thing. It had the appearance of a peculiar condition of trade, and might be made the subject of a very useful inquiry, and not an inquiry in any Party sense. It should not be an inquiry to the prejudice of anyone, or to the prejudice of anybody in the world; but it should be an inquiry into matters that were of immense interest to the country—namely, what was the cause of this peculiar condition of trade? We must remember this, that if profits were largely consumed by the retail dealers, and were not shared by the wholesale dealers, then the bulk of the people did not receive benefit from them—in other words, the benefit of cheap products did not reach the consumer. Surely that was a matter of very great importance. There was one other point, and one only, to which he desired to direct the attention of the House—namely, the condition of the people themselves—he meant of those people who worked with their hands. He had observed that whenever anything was said about the poverty of the people, they were referred to statistics to prove that the people were very well off. His observation was this—that at the present moment the country was not suffering from acute distress, except, perhaps, in Sunderland, or anything like the distress which occurred in the Lancashire cotton famine; but, at the same time, it was suffering from a general sense of poverty. Many poor, respectable people said nothing about their poverty. Instead of having full wages for the last three or four years, they had only been able to get work for two or three days a-week, and they were beginning to get very poor indeed, and the sense of their poverty was pressing upon them very much, because they could not see the end of it at all. This poverty went on from day to day, from week to week, and from month to month, and almost from year to year, pressing on the people in clothes, in food, in the care of their children, and in their comforts; and there seemed to be no end of this increasing poverty, and no way out of it. That was the result of his observation. At the same time, he had to reconcile that fact with the statistics put forward as to there being better houses, better wages, and better food among the working classes than there were 20 or 30 years ago; all of which was perfectly true. He had had some difficulty in satisfying his mind as to the cause; but he believed it to be this. There were really two ranks of working people in this country who worked with their hands. There was one class—and he was happy to say a large class—of mechanics who, under the altered circumstances which steam, coal, and railways had produced during the last half-century, had brought themselves into an extremely good position. They were most intelligent and able men, and the strength and wealth of the country was constituted by this better class of the working people. These were the persons whose houses were so good, whose clothes were so good, and who were, in fact, excellent men in every way. But there was another class—namely, the class of very poor people who had not had the opportunity or energy enough to raise themselves in a similar manner. Among these poor people at the present time very great poverty existed, and they were unable to obtain those necessaries in the shape of food and clothing which were even conducive to health. He hoped he had not taken up too much of the time of the House. He did not know whether the Motion for a Commission of Inquiry would be pressed; but he would only say that if the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) did press it, he would give him his cordial support. Before he sat down he might mention one other speech which had been made—namely, the speech of the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith). With almost all the hon. Member had stated he cordially agreed. He did not mean to say that he agreed with every word the hon. Member said; but he could accept nearly all he had said, and there was very little difference between them, especially with regard to the use which might be made of the Colonies for the purpose of rendering assistance to our English trade and our English poor. He admitted that that was a question that was very large and difficult; but he felt there were working people of this country who, having these Colonies as their inheritance, ought in some way to be able to make use of them, not only for the benefit of themselves, but for the benefit of the Colonies and the whole world at large. Another pressing reason why the inquiry asked for should be granted, although in no Party sense, might be found in the history of Free Trade itself. In discussing this question of Free Trade he had frequently felt that he had adduced infinitely better arguments on the side of Free Trade than Free Traders themselves had brought forward. Many avowed Free Traders did not condescend to argue. They were quite ready to tell their opponents—"You are exceedingly stupid;" but they never put forward a case for Free Trade which, to his (Mr. Salt's) mind, was as strong as it should be to satisfy the country. What was often done on the part of avowed Free Traders was this—they gave instances of the effects produced by Free Trade, and quoted instances of universal prosperity, and so forth; but the instances manifestly arose from different causes altogether. That, in his view, was another reason in favour of inquiry. We had had the system of Free Trade for the last 40 years, and the country might have prospered, or it might not, by reason of that system. Whether this was the case or not, it would be found that scarcely any other country in the world had adopted the same system. As he had said, the avowed Free Traders scarcely ever condescended to argument, or, if they did, they brought forward arguments which every sensible man knew had no bearing upon Free Trade at all. He did not know whether the Government were going to accept the Amendment or not; but he trusted that when the time came for proposing that a Commission of Inquiry should be appointed, in no hostile or Party spirit, but with the idea of ascertaining what was really good for trade and for the people of the country, the Government would consent to the proposal of his hon. Friend that a Commission of Inquiry should be issued.

MR. SLAGG said, he must confess that he always listened to the speeches of his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) with very great interest. They must all agree that his hon. Friend evinced great intelligence in the manner in which he explained his views to the House; and in reference to a remark which had been made that they might possibly lose the presence of the Member for Preston among them, he would only say this—that he would rather submit to the annual recurrence of this debate on Fair Trade than lose the companionship of so agreeable a Member. The debate that night had taken essentially an agricultural turn, and he would not presume, in the presence of so many high agricultural authorities opposite, to attempt to enlighten the House upon the subject. But surely it must occur to hon. Members who asked for inquiry as to the effect of Protection in regard to agricultural produce, that that inquiry had already been made over and over again in the experience of this country. They had gone through the experience of Protection; they knew what results it produced; they knew that it made the people poor and starving, and, instead of assisting agriculture and the farmers, they knew that it had succeeded only in putting a little into the pockets of the landlords. He would be quite willing to concur with his hon. Friend as to the desirableness of an inquiry, if it were only directed to discovering some method of agriculture which might increase the profits of those engaged in that particular industry. But it was perfectly clear that that was not what hon. Members wanted. They wanted something totally different, and, to put it in plain words, what they were asking the House to assent to, by some process more or less roundabout, was a recurrence to the system of Protection, plain and simple. They complained, in so many words, of the curse of cheap food. Now, he could not agree with them that cheap food was undesirable. The hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said that lambs were too cheap, that heifers were too cheap, and that corn was too cheap.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: I did not say anything of the kind.

MR. SLAGG said, he had understood the hon. and gallant Baronet to deplore the cheapness of those articles. He thought the expression used by the hon. and gallant Baronet was that they were deplorably cheap.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: No; I did not say so.

MR. SLAGG said, he was sorry if he had misrepresented the hon. and gallant Baronet. He (Mr. Slagg) always looked upon cheap food as the great blessing to the country; and when hon. Members talked of commercial depression, he would ask them what that commercial depression would be if it were accompanied at this moment by dearness of food? They had tried Protection, and, in his opinion, it had absolutely failed; and he was perfectly sure that it was in vain for hon. Members to seek to induce the country to accept such a monstrous system again. Coming to the textile industries of the country, he altogether dissented from the description which had been given by hon. Gentlemen opposite as to the extreme degree of destitution which existed in the commercial world. Such destitution did not exist. He would not weary the House with those always accepted and strong indications of the prosperity of the country, such as the Savings Banks, Income Tax, and Pauperism Returns; but he would take the condition of industry in his part of the world—of which he might be supposed to know something—and he declined to admit that there was anything in the condition of that large textile industry, the cotton trade, which could afford the slightest ground for the belief that our manufactures were languishing. On the contrary, they were largely increasing in productive power, and the people engaged in them did not, as a rule, act as if they entertained an idea that their industry was in a condition of despair. He had always been taught to believe that the prosperity and well-being of the large masses of the people was far more important than the profits of the limited few. The industrial population, as a whole, were in a condition that would compare most favourably with any previous condition with which it could be compared. It was perfectly true that the profits were not so excessive to the manufacturer and the merchant, and, in his humble judgment, they were not very likely ever to be so again; but if they looked at the price of ordinary Stock—for instance, at the investments in the best railways—they surely afforded a fair index of what they might expect in regard to any other sort of industry. The fact was that they were suffering, if they were suffering from anything at all, from over-production, and he ventured to say, in some aspects, from over-prosperity. There was a very great deal of money in the country seeking investment; the competition was very great, and, as a natural consequence, profits had been reduced. That was the case, clearly, in the cotton trade, where the enterprize was as great as ever. He dare say hon. Members would tell him that there were other industries, such as the iron, coal, and shipbuilding trades, which were not so well off. But they were suffering also, he suspected, from over-production. And it stood to reason that if we supplied 10,000 tons or 10,000 pieces where only 5,000 could be consumed, it was unreasonable to expect that a considerable profit, or in many cases any profit at all, could be realized. He should have been more gratified, and certainly more enlightened, if this debate had taken the turn of conferring some definite information as to what hon. Members wanted by the inquiry they asked for. He had been very much impressed by one or two remarks which had fallen from his right hon. Friend the Vice President of the Council. He cordially agreed with his right hon. Friend that an inquiry into those methods of manufacture and those special industries in which this country was not so efficient as it ought to be, would be very useful. Our commerce, in his opinion, was suffering at the present day from two fundamental causes—one was over-production in the industries which we knew and understood, and in which we were still able to rival the whole world; while the other was the fact that we were unacquainted with very many branches of industry in regard to which we ought to supply ourselves, instead of being supplied by foreign nations. He had had the honour of sitting on a Royal Commission appointed to inquire into Technical Instruction; and during the course of the journeys he had made to several Continental countries, he had been strongly impressed with this fact—that in those industries in which artistic excellence took a part, and in those industries which depended on high scientific skill and knowledge, this country did not occupy the position which it certainly ought to occupy. If we would only bestir ourselves, as his right hon. Friend knew so well how to do, in matters of technical education, he was perfectly satisfied that we should hear in future a very great deal less of depression of trade. He would ask hon. Members opposite what amount of Protection—because that was really in their minds—could possibly avail the industries of this country? It was obvious that the competition with which we were contending was not an artificial but a natural competition. His hon.

Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) advocated a large railway extension in India. No doubt, his hon. Friend was aware that such an extension had already been considered and sanctioned by a Committee of the House of Commons, and, in the course of the next few years there would be laid down in India probably some 6,000 or 7,000 additional miles of railway. What were those railways going to do? They would bring over to this country from India wheat at a lower price than it could be produced for here. In some parts of India wheat could be grown for as little as 6*s*. a-quarter; and he would ask hon. Members how they could hope to compete with such a figure as that? The result would be that wheat would be brought over at a very low rate, and it would be necessary, in order to endure such competition, for farmers to consider carefully in what way they could best cultivate the soil rather than trust to the cultivation of wheat, which was evidently not best adapted to the agricultural requirements of the country. Again, looking at the condition of the working classes, he could not see any reason for this Motion. There was one indication always interesting, and that was the way in which that class spent their earnings and occupied their leisure; and he thought hon. Members must agree, that if they were able to spend considerable sums of money in recreation—if they could go in enormous numbers, as they did, to the seaside—their case could not be a very hard one. The hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith) had said that the people of the country wasted a good deal of money, and, as a matter of fact, £125,000,000 was spent annually on alcoholic liquors. Surely this was not all needed. Finally, he believed that the welfare of the working classes was to be attained in other ways than by the expedient which hon. Members opposite had in view—namely, by the extension amongst them of technical education, and by promoting the improvement and enlargement of our industries, by diffusingamongst them a knowledge of science and art, and by developing foreign markets. Those means, he was convinced, would do a great deal more to improve the condition of the national commerce than debates of this kind, treading on the fringe of an obsolete system which was not likely to be again adopted by the people of this country.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, the hon. Member for Manchester (Mr. Slagg) had made a most becoming speech; no one could have doubted that it was the expression of the opinions of that hon. Member, whose argument, although neatly put, was solely in favour of his own constituency. The hon. Member had glanced at the condition of several branches of trade and industry, and the drift of his address was this—that he recommended that all employed in agriculture and manufactures should seek further knowledge of their business. He (Mr. Newdegate) confessed that he needed education, but did not and would not accept education, as the hon. Member for Manchester was ready to do, exclusively from the Vice President of the Council. It had rather amused him to hear the hon. Member speak as he had of the "miserable condition" of the trade in textile fabrics in the Midland Counties. He (Mr. Newdegate) had represented the ribbon and silk trade while it existed in Coventry and North Warwickshire. But was it in a miserable condition? He was in a position to afford the House an illustration of its condition. Ribbon made within four miles of his house was exhibited at the Silk Exhibition in Paris, and won the first prize. Did that show a miserable condition, or a want of skill, such as the hon. Member for Manchester imagined to exist in the trade? But the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister succeeded in passing the Treaty of July, 1860; and what was the consequence? In the following September, he (Mr. Newdegate) was Chairman of of a Relief Committee with 21,000 persons to provide for. That, he said, was an instance of the danger to all classes in the country of the Governmental teaching which the hon. Member for Manchester would have the House acknowledge. The subscribers to the Relief Fund he had alluded to included Her Majesty, who, with her wonted benevolence, sent 100 guineas; the Prince of Wales, who sent 200 guineas; and the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, who sent 100 guineas, to assist—which probably he would not have done had he been of the same temper as the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. W. Fowler), who said he denied that the Government or

Parliament of this country were bound to provide the people with the means of living. He asked himself whether the Educators of the people intended to propose a repeal of the Poor Law, and to what length this form of political economy would extend? Again, the hon. Member for Manchester spoke, as a mild illustration of his argument, of a Petition that came years ago from Manchester, in which the capitalists of that city, whose profits, it appeared, were tolerably large, declared that their capital owed no allegiance to the soil. Having studied the subject for years, he was able to say that the only distinct and systematic list of Customs Duties of all nations then in the Library of the House of Commons was his production, so determined had been successive Governments not to afford the means of education in that respect; and he received for the document in question the thanks of the agricultural and commercial interests in the United Kingdom. In preparing that list, he had been actuated by a desire to show Her Majesty's Government how practicable a thing it was to put the information at their command into a form that would be intelligible to the people at large. He repeated that he needed education in this matter; and he claimed for his constituents more than that—namely, impartial evidence, together with the power on the part of a Committee or Royal Commission which should force the production of facts. The education of the school to which the hon. Member for Manchester belonged, and which, so far as it was represented in the Government Department by the right hon. Gentleman who had spoken third that evening (Mr. Mundella), habitually, wilfully, and persistently denied the people of the country access to the tariffs of foreign countries in a form that they could understand. Believing that in the event of war the safety of this country, together with its greatness and independence as the centre of the Empire, depended on her people and her armies having a proper food supply—believing that men must eat before theyc ould fight, even in defence of their hearths and homes—he was naturally anxious as to the state of the National Commissariat. Had the National Commissariat not been under skilful management in 1803-6, this country would have been starved into subjection to the First Napoleon. Our population was then only 17,000,000, as against 35,000,000 at the present time. In 1802-6 we had provision, home-grown, for nine months, while at this moment we had not provision for more than seven months. Our Navy was deficient. And for that and the other reasons stated he could not join the hon. Members for Manchester and Cambridge in the views they entertained with regard to what he considered to be the primary means of national defence. Therefore, in their opinion, he needed education, and he should consider it a manifestation of Parliamentary hard-heartedness if they denied him the opportunity which he desired of becoming better informed.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Sir, we have listened for some hours to a very interesting and, to my mind, useful debate, and it is my intention to contribute to it at this time (12.35) but a very few words. Amongst the speeches which have been delivered in the course of the debate, I wish to refer particularly to that of the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), who has contributed very useful matter to the discussion, although, as a Free Trader, I cannot, of course, agree with him on many points. With regard to the general subject, the complaint of the hon. Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver) is that there is, in the Speech from the Throne, no paragraph directing our attention to the depressed condition of Commerce and Agriculture. I have listened attentively to all the speeches on this Motion, and I would ask what really is the omission of which hon. Members opposite complain? The Speech from the Throne, at the end of last Session, referred to the favourable condition of the weather up to that time, and to the prospects of a fine autumn; and the fact has been that during the months which have since elapsed, the weather has been all that could be desired, and has realized the expectations which Her Majesty placed before Parliament. The summer and autumn have been the most remarkable that the country has enjoyed for 20 years past. What is it, then, that Her Majesty's Government ought to have said? Ought they to have put into Her Majesty's mouth words of this kind—"The anticipations which I put before you concerning the weather have proved to be correct. We have had very fine weather; and the prices of the first commodities required for the enjoyment and comfort of the people, are lower than they have been for a long time past?" Sir, I think that to have put such words into the mouth of Her Majesty three months after the Speech at the end of last Session, would only have been ridiculous. But the discussion has not been directed to certain words which might have been introduced into that Speech; the complaint of most speakers being that we have not indicated a wish to appoint a Joint Committee or a Royal Commission to inquire into the present state of Agriculture and Commerce. That, therefore, is practically a complaint which is covered by words very different from those of the Amendment before us; and here I may, perhaps, be allowed to point out the great inconvenience resulting from a debate upon something totally different from that contained in the Motion on which the debate arises. Then, Sir, I would ask what is the line of argument taken by the hon. Member for Birkenhead, who commenced this discussion, and by the hon. Member for Preston, who followed him? The line of argument of those hon. Members has been very remarkable. The hon. Member for Birkenhead said that he disbelieved all statistics and all the news to be met with in the newspapers; and what he really founded his view of the present condition of trade upon was his experience of the failure of a woollen mill in which he was a partner, the failure of that mill having led him to believe that the state of the woollen trade was altogether unsatisfactory. Now, on the question so raised by the hon. Gentleman, I am only going to make one remark, and that is this. He wishes the House to believe—and the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), who followed him in the same line, wishes the House to believe—that it is our interest to promote the export of our manufactured goods by putting duties upon similar goods imported from foreign countries. Now, the answer to that I venture to give in one word. I will not take past years, but the present year. The only figures I should like the House to notice and to weigh, are these—that during the first nine months of the present year we exported in manufactured goods to other countries, £158,000,000 worth, and that we imported manufactured goods from other countries, £41,000,000 worth. These figures appear to me absolutely conclusive that, so far from our taking any steps with respect to duties on manufactured goods coming to this country which might provoke the foreigner, our great interest is the interest of an exporting country, and that, therefore, there could not be any worse policy than risking that enormous amount of exports by, in any way, irritating our foreign customers by placing a duty upon the comparatively small amount of manufactured goods that comes into this country. I will not carry the argument further, but leave these figures, which I do not think have been given in this debate previously, with the House. They show, I think, what our interest is in respect of manufacturers—namely, that of a large exporter and a comparatively small importer. Let me now deal with the only other illustration of declining trade which was given by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Birkenhead (Mr. Mac Iver). The hon. Gentleman was very pressing with respect to the state of the shipbuilding trade. He gave us figures to show that we were in considerable peril from the rivalry between our shipbuilding business and that of other nations, especially that of France. Again, I will only give one set of figures. The tonnage of ships built in this country has increased rapidly of late, until, in 1882, it reached 783,000 tons, and in 1883, 892,000 tons, of which 106,000 and 123,000 tons respectively were built for the foreigner. Now, the entire tonnage of ships built in France during the year 1882 was 56,000—that is to say, something like 1-15th part of what is built in this country—and the country which used to be our great rival in shipbuilding, I mean the United States, only built in 1883, 265,000 tons, that is to say, considerably less than a third of the amount of shipbuilding in this country. The fact, therefore, is that, so far from the rivalry of France being a matter of any considerable importance, France is shown to have built altogether very much less tonnage in ships than we ourselves built for foreigners alone, putting aside altogether the very large amount that we built for ourselves. The notion that there is some great danger to our shipbuilding interest from the rivalry of

France, the tonnage of which is diminishing instead of increasing, is, therefore, out of the question. Let me say a word or two in reference to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd). Let me ask the hon. Member, however, what, after all, his speech came to? He gave us some facts as to the state of the cotton and iron trades, and beginning with the year 1869 he carried his comparison down to 1883. My right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella) has proved conclusively that the comparisons he gave are unfair, because the peculiar circumstances of the years 1870, 1871, and 1872, affected by the Franco-German War, rendered a comparison of that time with the subsequent period impossible. And what is the case when you compare the present time with 1869, which was not disturbed by the Franco-German War? In 1869 the exports of cotton manufactures exceeded the imports by £52,000,000, while in 1883 the excess amounted to £60,000,000. The experience was just the same with respect to iron and steel. In 1869 the exports exceeded the imports by £21,500,000, and in 1883 the excess amounted to £25,250,000. These figures show a great improvement in the two trades in 1883 over 1869.

Mr. ECROYD: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to make an explanation? I took the two periods as being, the first period the first five years, and the latter period the last five years, of the last 15 years. I may remark that in the first two years—1869 and 1870—prices were low.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): But the first period was one of extreme inflation in consequence of the Franco-German War. I ask the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ecroyd) what are the other plans which are put before the House this evening? The hon. Gentleman proposes to have a system of what is popularly called "Fair Trade."

Mr. ECROYD: I purposely avoided entering into the details of those plans which I laid before the House in detail a year or two ago.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I am entitled to take the hon. Gentleman's speech of to-night in conjunction with his former speeches; we have to deal distinctly with the proposal with which the hon. Member has so long been identified. The hon. Gentleman not only proposed the alteration of our fiscal system, which would be involved in the adoption of the principles of "Fair Trade," but he proposed that £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 sterling might be expended every year on railways in India—that we should take, by loan or otherwise, out of this country, £20,000,000 or £30,000,000 sterling every year, and spend it on Indian railways. He suggested that the necessary amount should be raised by taxes on American corn.

Mr. ECROYD: I must beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. When I alluded to the taxing of American corn as a means of promoting the construction of Indian railways, it was with the view of the effect of a preferential treatment applied to India in inducing private enterprize to find the money necessary.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I do not quite see the difference. At any rate, as part of his proposition, there is to be a tax on American corn. Let me ask the House whether that is not simply a proposal that this country should go back from Free Trade and commence again a system of differential duties based upon Reciprocity arrangements? We are asked in 1884 to go back to those Reciprocity arrangements which Parliament gave up 40 years ago. It is very well we should know that when we are invited by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Mac Iver) who made this Motion, and by other hon. Gentleman, to undertake an examination of the present condition of trade, that examination is proposed by them with the express hope that that will be the result of the examination. I am addressing a body of Gentlemen who, I believe, are by a very large majority confirmed Free Traders; and it is only fair to ask what is the use of our entertaining a proposal to reverse Free Trade in favour of Reciprocity, when it is perfectly well known that the country will not listen for a moment to such a proposal? ["Oh, oh!"] Well, that is my view, and I have stated it in very moderate terms. Then, the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), who supported this Motion, dealt not so much with the questions raised by the hon. Member (Mr. Ecroyd) as with the other recommendations, which he hoped would be the outcome of the proposed inquiry. He proposed, in the first place, that Local Authorities should have, what he called, more subsidies. My hon. and gallant Friend went on to give his views with respect to Free Trade. He said that, without any hesitation, he would propose to raise £10,000,000 sterling a-year by way of Customs duties; and he begged us to follow the example of Prince Bismarck, who, he said, kept his country in the strongest bonds of Protection.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: No, Sir; I did not say anything of that kind. What I did say was this, that it was a very extraordinary thing that we alone of all countries were Free Traders; and although some people might use very strong language, I did not think they would call Prince Bismarck a fool, and yet he is a Protectionist.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I really do not see the difference. He certainly said that Prince Bismarck kept his country in the strongest bonds of Protection, and that this was no folly. If not approvingly, I do not quite know what object the hon. and and gallant Gentleman had in referring to Prince Bismarck at all. Something has been said about an Imperial Zollverein. If time permitted, I think I should be able to show the House that anything like the adaptation of the German Zollverein system to our Empire, with its distant Colonies, would be absolutely impossible. I have endeavoured to condense in the very smallest compass my observations upon the proposals which have been made to-night from the other side of the House. My observations may be summed up thus. Is the House prepared to censure us for not having referred to the present condition of Agriculture and Commerce in the Queen's Speech, and is it prepared to censure us for that omission on the ground stated by those who have proposed the censure — namely, that this country ought to give up the system of Free Trade and adopt again, either as proposed by the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd), or as proposed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), a system which is nothing more or less than Protection—protection of certain interests in this country which are supposed to be benefited by duties levied on imported goods similar to those which we either produce or manufacture? That seems to me to be the simple question before us to-night; and I must say I should be very much disappointed if the House, which as yet has never shown itself disposed to adopt Protectionist doctrines, did, under cover of a Resolution of this kind, censure the Government. I have been very much tempted to carry the case further. I should have liked to have referred to the Report of the Duke of Richmond's Commission, and to the remarks which have been made as to the portions of that Report which we have adopted or have not adopted; but I think I shall be consulting the convenience of the House if I now conclude by an expression of the hope that the House will negative this Resolution.

SIR EDMUND LECHMERE said, he would not detain the House more than a few moments; but representing, as he did, both agriculture and trade, and trade, perhaps, more than agriculture, he wished to make a few observations. By the remarks made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he could not but feel that the question had been presented to the House on a false issue. What the trading classes of the country asked for was simply an inquiry. They were not desirous of passing a Vote of Censure on the Government; but they felt that the experience they had had of Free Trade during the last 30 years was such as to render it desirable that an inquiry should take place into its working. The House had had sufficient proof to-night that there was great depression in trade; but whether or not that depression should be mentioned in the Queen's Speech was a matter of opinion. There could, however, be but one opinion that the time had come when there should be a fair and impartial inquiry as to the desirability of continuing the policy of Free Trade. America, by its Protective Duties, had brought about the establishment of large steel and iron interests, which were completely excluding our iron from their markets. France, Germany, Italy were excluding our traders from their markets; and our own Colonies made us pay duties on our cotton manufactures imported to them. This being the state of affairs, the time seemed to have arrived for a fair inquiry; and he hoped his hon. Friend the Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) would decide the question by going to a Division.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 67; Noes 86: Majority 19.—(Div. List, No. 3.)

Main Question again proposed.

Mr. SEXTON moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Sexton.*)

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, he noticed that to-day the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had placed an Amendment on the Paper; and what he had to ask the hon. Gentleman to do was to allow the Address to be passed now, and take his Amendment on Report. ["No!"] He was appealing to the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo, and was asking him, considering the great importance of time, and the necessity of getting through the stages of the Address as rapidly as possible, to take his Amendment on Report, which would be the first Order on Monday. The hon. Gentleman would then be able to make his statement at length, and by adopting the suggestion would greatly promote the interests of Public Business.

Mr. HEALY: As a point of Order, Mr. Speaker, may I ask you to put the Question?

Mr. SPEAKER: I put the Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned." That is the Question before the House.

Mr. PARNELL said, he listened very attentively to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer; but he failed to see he made out his case—that any time would be gained by the adoption of the course which he urged upon the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). The case that the Irish Party had to make against the general administration of the law in Ireland was distinguished from the particular administration of law as exemplified by the Maamtrasna case, and it would take just as much time to state properly. It would not take any less time if taken on the Report stage of the Address than if it were taken on the present stage. Besides, the hon. Gentleman the Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott) had given Notice of an Amendment on the Report stage, and as that Motion would have precedence over any Motion which could now be put down by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton), if his hon. Friend were to accede to the request which had been made to him by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he would be required to defer the statement he wished to make until a later day than he was otherwise required to. They would, therefore, lose an advantage they had now got. They would derive no compensating benefit for the loss of that advantage, nor would the Government or the House or the country generally derive any gain whatever in the matter of speed or in the greater progress of the debate. It was really a question of robbing Peter to pay Paul. If they look the discussion on the Address it would occupy exactly the same time as it would take on the Report. On the other hand, if they yielded to the suggestion of the right hon. Gentleman, they would, as he had shown, lose a very important advantage, and one which they considered all important, which they had now got by the position in which the Amendment of his hon. Friend now stood upon the Notice Paper.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he did not know whether he could alter the views of hon. Members opposite. He only wished to say that the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) was under a misapprehension, as there was no Notice down for the Report. Therefore, no other Motion would have priority over this if it were put down for the Report. No Motion could be put down until the present stage was passed, and there could be no recorded priority over the Motion of the hon. Member. Under these circumstances, he trusted that hon. Members opposite would consent to discuss the question they were anxious to raise on the Report, and it would certainly promote the public interests, if the present stage of the Address were now taken.

Mr. LEAMY said, he failed to see why the Irish Members should give way, and deprive themselves of the advantage they now possessed. They had had sufficient experience of the Government to know that they were not likely to study or concern themselves with the feeling of the Irish people in regard to the administration of the law. He, therefore, did not see why the Irish Members should allow themselves to be shorn of the advantage they had gained.

MR. HEALY said, he had waited attentively to see whether the Home Secretary would point out to the House what advantage would be gained by following the course suggested. He had listened with great respect to the two speeches which had been delivered on that question; but he failed to see the slightest advantage that would be obtained. They were all anxious to get on, but not the smallest advantage had been shown to the Irish Members why they should accept the proposal now made to them. His hon. Friend the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) said that the time lost now would be lost on the Report, and the Government must remember that the lives and liberties of the Irish people were at stake. They had already been treated in the foulest manner in the Cornwall trial. He did not wish to go into that matter; but he would adduce that case as an instance. Therefore, at that late hour of the night (1.30), he had no doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer would withdraw his suggestion.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, that, with the permission of the House, he would make an explanation. If the Motion of the hon. Gentleman were taken on the present stage of the Address, there would still remain another day before the Report could be taken; whereas, if it were taken on the Report, a day would be saved. He hoped he made himself understood?

MR. HEALY: No.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) would explain again. The House was now engaged on the consideration of the Address. If the Motion of the hon. Member were not pressed now the Address would be voted, and the Report stage only would remain. The Amendment, in that case, would be taken on Monday at exactly the same hour as it would be taken if the debate on the Address were now adjourned; but a day would in reality be gained, because, if the debate were adjourned, the Report of the Address could not be taken until Tuesday.

MR. BIGGAR said, he really knew as much about the matter as he did before. It seemed to him that the Government had some special object in evading the real point of the case. If the discussion took place and ended on Monday, the Report would be taken on Tuesday; and supposing they finished the debate stage that night, and the Report stage on Monday, the matter would be just in the same position. He really did not see why the suggestion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been made at all, and he thought that, in common fairness to those who were asked to give way, the Government should state their real motive.

MR. GRAY said, he did not think the difficulty in which the Government were placed, and which had induced the Chancellor of the Exchequer to make his suggestion, was insuperable; whereas the sacrifice he asked of his hon. Friend was a more serious one than the right hon. Gentleman seemed to think. There was nothing, as he (Mr. Gray) understood, in the Forms of the House to prevent the Report stage being taken after the present stage, on the same night, by the leave of the House. Assuming the debate on the Address to be satisfactorily closed on Monday, he imagined, although he did not profess to be a master of the technical Rules of the House, that it would be perfectly competent for the right hon. Gentleman to propose, with the leave of the House, that the Report stage be taken the same night. That would dispose of the difficulty of the right hon. Gentleman, presuming there was no desire to continue the debate over Monday. Assuming the House to be satisfied with the debate, the two stages could be taken on Monday as easily as the one. But the difference to his hon. Friend would be a very serious one. His hon. Friend wished to raise a question which he deemed to be of vital importance. If he raised it on the present stage, and the reply of the Government was unsatisfactory, he would be within his right in raising it again on the Report stage. If, on the contrary, he agreed to the proposition of the right hon. Gentleman, and the reply of the Government was unsatisfactory, he would lose the opportunity he now had of again raising the question. Therefore, he (Mr. Gray) submitted that the argument for adjourning the debate was all on the side of his hon. Friend. His hon. Friend was now asked to give up a really solid advantage, and the right he now possessed of raising the question a second time on the Report. He hoped the right hon. Gentleman would see that the proposal was a fair one.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he was much obliged to the hon. Gentleman for his suggestion.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Monday* next.

## *MOTIONS.*

——o——

### PRIVATE BILL LEGISLATION BILL.

On Motion of Mr. SELLAR, Bill to amend the system of Private Bill Legislation in the United Kingdom, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. SELLAR, Mr. DAVEY, Mr. RAIKES, and Sir LYON PLAYFAIR.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 25.]

### PRINTING.

*Ordered,* That a Select Committee be appointed to assist Mr. Speaker in all matters which relate to the Printing executed by Order of this House, and for the purpose of selecting and arranging for Printing, Returns and Papers presented in pursuance of Motions made by Members of this House: —The Committee was accordingly *nominated* of,—Mr. LEONARD COURTNEY, Sir JOSEPH PEASE, Mr. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, Mr. STANSFELD, Mr. RAIKES, Mr. WHITBREAD, Mr. ROWLAND WINN, Mr. RAMSAY, Mr. PARNELL, and Colonel TOTTENHAM.

*Ordered,* That Three be the quorum.—(*Mr. Leonard Courtney.*)

### COPYHOLD ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. WAUGH, Bill to amend the Copyhold Acts, and to provide for the general Enfranchisement of Lands of Copyhold and Customary Tenure, and of Lands subject to certain customary and other rights and incidents, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. WAUGH, Mr. GEORGE HOWARD, Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD, Mr. AINSWORTH, and Mr. FERGUSON.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 26.]

House adjourned at half after One o'clock till Monday next.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

## *Monday,* 3rd *November,* 1884.

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MINUTES.] — *Sat First in Parliament* — The Duke of Wellington, after the death of his uncle; The Lord Mendip (Viscount Clifden), after the death of his father; The Lord Petre, after the death of his father.

PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Justices' Jurisdiction* (2); Law of Evidence Amendment* (3).

### QUEEN'S SPEECH—HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS.

THE LORD STEWARD OF THE HOUSEHOLD (The Earl SYDNEY) *reported* Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, as follows:—

MY LORDS,

"I THANK you for your loyal and dutiful Address.

"You may rely on My hearty Desire to co-operate with you in all measures calculated to maintain the peace and prosperity of My Empire.

"I receive with satisfaction your assurance that the important Measure to be submitted to you will receive your careful consideration.

### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—RUMOURED FALL OF KHARTOUM.

#### QUESTION.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I propose, at the rising of the House, to move that we do adjourn to Thursday next, on which day an important Motion stands on the Order Paper in the name of the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven) with reference to the state of trade and industry.

The MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, on this Notice, I will take the opportunity, in agreeing to the proposal of the noble Earl, to ask him a Question with respect to the very grave news that has been circulated in London during the last 48 hours. It is stated—I do not know whether it is in regular form for me to mention it, but it appears in all the papers—that Her Majesty and His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales have received telegrams from the Khedive announcing the fall of Khartoum. I wish to know, whether, within the knowledge of the noble Earl, that is accurate; and, further, whether any information has been received from Sir Evelyn Baring on the point; and, also, whether inquiries have been addressed by the Foreign Office to Sir Evelyn Baring or to Lord Wolseley, to know what is the latest state of their information upon a rumour which, unhappily, is far from impossible?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, in answer to the Question of the noble Marquess, I have to state that, on seeing the paragraph in *The Times* of this morning, I took the liberty of inquiring of the Prince of Wales as to whether there was any truth in the report, and I am authorized by His Royal Highness to state that it is absolutely without foundation; that he had received no message from the Khedive on the subject; and that the only information he had was in a telegram courteously forwarded to him by one of the News Associations on Saturday evening. I may state that I also took the liberty of inquiring at Balmoral; and I have only this minute received an answer exactly to the same effect as that from the illustrious Prince on the Cross Benches — namely, that there is no foundation whatever for stating that Her Majesty had received any such report. Of course, it is impossible for me to state that any rumour is without foundation; but we have no reason whatever to believe that this one is true. With regard to the question, whether I have made any inquiries myself of Sir Evelyn Baring, I waited yesterday to see whether any message would arrive from him; and it is perfectly impossible, if this message had really reached the Khedive, that in the course of a day Sir Evelyn Baring should not have given the information to us. But no such information having been received by us this morning, I sent a telegram to inquire of Sir Evelyn Baring, and we have not yet received any reply to it. My own conviction is that Sir Evelyn Baring does not believe in the rumour which has been set on foot.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY asked whether the noble Earl had sent a contradiction to the evening newspapers; and, if not, why?

EARL GRANVILLE, in reply to the Question why the contradiction had been sent to some of the evening papers and not to all, said, that he had not sent a message to any evening paper. Whoever had done so seemed to have sent it to one Conservative and one Liberal paper.

## EGYPT (EXPEDITIONARY FORCE TO THE SOUDAN)—INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL LORD WOLSELEY.

### OBSERVATIONS.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I want, before we adjourn, to ask the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) for some explanation with respect to the draft of the Instructions given to General Lord Wolseley which have been laid on the Table since our last separation. They are very remarkable Instructions, both in their origin and in their character. My memory may mislead me; but I doubt whether I have ever seen the genesis of Instructions laid bare in an official manner as they are in these documents. It is here stated that Lord Wolseley was requested to draw up his own Instructions, with the help of Sir Evelyn Baring, and they were then sent home for confirmation, and were afterwards returned to that noble and gallant Lord. Of course, the inconvenience of such a method of drawing up of Instructions is obviously manifest; for, by it, the noble Earl practically escapes, on behalf of the Government, from any responsibility for those Instructions. They are the Instructions, not of the noble Earl, or of any Member of the Government, but of Sir Evelyn Baring and Lord Wolseley and Lord Northbrook, who was not then acting in any Ministerial capacity. I feel that this is an unfortunate variation from the ordinary rule with regard to such matters; but the matter of the Instructions themselves is even more remarkable than the mode of their origin. We were told at the beginning of the year that great exertions were being made by Her Majesty's Government, and that the great expense which was being incurred was for the purpose of carrying out a policy described in the terms "A policy of rescue and retire." The rescue was directed towards the unfortunate garrisons which found themselves enclosed by a hostile population, when the Government, unfortunately, announced their intention to force the Egyptian Government to abandon the Soudan. The rescue, as I have said, applied to these garrisons; but what we know is that the last great effort made by the Government does not extend to all the garrisons, nor to anything like it. The Instructions of Her Majesty's Government are somewhat difficult to read or understand; but, as far as I can interpret them, they extend only to two individuals, one of whom there is only too much reason to believe is past the possibility of rescue now altogether. Now, the words of the Instructions at the beginning are as clear as they possibly could be desired. They state that—

> "The primary object of the Expedition up the Valley of the Nile is to bring away General Gordon and Colonel Stewart from Khartoum. When that object has been secured, no further offensive operations of any kind are to be untaken."

No doubt, at the end of the Instructions, there is a reference also to the possibility and the desirability of bringing away the Egyptian troops and the civil *employés* from Khartoum; but this, apparently, is only mentioned as a point which arises in connection with the method of carrying the primary object—the policy of abandonment—into execution. There is, however, no recall of the imperative order which is placed at the head of the Instructions—namely, that no further offensive operations of any kind are to be undertaken when once General Gordon and Colonel Stewart are in safety. It seems, therefore, that as far as offensive operations go, as far as any forcible operations are concerned, no steps are to be taken for rescuing the garrisons of Khartoum. The garrison of Kassala, also, is not to be rescued—at all events, by the adoption of offensive operations. It is to be brought about, if at all, by negotiations with the friendly tribes, and this, it is thought, can be most effectually and conveniently undertaken from Suakin and Massowah. The garrisons of Darfur and Bahr El Gazelle are summarily disposed of, with the statement that their rescue is impossible; while the rescue of Sinkat, Tokar, and Shendy has, I need not say, already become impossible, because, while the Government were delaying and thinking how their policy was to be carried out, the garrisons of these places have mostly been cruelly massacred—put to the sword. There now remains Sennaar, and with respect to it the Instructions are in these terms—

> "The Government are not prepared to sanction an Expedition of British troops up the Blue Nile in order to insure its retreat."

And nothing further is said to show that the Government intend taking any other steps to rescue the garrison there. It results from this summary of the Instructions, therefore, if I have rightly read the Instructions, that the policy of "rescue and retire" now confines itself entirely to the rescue of the two men who were sent to accomplish the rescue of the others. The declaration by the Government that the Soudan was to be surrendered placed all these garrisons in imminent peril. Before that declaration was made, the Egyptian garrison of Khartoum, under Colonel Coetlogon, might have been withdrawn without difficulty; but, afterwards, difficulties, no doubt, arose. When they heard of Baker's defeat, the only measure adopted by Her Majesty's Government with respect to the internal garrisons was to send out General Gordon and Colonel Stewart to Khartoum; and now we are told that the only offensive operations that they will take will be for the purpose of remedying that wild and ill-considered step, and simply to rescue the two men who were sent on an impossible mission in February last. The whole policy of rescuing the garrisons has been abandoned by Her Majesty's Government. But that is not the worst. If they are successful in rescuing General Gordon and Colonel Stewart, they will not only fail to rescue Sennaar, but they will absolutely close the door against the garrison that is in that place; in fact, they will sign the death-warrant of the unfortunate men in that garrison, if they are faithful, just as distinctly as if they had done it in a more formal and regular way. Perhaps the noble Earl will tell me that these Instructions do not bear the exact meaning that I put upon them, and that there is something else in the policy of Her Majesty's Government than what I have indicated. For the sake of the reputation and humanity of this country, I would be glad to believe that that is so, because I am sure that the utter abandonment of these unfortunate men will leave a stain on the honour of this country which it will require many subsequent victories to remove.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I have to thank the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) for his courtesy in having given me Notice that he intended to make these observations. I should like, though, to ask him whether it has never happened to him, in the course of his official experience at the India Office or the Foreign Office, that Instructions have been drafted by the person who is to carry them out, subject, of course, to the sanction, approval, and correction of himself and the Government, and the entire responsibility of the Government who gave them? These Instructions were drawn up by the noble Earl behind me (the Earl of Northbrook) and by Sir Evelyn Baring, in concurrence with Lord Wolseley. I cannot conceive a more business-like and practical way of doing what was to be done. Then these draft Instructions, before they had any validity whatever, were submitted to Her Majesty's Government, who carefully considered them, and as they did not perceive the objections to them which the noble Marquess has tried to raise, Her Majesty's Government took the whole responsibility of sanctioning these Instructions. I cannot say that the noble Marquess is more correct in his historical statements. He told your Lordships that the garrisons of Sinkat and Tokar and Shendy were massacred.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: I said the greater part of the garrisons, particularly as regards Shendy.

EARL GRANVILLE: The greater part! That is a great qualification, certainly; but even that is, I submit, not in accordance with facts, for although there was a massacre at Sinkat, there was none at Tokar, but the garrison arrived safe. That is not a very important point, perhaps; but really, when the noble Marquess makes such severe charges against the Government, a little accuracy of statement is desirable. Then the noble Marquess says that we did all the mischief by announcing that the Egyptians were to evacuate the Soudan. But the Government did not do anything of the sort. We kept the intention perfectly secret; but it was impossible not to give the advice which we did give to the Egyptian Government, and the announcement that the plans and policy of Her Majesty's Government had been formed came from Cairo, and not from us. We were absolutely innocent of any complicity in making it public. Then, again, the noble Marquess says that we have entirely abandoned our policy of the complete evacuation of all the garrisons in the Soudan. I utterly deny that that ever was our policy; but we tried to do what we could to that effect, and took a very bold measure, which was very much condemned, but which, at this moment, does not appear to be so unsuccessful as it is represented to be by noble Lords opposite, by accepting the gallant and spirited offer of General Gordon, showing an extraordinary confidence in himself, which has been, I think, perfectly justified, even supposing this dreadful rumour be true. I think that the Government are in a great degree justified in the confidence which they felt in that extraordinary man being able to accomplish a policy which he himself should carry out. The noble Marquess goes on, time after time, pressing us to exercise force, sometimes at Alexandria, sometimes at Suakin, and in different ways, and then immediately after he turns round and blames us for doing that very thing. But does the noble Marquess say that the advice of the great Conservative Party is that, by military operations, we should enable every garrison in the Soudan to evacuate the position that they hold? The noble Marquess refers to Khartoum, and I do not think there is any logic in his statement that we are going to abandon the Egyptian garrison who have behaved so well to General Gordon. The Instructions to General Gordon himself on this head are positive—

> "You will use your best endeavours to insure the safe retreat of the Egyptian troops at Khartoum, and of the civil *employés* together with their wives."

Surely these are Instructions which are not compatible with what the noble Marquess calls a complete abandonment of the garrison of Khartoum? Then he talks about Sennaar. Is the noble Marquess aware that to send a military expedition there would entail another year of military operations? My noble Friend near me (the Earl of Northbrook) says that Lord Wolseley perfectly understands that the policy of the Government is, that this military expedition should not be lengthened to an extreme degree, but that Lord Wolseley also perfectly understands that that policy does not prevent him from taking such possible measures as may be suitable for facilitating the retreat of that garrison.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Am I to understand that the first part of the Instructions, which says that the primary object of the Expedition up the Nile is to bring back General Gordon and Colonel Stewart, and that no further offensive operations of any kind are to be taken—am I to understand that that is compatible with the permission to undertake offensive operations for the purpose of rescuing the garrison at Khartoum?

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: Perhaps I can answer that Question of the noble Marquess. I can assure him that General Gordon is not at all a likely man to leave Khartoum by himself.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: He may.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: The criticism of the noble Marquess involves the insulting supposition that General Gordon is a likely man to leave Khartoum by himself unaccompanied by the garrison or the people whom he wants to take away with him, and that under those circumstances Lord Wolseley will be precluded from making any efforts to relieve the garrison of Khartoum. That is an hypothesis which appears to me to be so improbable that it never occurred to me when I was a party to framing these Instructions. I assumed that General Gordon was the least likely man in the world to leave Khartoum unaccompanied, as I have said, by the garrison, or at least by that part of it which was willing to come away with him. That being so, it has never occurred to us that Lord Wolseley will be precluded from making any effort to relieve the garrison at Khartoum. As to the paragraph in the Instructions which the noble Marquess has endeavoured to separate from the first part of the contents of the document—namely, that paragraph which says—"You will use your best endeavours to insure the safe retreat of the Egyptian troops and civil *employés*," it appears to me to be perfectly intelligible. It appears to me to bear on the face of it directions to Lord Wolseley to use the force at his disposal for the purpose of relieving the garrison. I can assure your Lordships that the hypercriticism of the noble Marquess never occurred to Lord Wolseley when he read these Instructions. I can assure the noble Marquess that we considered the position of Sennaar very carefully. He has read these Papers with great diligence; but he has refrained from alluding to a telegram which appears among them from General Gordon, in which he says that he has given instructions to the Egpytian garrison at Sennaar to return to Khartoum; and we believed, when our Instructions were framed, that the Egyptian garrison at Sennaar would have been brought back to Khartoum some time ago, in which case they would have been rescued. But I must say that, in my opinion, the English Government and English nation are not bound to spend the lives of Englishmen by sending them all through Central Africa for the purpose of relieving Egyytian garrisons—garrisons, mind you, which, from circumstances and reasons I will not further allude to, do not appear to be able to take any ordinary measures to protect themselves when they get into difficulty and danger. Therefore, my Lords, Her Majesty's Government, certainly from the first, have never undertaken to send expeditions into the Soudan in order to relieve those garrisons. The noble Earl behind me has very correctly stated that, if we had given Lord Wolesley Instructions to proceed to Sennaar, which is 200 miles from Khartoum, for the purpose of relieving the garrison there, it would probably have had the effect of delaying Her Majesty's Forces in Central Africa for another year. I do not think that is a measure which comes within the obligations of Her Majesty's Government; it is one which would hardly recommend itself to anyone who takes a reasonable view of the obligations of this country; and, what is still more important, it would be hardly consistent with the obligations to which Her Majesty's Government are bound of taking care of the lives of Her Majesty's Forces and not exposing them to undue risks. Therefore, I recommended that Lord Wolseley should be told that an expedition from Khartoum to Sennaar did not come within the view of Her Majesty's Government in despatching the forces under his command in the direction of Khartoum.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: With regard to leaving the inhabitants of Khartoum behind——

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: There is no question whatever that Lord Wolseley's Expedition is intended to rescue any of the civil *employés* and any members of the garrison who might wish to leave Khartoum.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, that he was going to observe that we ought to know that General Gordon would not abandon them, and he must, therefore, express his satisfaction that the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) had stated distinctly that the object of Lord Wolseley was not merely to relieve General Gordon, but also to assist the garrison of Khartoum. As to the larger question, he must confess that he had heard the speech of the noble Earl with some amount of disappointment. In the contention that we had assumed no responsibility whatever with respect to the garrisons of the Soudan—that was to say, that in compelling the Khedive to abandon the Soudan we incurred no responsibility whatever—he could not take the view of Her Majesty's Government. It seemed to him that to abandon the garrisons there would be simply atrocious. The noble Earl said that if the garrison at Sennaar had gone down to Khartoum, they would have been rescued; but that if they had not gone down to Khartoum, they would be abandoned. He also said Lord Wolseley was informed that if he did anything to rescue that garrison, he would be going beyond his Instructions, but that there was another way by which it could be relieved. When the British Forces retired, he (the Earl of Dunraven) had no doubt that the garrison in Sennaar would either have to make what terms they could for themselves, or share the fate of the other garrisons of the Soudan. That Her Majesty's Government should make no attempt whatever to rescue the garrisons of the Soudan was greatly to be regretted, and it was a question whether in that case the Khedive had not a right to call in other assistance.

LORD ELLENBOROUGH said, he considered that General Gordon had been most unfairly treated by the supporters of Her Majesty'sGovernment and by Her Majesty's Government also. General Gordon went out at the request of the Government, and, since then, he had not received from them any attention whatever. Speaking of Her Majesty's Government, General Gordon said that he had in no single respect received any support whatever. And though he had been sent out with unlimited powers to do what he liked and to make recommendations to Her Majesty's Government, the few recommendations that he had made had been one and all unattended to.

EARL GRANVILLE said, that in moving the adjournment, he could not move that the House do adjourn till Thursday, because it would meet to-morrow for Judicial Business. But their Lordships generally would not be required to attend before Thursday.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) has accused me of offering some insult to General Gordon. That is a formal answer that is always made from the Treasury Bench whenever I impugn their Egyptian policy. But I beg to say that, so far from being insulting to General Gordon in suggesting that he might leave Khartoum, if I remember rightly the distinct Instructions of Her Majesty's Government, sent out by telegram, were that he should leave Khartoum; and the last of the very interesting series of telegrams that we had in the spring, when communication with General Gordon was cut off, was a telegram from the noble Earl (Earl Granville), which was sent by six different routes, asking General Gordon, in angry terms, why he did not come away, and leave Khartoum. General Gordon answers, under date July 31, 1884—

> "Reading over your telegram of the 5th of May, 1884, you ask me 'to state cause and intention in staying at Khartoum knowing Government means to abandon Soudan,' and in answer I say I stay at Khartoum because Arabs have shut us up and will not let us out; I also add that even if the road was open the people would not let me go unless I gave them some government, or took them with me, which I could not do. No one would leave more willingly than I would if it was possible."

And that is the insulting suggestion which the noble Earl said I made.

### JUSTICES' JURISDICTION BILL [H.L.]
### (NO. 2.)

A Bill to extend the jurisdiction of justices in general and quarter sessions of the peace: And

### LAW OF EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL [H.L.]
### (NO. 3.)

A Bill further to amend the law of evidence: Were *presented* by The Lord BRAMWELL; read 1ª.

House adjourned at a quarter past Five o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 3rd November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Henry Campbell-Bannerman, esquire, *for* Stirling Burghs.

## QUESTIONS.

### LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND)—MONAGHAN LUNATIC ASYLUM—ALLEGED CRUELTY OF THE RESIDENT DOCTOR AND HOUSE STEWARD.

Mr. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is true that about 31st May last, at Monaghan Lunatic Asylum, the resident doctor, named Johnston, the house steward, named Patterson, and a warder, named Henderson, burned alive a cat; and, if true, whether he will order a prosecution?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker), in reply, said, that there was no information to confirm the allegation in the Question. There were some shavings lighted.

Mr. BIGGAR said, the hon. and learned Gentleman had not answered the latter part of the Question.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, that if the hon. Member would furnish any information which he had in his possession the matter would be inquired into.

Mr. BIGGAR asked whether or not it was stated that the Government had information in their possession on the subject at present?

[No reply.]

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—"BOLTON v. IRISH NATIONAL PUBLISHING CO."—USE OF OFFICIAL FILE.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, on the hearing of the action of "Bolton v. Irish National Publishing Company," at the Belfast Assizes, Mr. George Bolton admitted on cross-examination that he obtained letters for the purpose of his action from the file at the Castle on the order of the Under Secretary; whether any investigation has been held as to the circumstances under which a private litigant obtained access to the official file; and, whether, if Bolton's statement should prove true, steps will be taken to punish the persons culpable, in accordance with the pledge given last Session?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker), in reply, said, that Mr. Bolton had applied formally to the Under Secretary that some letters which were his own property, and that he forwarded to the authorities, should be sent to him for the purposes of his trial. The application was laid before the Attorney General for Ireland, who advised he was entitled to them, and they were accordingly handed over to him on his undertaking to return.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked, would the hon. and learned Gentleman have any objection to state why, on a former occasion in that House, he said that the statement was untrue which he now admitted to be true?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) was understood to state that he never said it was untrue.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I beg your pardon.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I said he never had access to the file privately, and without authority.

Mr. O'BRIEN: You distinctly stated —["Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

### IRELAND—SEA AND COAST FISHERIES FUND ACT, 1884—THE TRUSTEES—TRANSFERENCE OF FUNDS, &c.

Mr. HEALY: asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the funds and all property of the Trustees to aid Sea and Coast Fisheries of Ireland have been transferred to the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland, as directed by the Act 47 and 48 Vic. c. 21, which received the Royal Assent on the 3rd of July last; and, if so, on what date such transfer took place, and if he will cause a Return to be made by the Commissioners of Public Works showing exactly the particulars set forth in today's Notice Paper?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, the property in question was transferred to the Board of Works on the 29th of September last. The Fishery Inspectors, who approve loans from these funds, were apprised of the transfer the same day. As I am not connected with their Department, I cannot say what they may have been doing since then. As regards the recovery of outstanding debts, applications have been made to each borrower and each surety in the arrear cases except those already in the hands of solicitors for collection, and those reported by the late Trustees to be irrecoverable, which are being specially investigated. Up to to-day 15 borrowers out of some 70 have repaid their arrears. I have intimated to the hon. Member that I am happy to agree to his Return, with some slight modifications.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why, notwithstanding the provisions of the Act 47 and 48 Vic. c. 21, which received the Royal Assent on the 3rd July last, no loans have yet been made by the Commissioners of Public Works, or the Inspectors of Irish Fisheries, to poor fishermen, in counties to which the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund Acts are not at present applicable; if pressing applitions for such have been made since the passing of that Act; and, if he will take the necessary steps to prevent further delays and great injury to these poor fishermen?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No fishery loans have yet been carried out under the Act in question, Some delay has been caused by reason of the necessary Rules not having been settled and passed by the Privy Council. I understand the Rules will be passed today. Any pending applications will be at once taken into consideration.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BALLYCASTLE WORKHOUSE—DISMISSAL OF THE MASTER.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the Master of Ballycastle Workhouse, county Antrim, has been dismissed from office by a sealed order of the Local Government Board, dated 4th September 1884, for refusing to detain a person who was being forced into the Workhouse against her wishes, although he considered he had no power by Law or Regulation to do so; whether it is a fact that the Guardians agree with the Master in this opinion, and whether the Local Government Board have since declined to inform the Guardians whether or not the Master had any power to detain this person against her own wishes; whether it is a fact that, on the same date that the Local Government Board communicated to the Guardians the dismissal of the Master, they forwarded a further communication to them stating that they had received the half-yearly report of their Inspector relating to the Ballycastle Workhouse, which stated that the management of the Workhouse was satisfactory; and, whether or not he agrees with the decision of the Local Government Board in this matter?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Master of Ballycastle Workhouse was removed by the Local Government Board, because they deemed him unfit to discharge the duties of his office. In the particular case mentioned in the Question, he allowed a woman who was a lunatic, unable to take care of herself or judge for herself, to leave the workhouse, in spite of the remonstrances of the medical officer, and in direct opposition to the instructions laid down for him by the Board to govern his conduct in such cases. Some of the Guardians take the Master's part; but many of them fully concur in the propriety of his removal. It is true that the Guardians were informed that in August last the Inspector reported favourably upon the general management of the workhouse. But the Local Government Board did not consider that they would be warranted in overlooking the Master's misconduct on this and former occasions. Last year they found it necessary to call upon him to resign, but consented to give him another trial at the request of the Guardians. I may remind the hon. Member that he was informed of this fact in answer to a Question on the 26th July, 1883.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—TRALEE BOARD OF GUARDIANS — EVICTION OF THOMAS M'ENERY.

MR. O'BRIEN (for Mr. HARRINGTON) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to a Report of the meeting of the Tralee Board of Guardians on the 21st October, at which an evicted tenant, who sought admission to the Union, made the following statement, which was duly witnessed:—

"I, Thomas M'Enery, of Ashill, in this county, do hereby state that after the murder of Patrick Cahill I went to Ballyseedy House to settle about my rent, when I was told by Mr. Bennett, steward of the Ballyseedy Estate, that I knew about the killing of the man Patrick Cahill, and that I could get no hearing. This he repeated some time afterwards After this, and on several occasions, Sergeant Galligan went to my house and met me, and said to my wife and myself that if we both took the money and told who killed Patrick Cahill we would be happy people, and could easily pay our rent. On Tuesday, the 2nd, I was evicted from my holding, and afterwards Sergeant Galligan told my wife, in my own hearing, that she was a foolish woman that did not take the money, and that if she would do it it would be easy for her to pay the rent. He repeated the same statement on more than one occasion. M'Carthy, the bailiff to the Ballyseedy Estate, stated that I would be reinstated if I or my wife told who killed Cahill. I have now to state publicly that either I nor my wife know nothing about the murder of this man, and that we are persecuted by those people trying to make us swear something;"

whether he is aware that the Board directed this statement to be brought under the notice of Parliament; and, whether he will institute inquiry into the conduct of the constable?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: Statements to the effect quoted in the Question having appeared in the public Press some 10 days ago, inquiries were at once instituted, with the result that the allegations are believed to be wholly untrue. Both Mr. Bennett and Sergeant Galligan emphatically deny the allegations affecting them.

## INDIA (LAW AND JUSTICE)—ALLEGED EXECUTION OF A REPRIEVED CONVICT.

Mr. BRIGGS asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is true that a man was executed in Barrisal Gaol on the 5th September last who had been reprieved by the Indian Government two days before; and, if so, will he also state why the reprieve did not reach Barrisal Gaol until after the execution; and, what steps have been taken to discover and adequately punish the person or persons responsible for this grave neglect of duty?

Mr. K. J. CROSS: The Government of India have been asked for a Report on this case. At present, all the information the India Office has is derived from the newspapers.

## NAVY — JUNIOR SERVICE IN THE ENGINEERS AND ACCOUNTANT BRANCHES.

Captain PRICE asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Committee appointed to inquire into the operation of the present rules for counting Junior Service in the Engineer and Accountant branches of the Royal Navy have as yet made their Report; and, if not, how soon they may be expected to do so?

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: I am informed that the Report will be presented to the Board in the course of the present week.

## WEST INDIES—ISLAND OF GRENADA —APPOINTMENT OF PROVOST MARSHAL.

Mr. DEASY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If it is the intention of the Government, contrary to the opinion expressed by the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the affairs of the Windward Islands, to sanction the appointment of Mr. Charles Hewetson Collymore to the office of Provost Marshal of the Island of Grenada?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, that Mr. Collymore had been only temporarily appointed, pending a decision as to the final arrangement.

## UNIVERSITIES (SCOTLAND)— LEGISLATION.

Mr. CRAIG-SELLAR asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is the intention of the Government to give early attention to the claims of the Scottish Universities for improved organisation; and, whether, if the Scottish Universities Bill, which miscarried last Session and the previous Session be introduced again, the Government will undertake that it shall be submitted to the House in its several stages with reasonable despatch?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): In the present state of Parliamentary Business my hon. Friend will not expect that I should give any pledge as to the particular time at which the Scottish Universities Bill will be introduced: but the Government fully recognize the special claims which the subject of that measure has upon their attention, and when the House resumes the usual course of Business it will certainly be kept in view.

## CIVIL SERVICE (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the present position of Mr. George Bolton; is he in receipt of salary from the Crown; and, what are the intentions of the Government respecting him?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: Mr. Bolton, in May last, applied to the Bankruptcy Court to sanction an arrangement with his creditors. A Treasury Minute, of November 30, 1868, provides, among other matters, that—

> "If a Civil servant enters into a composition with his creditors under the Bankruptcy Act, he shall be suspended pending examination of the circumstances."

Towards the close of last Session it was stated that, although the Lord Lieutenant was advised that Mr. Bolton was not a Civil servant within the meaning of the Minute, he would, under the circumstances, be dealt with by analogy to it, and be suspended pending the bankruptcy proceedings. Since that time all the proceedings in bankruptcy have, with the full assent of all the creditors, been discontinued. Under these circumstances, and after careful investigation of the facts, it has been determined to remove the suspension.

MR. HEALY: I beg to give Notice that on the first and every available opportunity, in season and out of season, I will call attention in the House of Commons to the ruffianism of reappointing Mr. George Bolton by the Irish Government. ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The expression just used by the hon. Member is entirely irregular and out of Order; and as there have been so many instances of irregular Questions being put in the form of Notices, I shall be bound to take more serious notice of them if the practice is persisted in. [*Cries of* "Withdraw!"]

### UNITED STATES—THE WORLD'S EXPOSITION AT NEW ORLEANS—THE ENGLISH COMMISSIONER.

MR. CARBUTT asked, What steps, if any, have been taken by the Government in response to the invitation of the Government of the United States to take part in the World's Exposition which is to open in New Orleans in December next?

MR. COURTNEY: Her Majesty's Government will appoint the British Minister at Washington its Special Commissioner for this Exhibition, and the Consul at New Orleans will represent this country on the spot. The Minister at Washington will, perhaps, be present at the opening ceremony.

### CHARITABLE DONATIONS AND BEQUESTS (IRELAND)—CATHERINE EATON'S BEQUEST.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to a passage in the Thirty-ninth Annual Report of the Commissioners of Charitable Donations and Bequests, from which it appears (page 5, paragraph 16) that, under the will of Catherine Eaton, made in 1793, a sum now amounting to £4,000, "for the foundation and support of a Woollen Manufactory in the parish of Wicklow," is lying unused and unclaimed; and, whether he will cause steps to be taken to have it made available for the purposes intended by the testatrix?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed that the residue of Miss Eaton's property was left for the purpose mentioned in the Question—namely, the foundation of a Woollen Manufactory in the parish of Wicklow; but that the sum to which the hon. Member refers was not a part of the residue so bequeathed, but is the accumulation of a distinct legacy to private persons, which, not having been claimed, is held by the Court of Chancery. The Commissioners are now taking steps, with the object of seeking the advice of the Attorney General as to whether, after so great a lapse of time, this bequest, represented by the £4,000, may not be now held to have failed, and the amount be treated as part of the residue of the estate.

### NAVY—H.M.S. "AGAMEMNON" AND "AJAX."

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the steering defects of the *Agamemnon* are such as to unfit her for service without alteration, what the nature and cost of this alteration will be, and how long it will take to complete her; and, whether the *Ajax* is similarly defective, and will require similar alterations?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The steering of the *Agamemnon* up to nine knots is satisfactory. At higher speeds it is found difficult to steer an accurate course without the assistance of her screws. The turning powers are good at all speeds. Similar cases have occurred, where better acquaintance with the ships has enabled officers to handle them more easily.

It is not proposed to make any alteration now; but if on arrival at Malta the difficulty has not been overcome, orders will be given to increase the upper part of the rudder, which may take about a fortnight, at an expense of, perhaps, about £200 or £300. The case of the *Ajax* is similar.

### INDIA—UNCOVENANTED CIVIL SERVICE.

Mr. Serjeant SIMON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether a Memorial from the Uncovenanted Civil Servants of India to the Viceroy, praying for the redress of certain grievances, has been received by His Excellency; and, whether any, and what, steps have been taken in the matter?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The India Office has received no Memorial of this kind; nor have we any information that such a Memorial has been presented to the Viceroy.

### CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES COMMISSION—LETTER OF H. D. WARR, SECRETARY.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will have any objection to lay upon the Table a copy of a letter written by Mr. H. D. Warr, Secretary to the City of London Livery Companies' Commission, by the direction of the Commissioners, and addressed to the editors of certain Liberal newspapers with a view to "educate the opinions of the Liberal electors of the Provinces" upon the recommendations of the Commissioners in their Report?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I only saw this Question this afternoon. This is a matter of which I know nothing, and I have had no opportunity of communicating with the persons; but if the right hon. Gentleman wishes I will do so.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I will ask this Question again on Thursday.

### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, CARLOW UNION—IRREGULARITIES OF RETURNING OFFICER.

Mr. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that in the Rathornan and Ridge division of the Carlow Union, two successive elections for the office of poor law guardians have been set aside in consequence of irregularities on the part of the returning officer, Mr. Jameson, who also acts as clerk of the union; whether he is aware that a third election is shortly to take place; and, whether the Local Government Board propose to again appoint as returning officer the same person who was responsible for the two previous abortive elections, the cost of which has to be borne by the ratepayers?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is true that two elections for the Divisions named have been set aside; but this course was rendered necessary on each occasion by reason of votes having been erroneously allowed on claims imperfectly filled up; and although the Returning Officer committed errors of judgment in allowing such votes, the Local Government Board do not think it can properly be said that the elections were set aside in consequence of irregularities on his part. Mr. Jameson does not appear to have been guilty of any wilful default, and the Board do not intend to deprive him of the office of Returning Officer at the election which is now proceeding.

### CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER—THE REPORT.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to the disclosure of the contents of a Report upon the Central Asian frontier question in certain newspapers, and if he can state by whom the Report in question was made; if it was of a confidental character; and, what steps the Government propose to take to punish the offender?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for Carlow, I can only say that the Secretary of State is in communication with the Government of India on this subject.

### IRELAND—BOARD OF WORKS—LOANS FOR WORKHOUSE BUILDINGS.

Colonel NOLAN asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the Treasury has made any rule restricting the right of Unions in Ireland to obtain money from the Board of Works for the purpose of altering or improving workhouse buildings; and, if so, will the Treasury at least relax this rule in favour of those

Unions which, like Loughrea, have entered into contracts for buildings before the promulgation of such a rule?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, that he was not able exactly to understand what his hon. and gallant Friend was driving at in this Question. There had been no change since 1876—indeed, he might say since 1866—as to the rights of Poor Law Unions to borrow money for improving workhouse buildings.

COLONEL NOLAN gave Notice that he would ask, Whether it was true that the Guardians of Loughrea Union had been refused money to alter the workhouse so as to provide accommodotion for nuns whom it was proposed to receive as nurses in the workhouse?

MR. COURTNEY: Perhaps the hon. and gallant Member would give me a written communication on the subject.

### LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND) — THE "CASTLE" DEPARTMENT—USE OF "HANSARD."

MR. HEALY asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, In what cases are the Police Department of the Castle dependent for their instructions on volumes of *Hansard* or newspaper reports; is *Hansard* supplied to this Department at the public expense; if so, when was the volume containing the Report of the Debate on Mr. Chance's arrest received by Superintendent Harrel; and, have any instructions been given which will obviate the delay caused by this Department having to wait until the annual volumes of *Hansard* are issued?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Police Department receive their instructions as regards matters that have passed in the House of Commons, not from *Hansard* or from newspaper reports, but from the Chief Secretary. *Hansard* is not supplied to the Police Department. I quoted *Hansard* in my answer to the hon. Member only as a correct record of what took place in the House as compared with the contemporary reports in the newspapers, to which Mr. Harrel referred to in his letter to Mr. Chance. The explanation why Mr. Harrel relied on the newspaper reports is this. On the 31st of July I promised to consider the question on an inquiry. I set the matter in hand at once, communicated with the Home Office, and had an interview with Colonel Pearson with reference to the English practice in similar cases. Then the matter fell through owing to my ceasing to come to the House of Commons and the Irish Office for a while on account of ill-health. This is one of several other Irish matters which were passed over in consequence. This autumn, as soon as I saw the correspondence between Mr. Harrel and Mr. Chance, I informed the Irish Government how the matter stood, and the inquiry will be granted.

### IRISH LAND COMMISSION—SUB-COMMISSIONERS—MR. WALPOLE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Land Commission have received a memorial, signed by thirty of the tenants on the Earl of Egmont's property, near Kanturk, protesting against the retention of Sub-Commissioner Walpole on the Cork Sub-Commission, alleging that he has fixed rents on lands which he never visited; that, in the cases of two of the tenants, Thomas Sampson, of Annagh, and Daniel Sullivan, the tenants have surrendered their holdings rather than pay the rack-rents imposed upon them; that Sub-Commissioner Walpole habitually adopts the valuation of the landlord's valuer, who is a cousin of his own; that he is an intimate friend and neighbour of the Earl of Egmont's agent, Captain Trench, stops at the same hotels with him, and has travelled on the same car with him when engaged in the work of the Commission; and, whether these charges of partiality have been inquired into; and, if so, what steps will be taken by the Government?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed by the Land Commissioners that they did receive the Memorial mentioned, and, with all the allegations contained in it fully before them, the Commissioners replied that they do not believe that any valid reason exists in the case of any of their Sub-Commissions to prevent either landlords or tenants desirous of availing themselves of the Land Act from doing so. The Commissioners have full confidence that Messrs. Doyle, Walpole, and Guiry, who form the Cork Sub-Commission, will discharge their duty with the utmost impartiality.

MR. O'BRIEN said, that was not a reply to his Question. He had asked whether these charges of partiality had been inquired into by the Commissioners themselves examining those very serious and specific charges, or did they merely reply, without making any inquiries, that they saw no valid reason for doing so?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am not aware of what steps the Land Commissioners took. They are a body quite independent of the Government, and they have expressed in their reply the conclusion at which they have arrived.

MR. O'BRIEN: Then I beg to give Notice that I will renew this Question.

MR. KENNY asked, Upon what principle the dying declaration of Patrick Slattery was supplied to a Member of this House, while the dying declarations of Patrick Joyce and Patrick Casey (which, as it is alleged, exculpate Myles Joyce and others) are withheld, although repeatedly asked for?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), in reply, said, the declaration of Slattery stood on an entirely different footing from that of the other declarations referred to in the Question. That of Slattery was a statement that he was the instrument of suborning a witness to give false evidence at a trial. The others were declarations of men under sentence of death, which it was the uniform practice in England and Ireland not to make public.

MR. KENNY: Is it not the fact that both declarations were taken before Resident Magistrates; and, if so, are not the proceedings the same? Will the hon. and learned Gentleman give any further explanation, considering that the declarations withheld are of greater consequence than those which have been supplied?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): That makes them declarations if they had been sworn; but it does not make them declarations made under similar circumstances.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND) — SALARIES OF NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that in numerous cases the salaries due to Irish National teachers for the quarter ended September 30th have not yet been paid by the Education Board; whether similar salaries are paid in advance in England; why repeated complaints have failed to induce the Department to pay salaries to the teachers in due time; and, whether any undertaking can now be given that payments will be punctually made henceforward?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I believe that this is not the first time a Question of this kind has been asked in the House, and the answer given on a former occasion applies equally now. The salaries of the Irish National Teachers and Monitors—over 16,000 in number—are by means of considerable effort on the part of the officials concerned punctually paid on the succeeding quarter day. If upon that day no payment is made in any particular case or cases, it is because of some irregularity in the return of the manager or breach of rule involving inquiry. As a matter of fact, on the last pay day (14th of October), 94 per cent of the salaries due on the 30th of September were paid. If the hon. Member has in his mind any special case in which he thinks there has been delay, and will let me know the particulars, I shall make inquiry with regard to it.

## ARMY—QUARTERMASTERS—PROMOTION.

MR. BIGGAR rose to put the following Question:—To ask the Secretary of State for War, Whether the official Annual Army List, dated January 17th 1884, is correct in showing that four hundred and fifty-five Quartermasters in the Army, out of which number only six, being under thirty-two years of age, are eligible for Lieutenancies; whether these six Quartermasters can, after seven years' service, enter the Army Department; whether the remaining four hundred and forty-nine Quartermasters are entirely debarred from the Pay Department, and from all substantive promotion; whether seven young Quartermasters were promoted by favour to Lieutenancies on July 2nd 1884; whether these Quartermasters will be permitted to reach the Pay Department over the heads of these four hundred and forty-nine Quartermasters; whether this oppression of the Quartermasters is because they are raised from the poorer class people; and, whether this system was recommended to Her Majesty by the present Government?

MR. SPEAKER: Before this Question is put by the hon. Member and answered, I have to observe that one of the paragraphs in the Question has escaped notice, and has inadvertently been allowed to appear on the Notice Paper. The paragraph I refer to is the sixth paragraph on the top of page 8. It is an improper and irregular paragraph, and I shall not allow it to be put. I therefore hope that no notice will be taken of it.

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER: The official *Army List* of January, 1884, may be accepted as correct with reference both to the ages and the numbers of Army Quartermasters. Only six were then eligible for lieutenancies, since by the Royal Warraut for Pay and Promotion, Article 6, a Quartermaster cannot be granted a commission as lieutenant if he exceeds 32 years of age. These six Quartermasters can, after seven years' service in the rank of lieutenant, become eligible as candidates for the Army Pay Department, provided that they do not then exceed 40 years of age. The reply to the third Question is involved in the answers to Nos. 1 and 2. In reply to No. 4, I have to say that it is not true that seven young Quartermasters were promoted by favour to lieutenancies on July 2, 1884. The answer to No. 5 is that if these officers, at the end of seven years' service in the combatant ranks, become candidates, and are accepted as such, for the Pay Department, they will pass over the heads of the Quartermasters who were disqualified for lieutenancies by age. The answer to No. 6 I am to omit. In answer to No. 7, I have to say that this system of promotion to the Pay Department was not instituted by the present Government, but has been in operation since the formation of the Pay Department in 1876.

## ARMY—CASE OF JAMES HENRY PORTER, SCHOOLMASTER 56TH REGIMENT.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his attention has been called to the case of James Henry Porter, late Army Schoolmaster in the 56th Regiment; whether it is the fact that this man served in the Army for 21 years all but 75 days, ten years of which service was in India; whether he was most favourably reported during 17 years of this service; whether he was afterwards twice reported unfavourably for drinking, the latter time being placed under arrest; whether he was imprisoned for nearly five months, without being asked for a defence, or tried by Court-martial, and then dismissed from the service without total loss of pension; whether, within three months of being placed under arrest, he was recommended by his commanding officer, and awarded 6*d*. per day extra pay for zeal and efficiency; whether it is true that his commanding officer recommended him for a pension; and, whether he will have inquiries made into this man's grievance with the view to granting him even a modified pension?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: This case has been repeatedly brought under the consideration of my Predecessor and myself. The schoolmaster referred to was, after repeated warnings, dismissed from the Army because his intemperate habits rendered him unfit for duty. It is true that his commanding officer recommended him on account of his previous good service for discharge with a modified pension. It was held, however, that his removal from the Army being rendered necessary solely on account of his misconduct, this could not be permitted, and he was, as I have stated, dismissed from the Army in 1880. Under these circumstances, I have no power to grant him a pension.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, EDENDERRY DIVISION, KING'S CO.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, at the election of Poor Law Guardians for the division of Edenderry, in the King's County, held last March, Charles Murray, Michael Delany, and Denis Shiel were declared elected; that several objections were lodged against the return of Murray and Delany, in consequence of which the Local Government Board declared the election of Delany invalid and ordered a new election; whether Mr. H. Bor (returning officer), at the supplemental election, held in July, in the presence of the parties concerned, declared that there was a tie, and made a return to that effect to the Local Government Board, but, on the day following, held a private scrutiny, assisted by

Delany, Murray, and a man named Tyrrell, all in the Conservative interest, and then made a second return to the Local Government Board, in which he gave Delany a majority of ten; whether Mr. Bor, during the election, assisted by a Mr. Robson, cashier at the Ulster Bank, attended at the house of a Mr. George Dunne for the purpose of inspecting and marking Conservative voting papers then there; and, whether the Local Government Board will direct an inquiry into the return of Delany, and also into the return of Mr. Murray, whose election is challenged as well as that of Delany's, and on similar grounds?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The statements in the first paragraph of the Question as to the last annual election for Edenderry are correct. Mr. Bor did not, at the supplemental election, declare or make a return that there was a tie. The only return he made was one showing a majority of 11 for Delany. Mr. Bor states that he did not attend at the house of Mr. George Dunne with Mr. Robson to inspect or mark voting papers. The Local Government Board has directed an inquiry into the validity of the return of Delany at the supplemental election, but has decided that there are no grounds for disturbing the election of Murray.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked how was it that the inquiry was granted in the case of Delany, and not in the case of Mr. Murray, seeing that precisely similar grounds were urged against each?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: If the grounds were similar, both cases would be inquired into; but the Local Government Board say the cases were not similar.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF GUARDIANS, EDENDERRY DIVISION —THE DOWNSHIRE TRUSTEES.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Local Government Board have refused to use the powers vested in them to set aside the votes of the Trustees of the Downshire Estate, given in the late election for Poor Law Guardians in Edenderry Division, although the said Trustees have no beneficial interest in the property?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am advised that Trustees are, under certain circumstances, entitled to vote; and in the present case the Trustees appeared to be entitled. The objection raised was as to whether they could vote separately, or should vote jointly; but this turned out immaterial, as they appointed the same proxy. The Local Government Board has, however, ordered an inquiry into the election on other grounds.

## ARMY RECRUITING (IRELAND)—OFFICIAL ADVERTISEMENTS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Secretary of State for War, Why the Army advertisement, which appears in *The Leinster Express* of October 11th, was not also given to *The Leinster Leader*, the former being the landlord organ and of very limited circulation, and the latter the popular organ circulating largely all over Leinster?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: There are very few counties in Ireland, I believe, in which the Government advertisements are sent to more than one paper. In the present case, *The Leinster Express*, established in 1831, has been a long time on the list of papers authorized to receive advertisements; and it is not deemed necessary to incur extra expense by sending the Government advertisements to *The Leinster Leader*, which was only established in 1880, and which circulates in the same district as the older paper. *The Leinster Express* has a good circulation, and is well filled with advertisements of various kinds, evidently showing that it circulates among all classes.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Is *The Leinster Express*, can the noble Marquess say, one of those papers which "more or less support the Government?"

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I do not know.

Mr. HEALY: Is the noble Marquess aware that the Secretary to the Treasury promised last Session, when a similar complaint was made, that those advertisements should be impartially given in future?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Is the noble Marquess aware, too, that the advertisement in question was an advertisement for recruits; that *The Lienster Express* circulates among no portion of the population likely to furnish recruits;

and that *The Leinster Leader* is much cheaper, and has a much more extensive circulation?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I cannot by silence admit that the advertisements have not been given impartially. There has been nothing to call my attention to the facts stated by the hon. Member; but I will have further inquiry made into the matter.

### LAW AND POLICE—THE CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS, CUMBERLAND—ACTION OF THE POLICE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the report, in *The Carlisle Journal* of the 28th October, of the evidence given, at the Cumberland Assizes, by John Douglass Semphill, Superintendent of Police and Deputy Chief Constable, upon the trial of a man named France, who was acquitted of complicity in the dynamite explosion at Cleator Moor; whether Mr. Sempill stated that, while France was under remand at Whitehaven, a constable from Longtown, named Tomer, whom the witness described as "an experienced detective officer," was put into the prisoner's cell, in plain clothes, for several hours; whether the witness stated that Tomer was shut up with the prisoner for the purpose of taking care of him, but that, "if the prisoner had made any statement, he should have inquired into it;" whether France states that the detective officer represented himself as a fellow-prisoner, pretended to be drunk, swore at the police, and tried to inveigle him into a statement respecting the charge against him; and, whether an inquiry will be held into the conduct of Tomer, and of the officers responsible for directing his visit, and admitting him to the cell of an untried prisoner?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he had got a long Report from the Chief Constable, and another from the Superintendent, which were too long to read to the House; but the substance of them was that the Superintendent did not say that this officer was an experienced detective officer. He was nothing of the kind; he was a common constable, and he was not put into the cell at all with the view or object of obtaining evidence from the prisoner. The Superintendent stated that he was applied to by Sergeant Graham, who was in charge of the lock-up, that on account of the prisoner being in a low and depressed state of mind, which made it unsafe for him to be alone, another prisoner ought to be put beside him to prevent him doing harm to himself. It was found impracticable to place another prisoner with him at that time, and Constable Tomer, who was then at Whitehaven on duty, was placed in the cell for an hour and a-half. As regarded the two last Questions, there was also a statement from Constable Tomer, and he denied the allegations made in the Question. It was a mistake to suppose that Constable Tomer was brought specially from Longtown to Whitehaven for this purpose.

### ARMY—COURT MARTIAL ON SERGEANT GREENE, DUKE OF CORNWALL'S LIGHT INFANTRY.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Is it true that the proceedings of a District Court Martial for the trial of Sergeant Greene, of the Second Battalion of the Duke of Cornwall's Light Infantry, on the 23rd and 27th December 1883, were not received by the Judge Advocate General until July 1884, and who is responsible for such delay; was this Non-commissioned Officer strongly recommended to mercy by the Court, and was the letter of recommendation detached, and by whom; is it customary for letters of recommendation to be transmitted with the proceedings of all Courts Martial to the Judge Advocate General's office; was it proved in evidence that, under the circumstances, Sergeant Greene acted in accordance with custom in quitting his guard on the 7th of November 1883; and, if Sergeant Greene had been proved guilty of so heinous a Military crime as "quitting his guard," how is it that so slight a punishment as reduction to one grade lower was the award, and that that award was accompanied with the strong recommendation to mercy, and why was the recommendation to mercy not acted upon?

THE JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL (Mr. OSBORNE MORGAN), in reply, said, that the proceedings in the court martial for the trial of Sergeant Greene were received by the Judge Advocate General on the 15th of January, 1884, and not in July, 1884, as implied in the Question; and, considering that the trial took place in Alexandria, and was not concluded until the 27th of December, 1883, and that the proceedings were only confirmed on the 1st of January, 1884, there was no delay whatever in the transmission. As far as he could ascertain, the non-commissioned officer in question was not strongly recommended to mercy, nor was he so recommended at all. Recommendations to mercy were, by the Army Act, 1881, required to be attached to, and to form part of, the proceedings of a court martial, and they were invariably transmitted to the Judge Advocate General's Office. Sergeant Greene was not charged with quitting his guard, and consequently the question whether he acted in accordance with custom in so doing never arose. What he was charged with was, neglect of duty in having, when sergeant of the main guard, taken out a patrol and conducted another sergeant to the guardroom of the Ravelin Barracks without making a report of his having done so to the officer in command of the main guard, and the case was fully proved. He could not say that this was a "heinous military crime;" but it was a breach of military duty which could not be overlooked, especially in the case of an Army on active service. The man bore an excellent character; and the Court, apparently taking the most lenient view they could of his offence, sentenced him to the lightest possible punishment—reduction to one lower grade. The recommendation to mercy was not acted upon for the best possible reason—namely, that it never existed.

## LABOURERS' (IRELAND) ACT, 1883—RE-APPOINTMENT OF SELECT COMMITTEE.

Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that the Committee on the Labourers (Ireland) Act, appointed last Session, reported in favour of its re-appointment; whether, owing to the defective machinery of the Act, not a single house has yet been completed under the Act; whether the expectation of further legislation has brought operations under the Act almost to a complete standstill over the greater part of Ireland; and, whether, under these circumstances, he will cause a Motion for the immediate reappointment of the Committee?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In replying to this Question, I must not be understood to confirm what is stated in the second and third paragraphs—that it is owing to the defective machinery of the Act that the proceedings under it have been brought to a standstill. The state of the case as to Committees is that it will be inconvenient to the House to take up any question which is new, and which will be likely to lead to an extended debate. But there are three Committees which are not new, and which are not likely to lead to any difference of opinion. With respect to these I will not ask the House to exclude the consideration. This is not a new one, and it is one in which considerable interest is felt. Consequently, I think that it is one which might fairly be dealt with in the present Session. I am bound to add that if, when the Motion is made for the appointment of the Committee, there should arise any lengthened debate, I cannot undertake to give any great amount of time for that purpose. Subject to that reservation, we are quite willing to accede to its appointment.

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—REPORTED FALL OF KHARTOUM.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish, Sir, to put a Question to the Government as to whether they have received any intelligence from Khartoum or from Egypt with respect to the fall of Khartoum, or the position of General Gordon?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: My right hon. Friend (Mr. Gladstone) has asked me to answer this Question. So far as we are aware, there is absolutely no foundation for the rumour that has been circulated as the fall of Khartoum, or as to the capture of General Gordon. That rumour appears to have originated, so far as we have been able to ascertain, at Cairo; and we have received absolutely no confirmation of it whatever. The latest intelligence, I believe, that we have received arrived late on the night of October 31, in a telegram from Sir Evelyn Baring. He said that Sir Charles Wilson telegraphs—

"Kabbabish Arab has brought news that Madhi's troops attacked Gordon's position at Omdurman, opposite Khartoum, a few days ago, and were repulsed. We hear also that hostile

Arabs are numerous again at Ghabra, on the Debbeh-Khartoum road. I think these reports are likely to be correct."

Sir Evelyn Baring says the substance of this was given to Reuter's Agency to correct reports about the fall of Khartoum, which are devoid of foundation. That is the latest intelligence, so far as I am aware, from Dongola. I believe my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville) has telegraphed to Sir Evelyn Baring to ask whether he can give any explanation of the reports which have been spread at Cairo; but I think the answer has not yet been received. I may also state that we have a direct contradiction to the statement which appears in *The Times* of this morning, that telegrams had been sent by the Khedive to the Queen and the Prince of Wales giving an account of the alleged fall of Khartoum. My right hon. Friend has also asked me to answer the Question of the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow), which appears on the Paper as follows:—

> "Whether instructions have been sent to Lord Wolseley defining the official position between himself and General Gordon, should they speedily meet; and, if so, whether such instructions have been communicated to and have received the approval of the Khedive, considering General Gordon is a servant of the Khedive?"

Instructions have been sent to Lord Wolseley defining the relations between himself and General Gordon, both in their civil and military capacities. These instructions, so far as they relate to General Gordon's civil appointment, have been sent after communication with, and with the concurrence of, the Khedive. It is not considered desirable at the present time that these instructions should be made public until Lord Wolseley is in a position to act upon them.

### LOWER THAMES VALLEY MAIN SEWERAGE BOARD.

MR. GILES asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether any inquiry as to the dissolution of the Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Board has yet been held; what constituent authorities have, in response to his inquiries, expressed themselves as desirous of being separated from the Joint Board; and, whether he will grant facilities for giving effect to the recommendations in the Special Report of the Committee of last Session, and for enabling the local authorities to carry out schemes for disposal of their sewage in their own localities?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: The Local Government Board have been in communication with the several Local Authorities on the subject. The last reply was not received until last week, and my right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke) has directed that the inquiry shall be held as early as practicable. The constituent authorities who, in response to our inquiries, have expressed themselves as desirous of being separated from the joint district are—the Urban Sanitary Authorities of Kingston, Richmond, Heston and Isleworth, New Malden, and East Moulsey, and the Rural Sanitary Authority of the Kingston Union. It is also to be inferred that the Teddington Local Board are in favour of separation. The action of the Board with regard to the future arrangements as to the district must depend on the decision at which they arrive after the inquiry which is about to be held.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [EIGHTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Main Question [28th October,] "That, &c."—[See page 69.]

Main Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

### AMENDMENT (MR. SEXTON)—COMPOSITION OF JURIES (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

> "But humbly to represent to Her Majesty that it is essential to the public interest that the Criminal Law, more particularly with regard to the composition of juries, be impartially administered to the different classes of the people of Ireland,"

said, that the Queen's Speech contained no reference to Ireland, and he was of opinion that one branch of the Irish case demanded the urgent attention of the House. He therefore moved this Amendment. It was characteristic of the system under which the affairs of Ireland were administered—a system combined of cruelty and evasion—that there was at this moment in the House no Minister of the Crown to whom the Irish Members could look consistently for an answer to the case which he intended to make. At this critical moment the Minister who for the last two years was responsible for the administration of the affairs of Ireland had discreetly retired to the position of a mere spectator, and the Government had appointed to succeed him a Gentleman whose mind was so absolutely a virgin page in regard to the affairs of Ireland that he might fairly claim to be absolutely absolved from the duty of offering any reply to any question on that subject whatsoever. He thought he was entitled to say that the retirement at this moment of the Minister acquainted with the affairs of Ireland, and his replacement by a Minister absolutely ignorant of the facts of that country, was another of the most conspicuous proofs of the mean policy of evasion on the part of the Liberal Government that had been afforded since they came into Office. The Irish Members said—"By all means let the guilty be punished and the innocent go free, but let these results be produced by the fair and due administration of the law; and let the Government not resort to fraudulent devices, and let them not put sinister designs in force, for the purpose of punishing innocent men, and of giving impunity to guilt." It might be assumed that the Amendment which he now respectfully submitted to the House contained a self-evident proposition. No doubt, in the abstract, the proposition was self-evident, if it was essential to the public interest in Ireland as in every other country that the Criminal Law should be administered impartially between different classes of the people. The Criminal Law in England and Scotland was administered impartially between different classes of the people. The humblest peasant of the Realm in the Island of Great Britain accused of any crime could assure himself of a fair and impartial trial; but many rights that were freely conceded to the meanest subject in England, in Scotland, and in every civilized country in the world, were, in his own unfortunate country, conspicuous only by their absence. It must be apparent that a fair administration of trial by jury was of last importance, both to the individual and to the community at large. If it were essential in every country, it was of the very last importance in Ireland, because in Ireland there was a constant opposition and a chronic conflict between the Government and the people, and because in Ireland the fortune, the liberty, and the life of the private citizen were placed in extraordinary and special danger from the devices of unscrupulous men. He now addressed the House under a heavy responsibility, to speak the truth according to his conception of it, and he was compelled to say that in any criminal case in Ireland in which the agents of the Crown presumed that there was some connection with the movement for the social improvement and the extension of the political liberty of the people, fair trial by jury was a thing that did not exist. The system of so-called trial by jury now in vogue in Ireland was preceded by a system in which trial by jury was altogether ignored. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) caused the House of Commons to pass an Act giving to his own personal discretion the trial, or personal liberty, of every man in Ireland. In the course of a year he imprisoned, by his own mere will, 1,000 men, including some of the most considerable in the country. After the lapse of a year, it was seen that the failure of the policy of the right hon. Gentleman was the most conspicuous failure exemplified in the whole course of the unfortunate dealings of England with Ireland. He aggravated popular passion without producing any compensating results. The abandonment of this system was accompanied by the political downfall of the right hon. Gentleman himself, and to those who succeeded him in the Government of Ireland he left the evil legacy of encountering an exasperated people, and the infinitely more difficult function of avenging the crimes which his blind fury and tyranny had provoked. But even after the downfall of the right hon. Gentleman the Government did not by just reforms and kindly treatment appeal to the feelings of the Irish people; on the contrary, they entered upon a career of error which they were even at this moment pursuing. They took advantage of one conspicuous crime, and availed themselves of the indignation created in the English mind for applying to the people of Ireland the most drastic and the most ferocious Coercion Act that ever scourged a people nominally free. The Crimes Prevention Act of 1882 allowed the Government of Ireland to supersede the system of trial by jury, and left it to the discretion of the Lord Lieutenant to try any prisoners charged with any one offence by a tribunal of three Judges acting without a jury. The Government had never put the provision into force. Perhaps the reason was that the moment the Act was passed the most respectable Judge upon the Irish Bench—one man who had fought his way to the position by legal ability, and not by political subservience—gave up his Judgeship rather than be put in the position and have to administer this revolting law. Then the Prevention of Crimes Act gave the Attorney General terrible power in regard to the administration of the law, and terribly the power had been used. The Act enabled the Attorney General, of his own free will, as a matter of right —to use the language of the Statute— to remove the trial of any prisoner accused of an indictable offence from any one part of Ireland to any other part, and to confine the trial of the prisoner to a hybrid panel, partly composed of landlords from the county and partly composed of traders from the town. The tribunal was obviously the most hostile possible to the prisoner, and the most favourable to the Crown. This provision, he might observe, was smuggled through the House in the form of a Schedule after the appointed Representatives and spokesmen of the people of Ireland had been suspended. See how this Act worked, and how their powers had been used. A group of peasants were charged with the commission of some offence in the South of Ireland, to which the Crown affixed the character of complicity in a social or political movement. These peasants were thrown into goal. The Crown from the first moment intended to lead up to a verdict of guilty at any cost; and the moment these prisoners, seized at random, were placed within prison walls, the case was given into the hands of some one of the most unscrupulous and most disreputable of the agents of the Crown in Ireland, some man who had cheated his own wife, some man who had swindled his own creditors, some man who had been obliged to appeal to the tribunal of the country to protect him from his legal obligations, some man of abandoned life, some man of broken fortune, some man who, if justice were done, should be placed in the dock himself instead of being a prosecuting solicitor. Such was the man who crawled around from cell to cell at night-time, and told each prisoner the false story that some of his associates had turned informers. At the same time the police spread false rumours that one or other of the prisoners had given way, and, to complete the practice, a magistrate held a secret inquisition upon the friends and relatives of the unfortunate men. Months passed, and in some cases years, one Assize Court passed by after another, and the Crown still refused to prosecute, hoping that from helpless terror,. some wretch who felt his own neck in danger might make a statement not only of the guilt of his fellow-prisoners, but a statement swearing symmetrically to the whole of the story prepared for him by the agents of the Crown. Then the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Attorney General for Ireland refused, as a matter of course, to try these men in their own county, and transferred them to the East of Ireland, where they were placed before a panel of 200 special jurors, of whom three things might be said—first, they differed in birth and in creed from the accused; next, they were either landlords in the counties or traders in the towns, who conceived their interest to be summed up in those of the landlords, and who were, therefore, violently opposed to any man of whom the Crown lawyers chose to say he was concerned in the social movement of the people. Then, lastly, these jurors were hostile to the movement of the Irish people for the enlargement of their political rights. The Government resorted to the meanest expedients to pack the juries which tried such prisoners. It, therefore, happened that these poor peasants were placed upon their trial by men who regarded them with religious, political, and social prejudice of the most extreme and violent character. Surely in such a case the Crown might have allowed these men to be tried by the panel they had themselves prepared. But what happened? Some men, of the type of George Bolton, whose restoration to office, as they had heard in the maiden announcement of the Chief Secretary, was an evil omen for the official cares of the right hon. Gentleman—some men, like George Bolton and his gang of obscure and sinister agents, took this special jury panel in their hands, and set about finding out every man who was a Catholic, for to be a Catholic in Catholic Ireland was to the Crown reason enough for refusing credit to any man upon his oath. They found out every man who was in any way identified with any national or patriotic object, and by the simple process of repeating the words "stand by," the 12 men whom the Crown agents desired came into the box and acted as jurors. There never was a more solemn and, at the same time, a more exasperating farce than dealing with the liberties and lives of men by the method he had described. The right hon. and learned Attorney General for Ireland might as well have found the men guilty in Dublin Castle, and then selected 12 persons from the jury panel to ratify his verdict. It was within the knowledge of every man in Ireland that the Attorney General for Ireland could get 12 men from the class he had described who would be ready to endorse any finding he chose to make. The Executive which succeeded the right hon. Member for Bradford felt themselves to be under the necessity of doing something to satisfy the cry for vengeance and for blood which had arisen in England; and his study of the events of the last two years had forced upon him the horrible suspicion that they resolved to strike terror without regard, or at least primary regard, to the guilt or innocence of the special individual whom they might select as the object of their vengeance. His conviction upon that point was the more deep when he reflected that the whole system of government in Ireland now was a system of punishing the innocent if they could not find the guilty, and, in some cases, of punishing the innocent whether the guilty were found or not. That system had produced a feeling of the most profound disquiet in the mind of every honest man even in England and Scotland. It had produced in the minds of the people of Ireland amongst whom these terrible wrongs had been perpetrated a feeling of resentment and of horror which which would continue to live and to operate long after the present generation had passed away. This system had, no doubt, enabled the Government to claim that they had vindicated the law. It had enabled them to give some innocent men to the hangman's rope; but he would tell the Government that these dead men in their prison graves to-day were far more formidable to English rule than when they trod the earth, and that those who were now wrongfully confined in convict cells behind bolts and bars were far more powerful witnesses of the evils of that rule than any of them who enjoyed their liberty. Having referred to the proceedings of the Crown in regard to these humble peasants, and described the methods which had culminated in their death, he asked the House to allow him to point to a contrast. Within the last few days the Government in Ireland had a golden opportunity of proving to the Irish people and to the world that they were prepared fairly, courageously, honestly, and impartially to administer the Criminal Law. Two high officials of the Crown had to be placed upon their trial. Did the Crown in the case of these men act upon the first hint of evidence? Did they act as they did in the case of the Tubbercurry prisoners? No; but, thanks to the moral courage and perseverance of a daring journalist, who knew that in entering upon that terrible enterprize he carried his fortunes and his liberties in his hand, thanks to the debates resulting from his action in that House, and to the growth of public feeling amongst intelligent and virtuous people in Great Britain, the moment arrived when the Government were no longer able to evade the issue and screen their subordinates. From the outset, however, like many other Irishmen, he felt a deep suspicion as to the course the Government would pursue. Officials in Ireland knew too much of the system of government that, no matter what crime an official committed, it was unsafe for his superior to pursue him. When the government was conducted by base tricks and sinister intrigues it was necessary that impunity should be accorded to subordinates for their crimes. No doubt, Mr. Cornwall was aware of the tampering by the Government with correspondence of certain persons; and with regard to his worthy fellow-official, James Ellis French, no doubt, he was aware of proceedings of a still more strange and questionable character. Did the Government in the case of these men act on the first hint of evidence? No; it was only when public opinion in England drove them to it they consented to act. They allowed French to remain at his post in Dublin Castle for months after evidence was forced upon their notice. They paid him his salary, they allowed a committee of doctors to bring forward a plea of insanity, they rusticated him. They did not dismiss him from his office, and they only determined to proceed against him when in his retirement he attempted to commit a criminal assault upon one of the constables of his escort. So far from endeavouring to find out the truth of the case, the Government had not up to the present time used the evidence which was discovered by the hon. Member for Mallow. This was an infamous conspiracy. Did the Government apply the Law of Conspiracy to it? Did they place them all in the dock together? They did not. They placed them in the dock one by one, and having got rid of the lowest and least important members of the infamous gang, they faced the cases of the two principal persons. In the case of Mr. Cornwall they had already so fixed the date of the conspiracy, so circumscribed the ambit of time as to shut out the chief evidence from the jury; and as to the composition of the jury itself, would it be believed that, although it must be obvious that a great many of those upon the panel were likely to have strong sympathies with Mr. Cornwall, not a single one of them was ordered to stand aside as they came to the box to be sworn? The Crown were playing for a disagreement—they were angling for an acquittal. They pursued that course which made it quite impossible that a verdict of guilty should be returned. He was informed by a Dublin gentleman with great opportunities of knowledge that in this jury of Cornwall's there were 11 of his fellow-Freemasons; but so flagrant was the case that they were unable to bring in a simple verdict of not guilty—they felt themselves bound to attach the significant and remarkable rider that they had arrived at that verdict because sufficient evidence had not been brought forward by the Crown. That verdict of the Freemasons of Dublin proved in the most conclusive way that the Government, if not criminally, were at least morally, responsible for the failure of justice in this case. They had confined themselves to putting forward two of the most tainted and disreputable witnesses connected with the whole trial, and they had employed counsel who were not usually intrusted with the conduct of criminal cases. Where was the Attorney General, where was the Solicitor General, and where was the tried and truculent Mr. Serjeant O'Brien? They were absent, so that it could not be said afterwards that the Law Officers of the Crown were responsible for a miscarriage of justice. Then, as to French. It would appear that he faced his trial with a light heart. He had written a letter, in which he had said that the Government would not enter a *nolle prosequi* in his case, as certain Irish newspapers would be down upon them, and he added that—

> "If properly worked up, I cannot see why the jury should agree in my case any more than they did in Cornwall's."

An official in Ireland, no matter how heinous the offence with which he was charged, thought himself entitled to immunity and to something more, because he had been an agent in the sharp practice and sinister business which had enabled the Government to hang innocent men. French was anxious that, in his defence, it should be pointed out that he had been concerned in the hounding on of informers, and he said that if this were done "the English Press would take it up," and added, "I should be a regular hero." Here was a fine sample of an Anglo-Irish hero manufactured for British consumption! French went on to say that if the Government would not agree to his terms as to a pension, and as to expenses for "anxiety of mind" in addition, he would "drive them out of Ireland, and will, perhaps, see some of them in the dock, too." Would the Government give their interpretation of this? Well, this letter proceeded—

> "Maamtrasna will be a pain in their side, and Reid's letter will support the Nationalist idea of the massacre."

Who was Reid, and what was in his letter? The man who for 20 years conducted the Detective Department in Dublin Castle said that if the letter of Reid, a Resident Magistrate, came out, it would support the demand made by the Irish Party for the release of the four men now unjustly suffering penal servitude. Would the Government produce this letter, or suppress it as they suppressed the dying declarations of the two men in Myles Joyce's case? No. The Crown felt that if the truth were revealed Lord Spencer would be discredited. Whatever crimes were committed, however justice might be flung to the winds, the reign of Lord Spencer must not be disturbed. But the day would come when the three so-called independent witnesses would approach the administration of the Sacrament, which they had not done since the day of the crime, and the whole of the truth of the Maamtrasna occurrence would come out, so that no man could deny it. There would be another opportunity within the next few days for the Crown to reconsider their position when 11 industrious and respectable men now in the County Sligo Gaol would be brought up for "political and agrarian" offences in the very Court where trial by jury in the case of Cornwall was made a mockery. Would the Court which had allowed a jury favourable to that gentleman keep out of the box every man of the same creed as these 11 prisoners, or every man of supposed sympathy with them? If so, the officers of the Crown would perfect their disgrace. But the demands of public policy dictated the adoption of a wiser and sounder course. It was an evil thing to drive home to the hearts of a sensitive people the feeling that hatred of the law was a moral duty, and that a favourite official need have no fear of punishment. He (Mr. Sexton) warned the House that every day in which the Government persevered in this evil policy would be a day of loss, perplexity, and danger to them, and a day of continual and increasing disgrace before the civilized nations of the world. He would conclude by moving the Amendment of which he had given Notice.

Mr. O'BRIEN, in rising to second the Amendment, said, that what had come to light with respect to the late Inspector General and the employment of such persons as Noonan and Macdermott, would cause the House to reproach itself for its refusal to grant an inquiry which, sooner or later, would have to be granted into the Maamtrasna case. In the course of recent investigations he had reason to understand the threats which French uttered against the late Inspector General, and to learn the meaning of French's statement that he was in a position to make the Castle officials "bite their nails." It would be found that Colonel Hillier would not be the only official who would have to come to terms with French. In what had come out with respect to Noonan and Macdermott would be found the strongest evidence of crime organized by police spies, and paid for out of the Secret Service money, of which French had the administration. Macdermott was a notorious police spy. It was admitted that he had had interviews with Mr. Jenkinson and the Chief Superintendent during the very period when he was organizing a dynamite conspiracy for which a number of men had been sent into penal servitude. The long correspondence between Noonan and Ball, who was French's factotum, threw a flood of light on these matters. Noonan's statement appeared at the time so astounding and incredible that he could hardly give credence to it; but now the genuineness of the correspondence had been placed beyond all doubt by the admissions in the letter of French. The allegation of Noonan was, and the correspondence could bear no other interpretation, that he was employed by French to organize the murder of one of the Judges in Cork, and that he was to implicate a number of prominent Nationalists in Cork in the conspiracy. Was it possible that charges of this kind, coming from a man who knew so much, should remain uninvestigated? These charges imputed infamy and corruption to be running through the whole official class in Dublin Castle, and was it possible that men of this class, who were at the bottom of all this business, were to continue to be shielded in that House? With regard to the trials of these men, the Crown had arranged in the most scandalous manner to procure their acquittal. The House would remember the "rider" which had been appended to the verdict in the case of Cornwall by a jury which was composed of 11 Freemasons. That rider, as his hon. Friend said, amounted to a very significant intimation from that jury that the conduct of the Crown in the case had excited their suspicion. He was of opinion that, coming from such a jury, there never was a stronger impeachment of the prosecution. He claimed no credit for his part in connection with these revelations; but he stated deliberately that he believed that he had been entrapped into it by the Crown, who were under the conviction that it would be his ruin. Instead of receiving any assistance from the officers of public justice in Ireland, that House was assured up to the last moment that the charges were groundless against men that they had since been obliged to put into the dock. They had handed over their evidence to the Crown, but they had not attempted to procure a single scrap of fresh evidence; and not only that, but they had grossly misused the evidence which had been placed at their disposal. As to the discovery of fresh evidence, it was perfectly notorious that their investigations only touched the fringe of a widespread and perfectly horrible conspiracy. Even without stirring outside the ranks of the Royal Irish Constabulary they could find evidence enough to convict French 10 times over. They had got the names of dozens of men of the Royal Irish Constabulary, but they were not able to utilize their evidence, for one of the Rules of the Force forbade these men to give any information to outsiders. The Crown could, however, have easily commanded their evidence. He could give two names of Sub-Inspectors which had been conveyed to Earl Spencer and to Mr. Jenkinson's personal knowledge, who could confirm these charges against French; but not the slightest attempt was made to utilize them. He wanted to know where were the rewards for information? Where were the autograph letters from Earl Spencer preparing those who obtained it for promotion? Instead of this, a police officer whom he could mention who wrote to Earl Spencer apprising him of the charges against French was watched and dogged by the sleuth-hounds of the Government until a trumped-up charge of drunkenness had been made against him, by which unworthy means, and on that pretence, he was driven out of the Force. Considering the amount of evidence which they, unassisted and even opposed by the Government, were able to amass, what could not the Crown have obtained if they proceeded with the same zeal as they did in the Tubbercurry conspiracy cases? In their investigation they had not used any discreditable witnesses, but had four young men of Cornwall's own rank, who could have no conceivable motive in bringing ruinous shame upon themselves. These young men did not depose to actual felony; but they could have satisfied a jury as to the infamous acts and criminal practices. The Crown had, however, elected to try him upon the charge of felony, only utilizing the uncorroborated evidence of two young men whose testimony they had deliberately rejected. The jury, of course, acquitted Cornwall of felony, and the Crown had so proceeded as to destroy the evidence for any other charge. They tried Surgeon Major Fernandez, of the Guards, in Dublin, but never attempted to trace up his associations in London.

MR. HEALY: They dared not—they would come upon too much.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

MR. O'BRIEN said, in continuation, that in the case of the miserable old man Pillar, who was induced to plead guilty, because he was the means of exposing his aristocratic fellow-criminals, he was treated with relentless rigour. They would not accept him as an informer, they would not accept his plea to any minor charge than that of felony. If he had brazened it out, he would doubtless have been acquitted without a stain upon his character. By his sentence of 20 years' penal servitude, all the evidence which he might have given against Cornwall and his confederates was effectually got rid of. The two other miserable criminals, Considine and Fowler, were also got rid of, so that the decks were quite cleared for the trial of Cornwall and Kirwan. The whole of the overwhelming evidence which was available against these men was bevilled and mutilated by the Crown so that it was practically useless. The result was only what might have been expected from the course taken by the Government. Had the Crown been in earnest a very different result would have ensued. If, instead of trying these men one by one for felony, and thus whittling away the case that could be made against them, they had indicted them all for conspiracy, a conviction might have been anticipated. That was the course taken by the Government in agrarian cases, and if ever there was a case in which such a procedure would have been legitimate, it was this felony case. It was all but impossible to prove individual acts of felony; but there was ample evidence to convict all the men of conspiracy. Thus, although Cornwall and French had no direct relations with one another, yet they had all relations with the same gang. By refraining from putting these men on trial together, when the evidence, individually insufficient, would collectively have been ample, the Government had really done its best to insure the acquittal of Cornwall and the others connected with Dublin Castle. He would ask any fair-minded man whether the whole result of these trials could be contemplated without shame by Englishmen? The Crown also, when these officials were in the dock, pursued exactly the opposite policy to that which was adopted in political cases. In Francey Hynes's case, 26 jurors were challenged; in Thomas Higgins's, 26; in Pat Higgins's, 42; in Pat Joyces's, 39; and Joe Poole's, 47. On the contrary, in Cornwall's case, two jurors were challenged only; in the last case, none; and in the case of Fernandez, two Catholics were challenged. It was no wonder, after these cases, that there should be a feeling of loathing in Ireland for the whole Administration, when the failure of justice was seen, and that the people of Ireland put no confidence in the administration of the law when they saw justice meted out in such a different manner to Connaught peasants and the officials of Dublin Castle. He charged Earl Spencer with being as much responsible for the failure of justice in these cases as he was for the miscarriage of justice in the case of Myles Joyce. Sooner or later the House would have to grant an inquiry into all the matters mentioned in the speech of his hon. Friend the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and the sooner it was granted the better it would be for Earl Spencer and for the administration of justice in Ireland.

Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "but humbly to represent to Her Majesty that it is essential to the public interest that the Criminal Law, more particularly with regard to the composition of juries, be impartially administered to the different classes of the people of Ireland."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. TREVELYAN said, he trusted that hon. Members opposite would observe that respectful silence while he was speaking which had been accorded to the two last speakers by the Gentleman behind him. Their remarks were in the nature of accusations, and what he should have to say would be in the nature of a defence. He regretted that there was not a larger attendance of Members in the House; but he was glad to notice that the House that heard the two previous speakers was substantially the same as that now listening to him. It would, therefore, be for those hon. Members to say whether the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) had substantiated the charges made in support of his Amendment, to the effect that it was essential that the Criminal Law, more especially with regard to trial by jury, should be impartially administered to the people of Ireland. He had listened with interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Sligo, knowing that if there was a case to be made out against the Government it would be presented in the best way by the hon. Member. First, then, with regard to the administration of the Criminal Law in Ireland for the purpose of suppressing agrarian crime, the hon. Member had drawn a picture in very high colours, and he (Mr. Trevelyan) should feel it his duty to draw the colours much lighter. The hon. Member went through all those charges which were so very familiar to hon. Members by that time, and he did not endeavour to bring forward any new evidence. He said that cases were withdrawn from the neighbourhood where the crime was committed, presumably that they might be tried where there was more chance of justice, though they were taken where the Government thought they were more likely to obtain a conviction. He (Mr. Trevelyan) should say, on the contrary, that they were transferred from places where public opinion was in some cases of a diseased, and in others of that unfortunate, nature which produced agrarian crime or induced timidity—taken from districts where there was no chance of a fair trial to others where prisoners would be tried without fear or favour. But whether his description or that of the hon. Member for Sligo was right or wrong, this, at all events, was—that change of venue was laid down by the Statute in the 6th section of the Act of 1882, and he maintained it would be in the greatest degree unfair if the same House of Commons which had passed that Statute, and laid on the Irish Executive the obligation of seeing that that change of venue was carried into effect, if that same House of Commons passed a Vote of Censure on the Irish Executive for doing what they did to carry out the undoubted intention of the present Parliament. The hon. Member then spoke of the preliminary investigation upon oath, when there was no defendant specially charged with a crime, and compared it to the worst days of the proceedings of the Star Chamber. But this was a method of getting at the truth, which was devised—and rightly devised—in the interests of the community, and it was a mode of getting at the truth which was practised in several Continental countries, and especially in one Continental country with which Irish public opinion was supposed to be more closely in sympathy with—he would not say than with any country in the world—than any other on the soil of Europe. He alluded to France, and it was a method which, in his own opinion and that of a considerable number of persons who had given the subject a much more enlightened attention than he had been able to give, might very well extend to England and Scotland. It was obligatory on the Irish Executive under the Act cf 1882 to carry out this species of examination on oath before a magistrate where they thought it ought properly to be applied. The matter was debated at great length in Parliament, and he maintained that the Irish Executive had no choice whatever except to apply it to crimes of that description which were described in the Preamble of the Act. Then the hon. Member described special juries as a tribunal to which exception had been taken. He thought that they were class juries. He (Mr. Trevelyan) said, on the other hand, that special juries were juries which were not subjected to those peculiar influences and considerations which rendered 61 murders unpunishable in Ireland, and that they were juries with which they had some chance of a fair and righteous judgment. He did not say all these murders were brought before juries under the system, though of common juries which were susceptible to those influences 61 murders went unpunished, and that argument was a most substantial one with the House of Commons in changing the law. When the House of Commons did change the law after several evenings' debate, this provision was inserted in the Bill in the shape of the 6th section, and it was absolutely impossible for the Irish Executive to ignore it. The question of special juries or of common juries and of the complete inability of the system of common juries to cope with the repression of crime in Ireland was discussed on several nights in the House. Of that he was absolutely certain, as he on more than one occasion remembered making speeches, quoting suggestions, and giving statistics of crimes not made amenable to the law. The particular consideration that this scheme was passed at a time when the hon. Member for Sligo and a good many of his Friends were absent from the House—[Mr. HEALY: Driven from the House]—that it was passed under those circumstances did not, in his opinion, and in the opinion of Parliament, hinder the Irish Executive from carrying it into effect. Then the hon. Member made some exceedingly general and trenchant remarks on the character of the nameless official who was connected with the getting up of criminal cases in Ireland. No one could doubt but that he referred to Mr. George Bolton. They, at all events, were matters in dispute, and he took a different view from the hon. Member. The hon. Member supported his observations about the peculiarities of the juries with certain hearsay anecdotes as having passed between jurors and private friends of his own as to their determination to convict at all hazard. The answer to all this very brilliant, but, in this respect, very vague rhetoric, was that the verdicts had been discriminating. There had been the same proportion as they had at the English Assizes of convictions, of acquittals, and of recommendations to mercy. In Ireland at the present time they were almost free of agrarian crime, and he believed the great body of the Irish farmers were heartily glad that murderous crimes had greatly diminished. They recognized the fact that these crimes were growing with fearful rapidity up to the time of the Crimes Act coming into operation, and they looked for the peace of their homesteads and their livings rather to Acts of Parliament, which constituted a more legitimate method, than to those acts of violence which the hon. Member for Mallow said were regarded by them to a certain extent as a safeguard for their property and rights. [Mr. O'Brien said, he said nothing of the kind.] The hon. Member might not have said so, but he indorsed the view. The hon. Member for Sligo had also complained that in the case of those persons accused of felonious practices the Government had not exercised the power of previous inquiry. But the Government could not put that power in force in such cases as those. The Prevention of Crime Act of 1882 was never intended to deal with cases such as those. What was the Preamble of that Act?

> "Whereas, by the recent action of secret societies and combinations for illegal purposes in Ireland the operation of the ordinary law has become insufficient for the repression and prevention of crime, and it is expedient to make further provision for the purpose."

The hon. Member for Sligo then went to the case of persons accused of certain odious crimes, and complained that the 14th section relating to inquiries on oath was not adopted in that case. He (Mr. Trevelyan), however, said that while the Irish Government was not justified in letting that section lie dormant in cases of agrarian crimes by secret societies, he did not say it would have been justified in putting it in force in the case of these odious crimes. That special power was placed by Parliament in the hands of the Irish Executive in all cases of crimes of a particular nature. It was, indeed, part and parcel of the Prevention of Crime Act, 1882. Hon. Members opposite appeared to imagine that that Act was passed for the purpose of dealing with those odious crimes; but his opinion, and that of the Irish Government, was that it was not passed for that purpose. The hon. Member for Sligo and the hon. Member for Mallow, who supported him at greater length, and far greater detail, said that the charges against these incriminated persons were not followed up with proper zeal, energy, and efficiency; and what were the arguments which were given? The hon. Member for Sligo was told that there were 11 Freemasons upon the jury that tried them! That might be so; but it was certainly new to him that Freemasons, in matters judicial or political, were persons that ought to be excluded from court. Now, he knew something about Freemasonry, and he did not think it was a secret; but there was no more offensive application that could possibly be made by an inexperienced canvasser to a Freemason than to endeavour to actuate his vote at a political election by representing him as a brother Mason. It was a fact that a Freemason resented extremely having his Freemasonry appealed to on such an occasion; and it had never crossed the mind of the most suspicious Old Bailey barrister that it was in the slightest degree to the advantage of a client of his, if he was a Freemason, that another Freemason happened to be on the jury. If it was the case even that there were 11 Freemasons on this jury, it was very difficult to imagine that the Government could be charged with having formed this very curious jury, because one of the charges made against the Government was that they refrained from challenging jurors. On this question of challenging jurors, in the matter of Cornwall and French, the Government appeared to him to stand in a very firm position. The Government was strongly and vehemently accused by both sides in this unhappy affair of having acted most unfairly. They were charged by the hon. Member with not having struck off from the jury the friends or the people who might, from political opinions or from social position, be supposed to be sympathizers of Cornwall; and, on the other hand, they were charged by the friends of Cornwall — notably by his solicitors—with having refrained from using the power of challenging jurors and with having left on the jury well-known Nationalists. In the case of French, jurors were challenged by the Government; and for what purpose? Those jurors who had served on the Cornwall jury were challenged—[Mr. Healy: One]—and that was the only purpose for which the Government used its right of challenging, which, in his opinion, was a very proper purpose. The Government were then charged with not having brought forward sufficient or proper evidence against these men. The hon. Member for Mallow had complained that the Government tried Mr. Cornwall on the charge of felony first. What would the hon. Gentleman have said if the Irish Government had not adopted that course? The hon. Member had charged Mr. Cornwall in his paper with being a felon. If Mr. Cornwall was not a felon, that was a libel. But the jury distinctly found that Mr. Cornwall was a felon, and then the Irish Government was accused of favouring Mr. Cornwall, because, after that finding, they put him upon his trial as a felon. Surely, the evidence that convinced a civil jury was the evidence to be brought before a criminal jury. [*Home Rule interruption, and cries of* "No!"]

MR. SPEAKER: Hon. Members must not interrupt.

MR. TREVELYAN said, that when Mr. Cornwall had been acquitted of felony, the Executive Government proceeded against him on the higher charge. The Irish Government proceeded against Mr. Cornwall for conspiring to promote immorality, and that was the only legal indictment upon which he could have been charged with the slightest hope of a conviction. As regarded the evidence, every scrap of evidence which the Government thought was legal testimony bearing upon this charge was collected and brought forward. The hon. Member for Sligo had insinuated that the Government were afraid of proceeding against Mr. Cornwall, because he was in possession of certain secrets. That was an insinuation which could not be brought against them with any effect, because the Government in its action in Mr. Cornwall's case showed that it was not afraid of his exposing any secrets that might be in his possession. The very first moment that the Government had any evidence before them they put Mr. Cornwall upon his trial. ["No, no!"] The moment the civil action was decided, and had gone against him, no time was lost in putting Mr. Cornwall upon his trial upon charges the House might be very certain a Government did not make against a man with whom they had guilty secrets in common. Then the hon. Member for Sligo read a letter from French, and it was extraordinary that there should seem to exist in the mind of the hon. Member the belief that there was in the rhodomontade of French anything which was at all discreditable to the Irish Executive. French declared that he would put them out of Ireland, and that if they wanted to make terms with him without a pension he must get £20,000 and nothing less. That document appeared to him to be about as odious and as disgraceful to the person who wrote it as any document could possibly be, and he was extremely sorry at the use which had been made of it in that House. The threat of French was one of a nature to which the Government could not pay the slightest attention. [*Interruption.*]

MR. SPEAKER said, he must request that those interruptions, which were unseemly, be discontinued, or he should be obliged to take further notice of them.

MR. TREVELYAN said, the hon. Member for Sligo had stated that he should bewilder the House by his eloquence. He (Mr. Trevelyan) was certain that what that matter required was not eloquence, but a statement of plain facts. He had often objected to making the House of Commons a Court of Law to try cases; but it was much worse still to turn it into a sort of whispering gallery for making insinuation against individuals clearly of a criminal nature, the very name of the crime not being given, and the insinuation, too, proceeding from a foul and corrupted source. A nation whose Representatives could accept accusations against its public servants on the mere insinuation of a man driven into a corner by a criminal charge, would hardly be worthy of Representative Institutions at all. The threats of French proved nothing except that the Government, in the opinion of the man against whom they were proceeding for an odious crime, were acting in a way to provoke his apprehensions, and, with his apprehensions, his indignation. Unfair and unscrupulous the Government was not; but it would do its best to bring to justice men who never would have been placed at the criminal bar but for the belief in their guilt. There was only one other matter to which he had not referred, and that was a short passage in the letter about the Maamtrasna trials—

> "The Maamtrasna case will be a pain in the side, though I do not know anything about it; but if Reid's letter comes out, it would help to support the National ideas about Maamtrasna."

There was one clause in that sentence he fully believed—that the writer did not know anything about the Maamtrasna case, for, if he did, he would know there was no letter from Mr. Reid that in any way could be construed to support or assent to the view the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) and his Colleagues put forward on that case. He maintained that the conduct of the

Government in all the cases actually referred to by the hon. Members for Sligo and Mallow had been conduct not of a nature to qualify the peroration of the hon. Member for Sligo, or the Amendment he had put on the Paper. He did not believe they would produce on the mind of the House any conviction that the Irish peasant had little or no chance, or that the paid official little or no danger, when it became the duty of the Irish Executive to prosecute the one or the other. Unless the House approved of these two propositions, he was sure they would be very slow to pass the Amendment. To use words he had only too often used in the House, it would render it difficult and even impossible absolutely to repress crime in Ireland.

Mr. PATRICK POWER said, that although he belonged to a Party which had had exceptional treatment at the hands of the House, and although he had to speak on a subject which he knew was distasteful, he trusted that he should receive the indulgence which was always extended to a new Member. He felt that the majority preferred to be informed by Gentlemen on their own side of the House, who, as they supposed, knew a great deal more about Ireland than the Irish Members sitting near him did. Representing as he did a constituency which had suffered long and much at the hands of the officials of the Government, he felt he would not be discharging his duty to them if he did not lay before the House some of the reasons which made the English rule, as administered at Dublin Castle, so hated and detested by the Irish people. In most countries the object of all wise statesmen was to rule the country according to the views of the majority, and to prove to all classes that the scales of justice were held evenly, and where that opinion did not prevail they never could have peace and order. Unfortunately, in Ireland those wise rules were completely set at naught. They had one law for the rich, and another for the poor; one law for the part of Ireland North of the Boyne, and another for the portion South of the Boyne; one law for the freeze-coated trespasser, and another for the trespasser in pink. In this country, again, the Crown officials and the Judges of the land were men who conducted the business of the Crown in a way which was a credit to the country and the Constitution; in Ireland, on the other hand, it was very different. There, all was given, not for merit, but for political reasons, and the Judges were thus made partizans. If the hon. and learned Members for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and Plymouth (Mr. Clarke), who, in a recent Maamtràsna debate, condemned the tone of the speech of the Solicitor General, were to hear some of the political harangues to which the Irish people were treated from the Bench, they would think the speech of the Solicitor General a very weak performance. They were expected, under these circumstances, to respect law and order. They heard that cant phrase from all quarters; but the people who spoke it forgot that the first thing necessary was to make laws worthy of respect. Neither the laws nor those who administered them were, with very few exceptions, worthy of respect. He felt certain that before very long they would have the opportunity of asking a Tory Solicitor General for those depositions and other documents which Her Majesty's present Government did not care to produce. A Catholic chaplain, who had attended at six executions in the prison to which he was attached, had informed him that he was not more certain of his own existence than of the innocence of two of these convicts. The Government officials in Ireland only consulted the public feeling of England. They had a remarkable instance of this the other evening when the Prime Minister appealed to the public opinion of England in support of Earl Spencer, and ignored the feeling in Ireland. Respect for English law had never been at so low an ebb in Ireland before. Talbot, several years ago, visited his district in the County Waterford, and by direction of Dublin Castle was guilty of the most heinous sacrilege with the view of worming himself into the confidence of the Nationalists. A priest residing in the locality had written to him on this subject—"All his villainies were perpretated under the direct supervision of the Local Authorities." With circumstances like these occurring they were asked to respect law and order. If the English Government wished to make their rule respected, and to obtain that moral support without which no Government could stand, they must change their hand altogether.

MR. BIGGAR said, the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had not replied to some of the strongest points of his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton), more especially with regard to what was a very important part of his hon. Friend's speech—namely, the packing of juries. Everybody in Ireland was anxious that the perpetrators of the Maamtrasna murders should be convicted and punished; and he was certain that a jury of the County Galway would have given as impartial a verdict upon the case as any jury in any other part of Ireland.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

MR. BIGGAR, continuing, said, in the case of Joe Poole, tried in Dublin for murder, over 40 jurors were challenged. The duty of the Crown he believed to be, to have, so far as possible, an impartial jury; but what they actually did was to secure a conviction, and to bring about a verdict for political purposes. The result of all this was that the law, as administered, was detested. The Lord Lieutenant in the South of Ireland was received with black flags suspended from the windows, and the president of the local Land League, who shook hands with His Excellency, was turned out of his office and had to apologize. And in the North of Ireland what happened? When His Excellency went to the North of Ireland, a Presbyterian clergyman, who was also a reporter for a certain newspaper, because he shook hands with His Excellency and received him hospitably, was at once dismissed. These incidents showed the feeling that so universally prevailed in Ireland with reference to the administration of the law; and, as a matter of fact, any contempt in which the law was held in Ireland was due to the manner in which it was administered. There was an institution in that City with which they were doubtless more or less acquainted, associated with the name of "Judge and Jury," and Baron Nicholson might be said to preside with quite as much dignity and fairness at that "Coal-hole" as some of the Irish Judges, of whom a certain number were admittedly of an objectionable character.

MR. SPEAKER: I do not think that expression just used by the hon. Member is a proper one.

MR. BIGGAR: What expression?

MR. SPEAKER: I must call on the hon. Member to withdraw it.

MR. BIGGAR: Withdraw what expression?

MR. SPEAKER: The expression was one reflecting on the Judges of the land. I ask the hon. Member to withdraw it.

MR. BIGGAR: Withdraw what?

MR. SPEAKER: The expression made use of, and if the hon. Gentleman does not withdraw it, I will be obliged to take further notice of his conduct.

MR. BIGGAR: But what was the expression? If I knew precisely what it was, I might explain or withdraw it.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member used an expression reflecting on the whole Bench of Judges in Ireland. He said what, according to my recollection, and, I believe, in the recollection of the House, was of a very insulting nature, reflecting on the Judges, and I ask him to withdraw.

MR. BIGGAR: It is clear you have not understood what I said. I said a certain proportion of the Judges were of a very objectionable character. I did not say the whole of them, for I do not hold that opinion. I can name two or three of them for whom I have a great respect. There is Chief Baron Palles, for instance, a man of the highest character, and also Judge Harrison and Mr. Justice Andrews. But, on the other hand, there are several others who cannot be mentioned in the same category. The law is administered in an absurd way, and the magistrates are appointed in a way that deprives them of any respect from the people. The policy of jury-packing has become quite notorious, and the result is that juries are provided from the partizans of the Crown—men belonging to the landlord class, or whose sympathies are entirely connected with that class. The Government will do well to remove that system of jury-packing in such a wholesale manner, and also to see that there is a revision of the sentences on all those who are now in prison, and who have been convicted upon the decisions of these packed juries, and thus make some reparation for their past misconduct. In conclusion, I hope this discussion will be a caution to the Government to act more wisely and more fairly.

Mr. LEAMY said, it appeared to him that the announcement of the Chief Secretary, in answer to the Question of the hon. Member for Monaghan, was a far more serious indictment of the Goment than anything that had fallen from the Irish Members. The admission that George Bolton had been reappointed to his former position showed conclusively that the Lord Lieutenant and the present Chief Secretary were not only resolved to set the National Party at defiance, but to ignore the opinion of every honest man in the country. There was one significant fact about the administration of the law under the Crimes Act—namely, that such administration obtained the approval of the Conservative class which in England denounced the Premier as a traitor to his country, and which declared that the policy of the Liberal Party—except in Ireland—was one against which every honest Englishman ought to rebel. Three weeks ago he had an experience in Dublin which he wished every English Minister had. He thought it would make them ask whether their policy in Ireland was a wise one. Going home about 8 o'clock in the evening, he heard a clattering of hoofs and a clanging of sabres. Then he saw a dragoon trotting along, and 40 yards behind him another dragoon. Then came a whole crowd of dragoons, and in the midst of them was the Lord Lieutenant's carriage, surrounded by men armed to the teeth. This was one result of the Liberal Coercion Act, for in the time of Tory rule the Lord Lieutenant was accompanied by but a few soldiers, less for service than for show. This change was owing to the policy of coercion and repression, which, if it had been practised by their political opponents, would have brought down the denunciation of the Liberal Party, whose Irish policy was the only one which was supported by the Conservatives. The late Chief Secretary had made no attempt wholly to defend the policy pursued when he was in Office. He only said that the Coercion Act was given him by that House, and that it would be unfair for the House to blame the Irish Government for the manner in which the Act had been used. He (Mr. Leamy) thought there was a want of manliness about that statement. The right hon. Gentleman did not attempt to justify the manner in which the Act had been employed. Then he said that similar powers were exercised by foreign tribunals—in France, for instance. It was extraordinary to find such a lover of freedom as the right hon. Gentleman going to France to find an excuse for the policy which he was pursuing in Ireland. It was true that Irishmen sympathized with France, for France had opened her arms to their forefathers, who were driven from Ireland by these same infamous British laws, and he (Mr. Leamy) wished to God that every Irish soldier who had fallen under the English flag could have fallen under the flag of France, instead of under a flag which had brought misery and ruin and degradation into every country into which it had been carried. The right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Trevelyan) had said that the Act had been employed for the purpose of eliciting the truth. The same excuse was made by the Minister of the Star Chamber, and in defence of every species of torture in the worst days of the Spanish Inquisition. The one thing remarkable about the right hon. Gentleman was the readiness with which he came forward to defend every system adopted in Ireland which was opposed to all that was Constitutional in England. Then as to jury-packing, the right hon. Gentleman had said that he could see no reason why, if a Freemason were put upon his trial, Freemasons should be tabooed from the jury. But he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman why, when he claimed that for the Freemasons, he would refuse the same independence of mind to a man who happened to be a Catholic? In all the trials that had taken place men had been ordered to stand aside; and he defied any man in Ireland to discover any reason why nine out of 10 of those men should have been so ordered to stand aside unless it was because they were Catholics. It was notorious that almost from time immemorial Catholic after Catholic had been ordered to stand aside. Supposing that an indictment resulted from the Birmingham riots, and that three or four Gentlemen of the Liberal Party—those who got over the wall—were empannelled, would any Attorney General have the hardihood to order every man whom he knew to be a supporter of Mr.

Chamberlain to stand aside? So long as the Government administered the Criminal Law in England in a different manner from that in which it was administered in Ireland, so long they must expect the people in Ireland to regard the administration of the law with distrust and hatred. The Irish Members, however, were speaking to a deaf House, because the Tory Party, unfortunately, was satisfied to see them put upon by the Liberals, as they knew that it caused them to hate the Liberals; and the Liberal Party was convinced that the present Ministry was incapable of doing wrong. But as the Prime Minister had been found to have blundered in Egypt and South Africa and other parts of the world, so he would be found to have blundered in Ireland.

MR. BARRY said, he conceived that in England it would be utterly impossible for jurors to be told to stand down as Catholics were in Ireland; but his special object was to refer to some of the remarkable statements made in the letter of Mr. James Ellis French. He was much struck by the light and airy manner in which the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) had passed over that part of the case. On more than one occasion the right hon. Gentleman had stood up in his place and defended Mr. French, and spoken of him as a tried and trusted servant, and did everything he could to shield him from the charges of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien); and it was not until he was driven by the gathering force of public opinion that he had taken any steps to bring French to justice. That night the right hon. Gentleman had spoken of French as a "wretch," and had used the strongest terms he could in reference to him. That was a remarkable change of front, because, after all, it must be admitted that the unfortunate man had not yet been found guilty, and the cause of that change of front might be found in the letter. The letter was not written to intimidate the Government; it was written by French to a trusted friend, and by a mere accident came into the hands of the Government. Therefore, the attempt of the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland to neutralize the impression made by it fell to the ground. Statements of the kind contained in the letter, coming as they did from one who had been a high and trusted official of the Crown, demanded searching inquiry on the part of the Government. The letter said—

> "Now, as to the pension, I think from the way I am treated by the Government, I will hesitate very much before I come to any terms with them, and expose them as much as I possibly can."

When a man like French was in a position to talk of exposing the Government, it subjected them to very grave suspicions. A little further on, the letter said—

> "If Reid's letter came out, it would help to support the National idea about Maamtrasna."

That was also a remarkable statement, seeing the position which Mr. Reid occupied, and considering that in all probability he would be the successor of Mr. Jenkinson. The letter also said—"Then there is Macdermott and many others." Now, this Macdermott, it was said, was a man engaged by French to get up Fenian conspiracies. He hoped they would have some explanations from the Solicitor General for Ireland by-and-bye with reference to the statements in this letter, and that he would give an assurance that the allegations would be thoroughly and fairly investigated. In this country they had been told for the last three months that it was a monstrous and intolerable thing that the will of the people with respect to the franchise should be obstructed by some 50 Peers. But if that was an intolerable thing in England, was it not still more intolerable that in Ireland the will of the people with regard to the administration of justice should be set at naught by one Peer? The Irish Members might not be able to prevent that now, but they were able to expose it; and the time would come when they would be strong enough to put an end to it.

MR. MARUM said, that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the English people to understand the state of feeling in Ireland upon this question of jury-packing without some knowledge of the previous history of the country; and he would, therefore, proceed to give a short historical retrospect. [The hon. Gentleman then quoted some paragraphs from a work by Mr. O'Connell, passing in review some of the great landmarks in Irish history. Beginning with the period of 1612, when the Irish people were first received into allegiance —before that time they were named in all legal documents and Acts of Parliament "the Irish enemy," and might be murdered by a person of English descent with impunity—he passed on to the War of the Confederation in 1641, at the close of which the property of the Native races was utterly confiscated; then to the Revolution of 1688 and the Treaty of Limerick; and on to the Reign of Queen Anne, when the Penal Laws were imposed.] The system of jury-packing was calculated to revive all those old memories and kindle them into a flame.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Member that his remarks are not relevant to the question before the House—the administration of the Criminal Law in Ireland. I must ask him to keep more strictly to the subject of debate.

Mr. MARUM said, he would, of course, bow to the ruling of the right hon. Gentleman, and would just sum up. He proposed to make his references relevant by showing that the introduction of the doctrine of ascendency at trials in Ireland tended to raise bitter feelings with regard to the past. In addition to the testimony of Edmund Burke upon the point, he desired to quote an old Minute published by the Dublin Corporation. That Minute set forth the position of Protestants in Ireland, and advised the Catholics to rest content.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must, for the second time, call the hon. Gentleman's attention to the irrelevancy of his speech.

Mr. MARUM said, that, in deference to the ruling of the Chair, he would not pursue the matter further. All he desired to prove was that it would be wrong for the Government to do anything to rekindle the unfortunate difference which existed in the past with regard to religion. At the present time there was no commercial element in Ireland, and the result was that they had partizan juries. In such a state of things he preferred a trial before three Judges, with a right of challenge. If the selection of the jury was placed in the hands of the Judge, he should think the arrangement an equitable one; but to hand it over to the Crown, to officials whose reputation and credit depended on securing a conviction, and to place in their hands an unlimited right of challenge, was plainly unfair to the prisoners. It was only by criticism in that House they could call the attention of the public to the injustice worked by the present system, and the ill-feeling it created among the Catholic population, who were ordered to stand by and excluded from the jury-box. He had received great complaints on this head from many quarters. In one case, within his own knowledge, a magistrate, having considerable jurisdiction in cases where he acted both as Judge and jury, was ordered to stand aside because he was a Catholic. In this way all the old and painful associations which had collected round the difference in creed existing in Ireland were revived, and the difficulty of administering justice and of disposing the people favourably to its administration greatly increased.

Mr. MOORE said, he would not follow hon. Members opposite in denunciation of the Irish Judges; but he should not be doing his duty to his constituents, or to his own conscience, if he did not rise and testify to the widespread dissatisfaction which existed in consequence of the continued exclusion of Roman Catholics from the jury-box. He did not so much object to a change of venue; but he deplored, in the strongest language, the trial of men of humble class before juries strictly composed of men differing from them in both class, interest, and creed. He earnestly hoped the time was near at hand when this most obnoxious system of the challenge of Roman Catholics as Roman Catholics should cease, for it was the cause of a widespread feeling of dissatisfaction among the people of Ireland. No doubt, the Royal Irish Constabulary were a highly respectable body of men; but it was desirable that they should be kept under a well-regulated system of control, especially in times of exceptional legislation. He wished to draw attention to the case of some publicans who decorated their houses on the occasion of a Nationalist meeting at Carrick-on-Suir. There was an old Statute which made such a proceeding illegal, and the publicans, on being summoned to the Court, were fined £2 a-piece by the magistrate, who, however, recommended them to appeal to the Board of Inland Revenue for a remission of the fine. A similar case arose during the visit of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts to a remote district in the South of the county of Cork. A number of publicans were summoned for decorating their houses; but the magistrates refused to deal with the case, and dismissed the summonses *en bloc.* He wanted to know who was responsible for these frivolous and petty persecutions, which simply harassed the people into disloyalty? Even from the Government's own point of view, these prosecutions were injudicious; for they might rely upon it that they would not prevent Nationalism by summoning Nationalists for hanging out a black or any other flag. The condition of the Irish Prisons came within the scope of the Amendment, and with regard to it, the Report of the Royal Commission, which had been presided over by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton-Cross), had caused great uneasiness as to the way in which they were managed. The Commissioners said there could be no doubt that the punishments were greatly in excess of those inflicted in English prisons. They likewise stated that the treatment of untried prisoners under remand was most unsatisfactory. Moreover, it appeared from the Report, and it was one of the most alarming features of Irish prison life, that there was an unduly large number of insane prisoners, particularly in the convict prisons at Mountjoy and Spike Island; and it turned out that in many cases insanity followed the frequent repetition of punishments, for the discipline was very harsh. He wished to know what action the Government intended to take in regard to the Report of the Royal Commission? In conclusion, he would express an earnest hope that something would soon be done to bring these institutions into a satisfactory condition.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND said, it was exceedingly discouraging to the Irish Members to come down to the House to discuss a subject of such importance as that, and to find no more than about half-a-dozen English Members present to hear what was to be said on the question. It was a fitting illustration of the mockery of the so-called government of Ireland by the House of Commons. It was, however, satisfactory to see on the Treasury Bench three English or Scotch Gentlemen who had been, or were still, connected with the administration of the law in Ireland. He wished to allude to one very important fact as bearing upon the question before the House. Her Majesty's Government had thought fit to retain in the Public Service Mr. George Bolton; and he did not think there could be a circumstance more tending to handicap the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland in his career in Ireland, than that simultaneously with his first public appearance, the reappointment of George Bolton should be announced. The reason he said that was this—that there could be nothing done that would cause more indignation amongst the Irish people than the reappointment of Mr. George Bolton. If the Government were serious in their anxiety to bring about contentment and peace in Ireland, why, in the name of goodness, did the Government appoint men to positions of importance who were actually loathsome to the Irish people? Who was George Bolton? He was a man who was notoriously infamous; a man, the very breathing of whose name would call forth a burst of indignant remonstrance in any part of Ireland; therefore his reappearance in office would be taken by the people of Ireland as a challenge. They would say that the Government had supported Bolton because they were afraid of him. The letter of French, which had so unexpectedly come to light, would strengthen that impression. The phrase contained in it, "and perhaps see some of them in the dock," could only be a hint as to what it was in French's power to do if he did not receive what he considered to be adequate protection from the Government. French was on his trial, and the jury had not been able to agree. But he fully anticipated that French would be acquitted and provided with a handsome sum of money to enable him to withdraw from the country. Mr. Bolton had been liberated because the Government were afraid that he would fulfil his threat of disclosing matters which it would have been detrimental to their interests to make public. If the persons accused in the Cornwall case were guilty of any offence it was one of conspiracy, and yet the Government, instead of indicting them together, indicted them separately, the consequence being that the wealthy and influential persons got off, while those without money, friends, or position were convicted. He wished to know why the Government had not proceeded against French, Cornwall, and the others charged in this conspiracy at the same time, as had been done in the case of Mr. Parnell and the officers of the Land League? If he might supply a reason, he would say it was because the Government did not wish to punish Cornwall, French, and the others, but merely to carry on what was little better than a sham trial for the purpose of keeping up the character of the Irish Administration. The rule of Lord Spencer had resulted in his being unable to cross the street unless he was protected with soldiers with drawn sabres; and even if the whole of the Royal Family of this country were to transfer their residence to Ireland, "bag-and-baggage," from Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen down to the most insignificant understrapper in Windsor Castle, there would be the same guards, the same suspicion, and the same trouble in the administration of justice. They would never rule Ireland from this House, because the people did not believe in them. He did not say that people in Ireland had made up their minds in a blind way to oppose every rule and all rulers. They were as sensible to kindness and good government as any people; but, from the past maladministration, there had been aroused suspicion and hatred of the law in Ireland which would never be eradicated from the minds of the people until an Irish Parliament on Irish soil should make the law and administer it after the hearts of the people themselves. Sooner or later, if the Government did not pay attention to the men who were sent to that House to speak on behalf of Ireland, they would be obliged to listen to men in Ireland who would perhaps command their attention more fixedly, and who would not be satisfied with evasive replies from the Treasury Bench. If anything could tend to the continuance of the Union between the two countries it would be that English Members should show more interest in Irish affairs.

Mr. PLUNKET: I can assure the hon. Gentleman who has just sat down (Mr. W. Redmond) that I do not ask the indulgence of the House in the character of an official or ex-official. I desire only very briefly to contribute my opinion and testimony on the question before the House as an Irish Member and as an Irishman. I have no intention of following in detail the course of the arguments to which we have listened this evening. I cannot claim any special official knowledge on the subject, but I have taken an interest in this discussion through the common sources of information which are open to all of us in the newspapers, and I have heard to-night the whole case debated, first in the impassioned speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and then in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan), and I think I am now in a position to form an impartial and independent opinion on the subject. The first thing I have to say is, that most of the points raised in the course of the debate have been discussed over and over again. The only new salient features in the case are the circumstances connected with the prosecution of French, and the very extraordinary letter which has been read this evening. It would be most unjust for me to express any opinion I may have formed on this subject, whether for or against French, and of the character of the charges now made against him, for the very simple reason that, as I understand, French is to stand his trial again; and hon. Members below the Gangway ought to bear in mind that it is impossible for these charges to be made without prejudicimg in a most unfair way the trial of French. [An hon. Member: He may trust the Freemasons.] The hon. Member, I think, has Freemasonry on the brain. I say we cannot discuss this matter of French's with any degree of fairness. I am not going to argue either the case of Cornwall or the others? How on earth can we retry them here? If those gentlemen had been convicted, there would have been very little said on the sentences pronounced upon them; but they have stood their trial, they have been acquitted, and having been acquitted, are entitled to all the consequences resulting therefrom, and to be regarded as innocent. Then, again, as regards the special charges made against the juries who were empannelled under the Crimes Act, why, we have often heard those charges before. Ever since the Crimes Act was passed, ever since convictions began to be had, in cases in which our own consciences as well as that of the civilized world were fully satisfied of the justice of the verdicts, from time to time these complaints have been reiterated, though they have never been substantiated. But now hon. Gentlemen from Ireland bring a new charge, and complain that many of these special jurors are Freemasons, for that is what the hon. Member for Sligo says. I hope I shall not forfeit his good opinion of me when I say that I have myself been a Freemason, and have held high office in the Order, and my only regret is that I have not been able of late years to attend to those excellent and pleasant meetings of the craft as often as I once was able to do. But to charge the Freemasons with a desire to influence men in their politics, or in the discharge of their duties as special jurors, is the wildest imagination. It is no disclosure of a secret to say that both political and religious discussions are left outside the door of Freemasonry altogether, and are absolutely forbidden. [" No, no ! "] I say they are absolutely forbidden so far as regards Freemasonry in Ireland. I do not know what may be the practice abroad; but no one who knows anything about Freemasonry in these Islands will venture to suggest that a man can gain or lose a single vote on the ground of his being or his not being a Freemason. Such a thing is really absurd; and, certainly, I have never expected to gain a Liberal vote or lose a Tory one on the ground of my Freemasonry. Nothing could be more odious and revolting to the spirit of Freemasonry than to shield a man guilty of such offences as were charged against these persons; and nothing could be more misleading or insulting than to make such a statement. All through the State trials, the special jurors summoned under the Crimes Act took their part in the administration of justice, and they have been exposed not only to these severe criticisms in the House of Commons and on the public platforms, but they have done their duty in the face of perpetual danger to their property and their lives, and in fact, in some instances, have almost lost their lives. This I say, that whatever improvement may have come over the face of my unhappy country in recent times has been due more to these special jurors, who have continued to do their duty in difficult times, than to any other cause. I feel it is my duty to bear my testimony to the services of these men, considering they have been so severely denounced by some hon. Gentlemen from Ireland. As to the Government, they have defended themselves, and I am not going to say anything in addition to what has been urged by the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland. For my own part, I must say that on most subjects connected with the government of Ireland, it is my misfortune to have strongly condemned, step by step, their public action, and much of their public policy, and the more I think of it, and as the time goes by, I feel more and more convinced that they are responsible for very much of the misfortune, difficulty, and disgrace that has fallen on my unhappy country. But that is not the question to-night. I have listened to the debate, and can only give my most independent and unbiassed opinion that the charges and attacks made in this instance have not been substantiated; and I, therefore, feel it my duty to support the Government in what I believe to have been their conscientious administration of the law in Ireland.

MR. KENNY said, he was of opinion that Freemasonry had, to a considerable extent, influenced the verdicts of the special jurors. If hon. Members would refer to a letter written by French, but which had not been intended for publication, they would find the following words:—

> "The clerk here, a nice young fellow, is a Mason. The head porter told me so to-day, who is a Roman Catholic, in his presence; so we have a look at each other. I nearly think the clerk wished me to know it."

That would show how this question of Masonry came in even in French's case. Irish Freemasonry was very different from English Freemasonry; in fact, as different as was English Freemasonry from Continental Freemasonry. He thought that the discussion was very appropriate, because it coincided with the notification made by the Chief Secretary for Ireland that Mr. George Bolton had been restored to his position as jury-packer-in-chief in Dublin Castle. Mr. Bolton had been whitewashed by the moral officials of Dublin Castle; and they might now look forward, in these cases of treason-felony and conspiracy to murder, to Mr. Bolton being left to pursue his ancient devices, and to packed juries being sent to try men dragged from remote villages throughout the country. He would refer to two or three cases which had come within his own personal knowledge of jury-packing in Ireland within the last year or two. Although hon. Members protested against the House of Commons being used as a Court of Appeal, he thought it might very appropriately be used for the review of certain judicial proceedings, especially such as the manipulation of jurors for the purposes of the Government of the day. He remembered that, some time ago, when an analysis of the Dublin Jury List was circulated, a gentleman was arrested who was residing in Liverpool on suspicion of having manipulated the Jury List. He was tried, and sentenced to six months' imprisonment for having put forward a list of jurors for the City and County of Dublin, in which he gave the names of the jurors, specified their religion, and gave other particulars about them. He also remembered, about 12 months ago, calling the attention of the Chief Secretary for Ireland to the case of Thomas J. Bower, a special juror of the same city and county, who had been employed by the Crown at the trial of certain of the Phœnix Park prisoners. He had mentioned the case in order to ascertain from the right hon. Gentleman what special qualification, or what qualification at all, Thomas J. Bower possessed for serving as a special juror in the City and County of Dublin, because he had found, on inquiry, that the position held by Thomas J. Bower was that of a messenger employed in the Custom House of Dublin by the Board of Works Department, with a salary of 20*s*. a-week. He was told by the right hon. Gentleman, in reply, that Thomas J. Bower had the necessary rating qualification which entitled him to act as a special juror, and, on making further inquiry, he ascertained that Bower's rating qualification was derived from some room he occupied over a riding-stable in Dublin, which he had advertised as an insurance office. Apart from the question whether it was legal or illegal to appoint such a man as Bower to the position of special juryman, there was this fact—that the real qualification which entitled him to be a special juryman in Dublin was that he was the secretary and paid official of three or four Orange Lodges, and that he had acted as an Emergency man under an assumed name in the county of Tipperary and other places. When he (Mr. Kenny) mentioned those facts to the House, the reply of the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland was that he was holding up the name of Thomas J. Bower to public odium, and that similar consequences might befall him as had happened to others who had performed their duty. He (Mr. Kenny) cited the case now, because he thought there could not be the slightest personal danger to Bower in repeating it, and he only repeated it as an instance of the manner in which the Jury List of Dublin City and County had been manipulated by George Bolton and his *confrères*. There had been numerous instances in which unfortunate men had fared badly owing to the manner in which George Bolton and other Crown officials had manipulated the Jury Lists. In Ireland, on the most trifling evidence, which in England would convict no one, men had been sentenced to penal servitude for life. In Cork, in one instance, two men, whose case he had brought before the House, and in regard to whom some remarkable circumstances had transpired—namely, the brothers, Delahunty—they were tried at Cork, and he wished to direct the attention of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland and the right hon. Gentleman the new Chief Secretary to the way in which they were arrested and tried by a jury in Cork composed entirely of Freemasons. They were transferred from a remote district in the county of Clare to the city of Cork, of which they knew nothing, and where the witnesses who were necessary for their defence were not likely to be known personally or to be credited. The chief witness summoned on their behalf was a lady of high standing belonging to a wealthy family; the men had been in her employment, and she swore a distinct and clear *alibi* for one of them, the evidence going to prove that it was highly improbable that the other man could have been in the place where it was alleged a certain individual was fired at. The evidence of this lady would have been fully believed if the case had been tried in the County Clare; but in Cork it was entirely discredited; and one doubtful point which was not cleared up on the trial—namely, whether a servant girl had supplied one of the men with a revolver beforehand or not, was not cleared up owing to the fact that the solicitor for the defence was not present to instruct counsel. The men were convicted, and at the present moment were undergoing penal servitude for life. A remarkable fact had since transpired — namely, that a man had made a declaration that he had suborned the evidence against these men. No doubt, the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland had stated to the House that this evidence, even assuming it to be suborned, was not essential to the conviction; but that was a statement very common for an Irish Law Officer to make. There were many other instances he could recite of prisoners who had been convicted by juries composed of persons opposed to the principles, the political life, and the religious sentiments of the majority of the Irish people. He wondered what Englishmen would think if it was the habit in this country to try every Protestant by a jury of Catholics! If England were only for a short time subjected to that sort of treatment—if upon every jury panel the names of Protestants were studiously omitted, and Catholics carefully put on—if, whenever a Freemason was brought up for trial, the jury was packed and well-known Papists were empannelled for the unmistakable purpose of securing a conviction, he wondered how long the English people would tolerate such a system. It was only by endeavouring to bring the case home to themselves that they could realize the feeling of exasperation and hatred which must be engendered in Ireland against this system, so opposed as it was to fair play and common justice. The ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland had for the second time that night trotted out the number of unpunished murders that had occurred in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman had mentioned that there had been 61 persons murdered in Ireland, in connection with whom the murderers had been undetected. Did that list of 61 include the name of Michael Joyce? Because it struck him (Mr. Kenny), in computing the number of murders which had taken place in Ireland, it was not only undesirable, but improper, to exclude those who had been murdered by process of law. He thought that if the total number of murders which had taken place in Ireland, and the total number of innocent men who had been executed by judicial process were counted, the number of those who had been wrongfully executed would exceed the number unpunished. Unhappily, it seemed to be in that House a perfectly useless task to direct the attention of English Members to this condition of affairs. In the condition of affairs in Ireland, the administration of justice, or rather the maladministration of justice, could only be brought home to Englishmen by startling occurrences. Whenever a great crime took place in Ireland, it startled the people of this country and they directed their attention to the condition of things there. They had it from the Prime Minister in Mid Lothian, when recently speaking there, that so concentrated was his attention upon other matters, that the condition of Ireland for some four or five years had practically escaped his examination. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] A statement to that effect had certainly appeared in the newspapers; but he was not surprised at the right hon. Gentleman's contradiction, because, in the first place, he knew how inaccurate the newspapers were, and, secondly, he was aware that the Prime Minister never admitted the accuracy of any newspaper report. He believed, however, that the Prime Minister was not so conversant with the condition of things in Ireland as he might have been, and that a great political crisis would come upon his Government before he was at all cognizant of the exact position of things. It was only by startling evidence that the attention of the people of England was directed to the condition of affairs in Ireland; and, for his own part, he thought it an almost useless thing to call attention to the maladministration of justice in Ireland, if he did not look forward with hope, and he would add with anxiety, to the time when they would have an opportunity of bringing about a change in the administration of justice in that country, and of putting an end to an Administration whose policy had not been, as one of its Members boasted, to steer an "even keel," and to do justice between man and man, but to hang innocent men and to cloak and shield official reprobates of the worst type.

COLONEL O'BEIRNE said, he rose for the purpose of protesting against the statement which had been made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) with regard to Freemasonry in Ireland. The statement of the right hon. and learned Gentleman was totally misleading, and calculated to deceive English Members. Everyone acquainted with the verdicts of juries in Ireland, and the manner in which various appointments were given in Ireland, from that of a Petty Sessions clerk upwards, would know that Freemasonry exercised a powerful influence in that country, and that it was brought to bear in favour of Protestants. Everything that had been stated on the opposite side of the House in reference to Freemasonry was literally and strictly true. As it was known in England, it was a most honourable Society; but it was nothing of the sort in Ireland. In Ireland it simply meant Orangeism, and it was the curse and bane of the country.

Mr. DEASY said, the House were naturally anxious, at that hour of the night, to hear something from a Member of Her Majesty's Government. They had had one speech already from the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan); but, as far as his (Mr. Deasy's) opinions went, he thought that the right hon. Gentleman had failed to touch upon the main points of the question. Now, the present Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had only visited Ireland for a very short time a few days ago; but he had been in communication with many of the Irish officials, and any statement he might make, or any answer he might give, to the charges which had been preferred, would be attentively listened to. Hon. and right hon. Gentlemen opposite had always expressed their anxiety to ameliorate the condition of the oppressed people of Bulgaria and other places; but, with a few honourable exceptions, they never raised their voices on behalf of the oppressed people of Ireland. He thought the question raised by the hon. Member for Clonmel (Mr. Moore) was one which deserved the attention of the Government. It had reference to the treatment of prisoners in the Irish gaols; but, so far, it had not been touched upon by any hon. or right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench. He (Mr. Deasy) believed the question had been investigated by a Royal Commission recently; but he fully expected that the Report of that Royal Commission would be treated with the same neglect as the Reports of other Royal Commissions. He did not think the inquiry recently entered into would have any more beneficial result than the other Royal Commissions which had sat. But with regard to the subject of their inquiry, he must say that in the South of Ireland, prisoners had been treated by the Governors of prisons in a very harsh and brutal manner. Those observations applied particularly to persons who had been sentenced to short terms of imprisonment under the Crimes Act. At Waterford, a short time ago, a man died from the treatment which he had been subjected to in prison; and it was with the utmost difficulty that one of the Members for the City of Waterford (Mr. Leamy) was able to direct the attention of the Government to the fact, and compel them to grant some kind of inquiry. What the result of that inquiry would be, he (Mr. Deasy) could not say; but he had received some information as to the way in which the Governor of that gaol had behaved to prisoners who had been sentenced to two or three months, imprisonment. He admitted that some effort had been made by the Government to remedy the old state of things with regard to Cork Gaol, and he thanked the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland for having inserted the clause in an Act passed last summer, which would, to some extent, give prisoners in that gaol a mode by which any ill-treatment they might receive at the hands of the Governor or minor officials could be made public. But it was obviously unfair to place the supervision of these persons in the hands of unpaid magistrates. The result would be that the prisoners would be neglected. The Government, if they really meant to do justice, must revert to the old system of paying independent men salaries, and compelling them to visit the prisons once or twice a-week, so that they might be able to stand independently between the prisoners and the officials. Until the Government consented to make such appointments, there would be constant and, he feared, well-founded complaints against the manner in which these prisoners were treated by the Governors of gaols. He regretted to say that the way in which the Coercion

Act was administered in the South of Ireland had been a cause of very great irritation to the people there. One or two cases had been mentioned by preceding speakers as to the way in which the Crimes Act had been enforced in Skibbereen, Millstreet, and other places. There was a Question put to the Government the other day as to the prosecution of a large number of the inhabitants of Skibbereen for carrying torches abont the town in honour of the Member for the Borough of Galway (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), and also to celebrate the visit of the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. On that occasion, the Sub-Inspector took it into his head to prosecute men for carrying tar-barrels and torches; but, fortunately, as the House was sitting, and the case was likely to be reviewed, the Government immediately ordered the prosecution not to be proceeded with. One man was brought into Court, but the case was dismissed, probably because it was understood that the Government objected to the discussion which was likely to take place in that House. Captain Plunkett had suppressed several meetings in the county of Cork during the last few weeks. It must have been within the knowledge of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland that those meetings had been proclaimed; and he would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, as he was the only Irish official in the House who could throw much light on the matter, if he could give the House any reasonable excuse for their suppression, or whether Captain Plunkett had given any explanation? At Donoughmore, a meeting was advertised, at which one or two Members of Parliament were expected to attend; but the day before the meeting was to take place, he (Mr. Deasy) had been served, in one of the most crowded streets of the city of Cork, at 12 o'clock in the day, with a notice of the proclamation of the meeting. He did not think that that was a proper way in which to serve a notice upon a Member of Parliament; but it mattered little to him. What he feared was that if meetings were wantonly interfered with, the people would, some day or other, insist upon coming together; probably only to be made the victims of the bayonets and buckshot of the police. There had only been one outrage at Donoughmore for many years. That occurred last year, and the learned Judge who presided at the trial of those charged with the murder, declared, distinctly and emphatically, that it had nothing to do with the present or any past agitation. On the face of that statement, and in the absence of crime at Donoughmore, he confessed that he could not understand the action of the Government. But he could understand why a meeting on the following Sunday at Millstreet was proclaimed. Only a few days before, the Lord Lieutenant had paid a visit to Millstreet, and His Excellency got the reception he might have expected, for the people closed their doors, and hung out black flags. He knew it was for that reason the meeting was proclaimed by Captain Plunkett as soon as it was announced. But he failed to see what advantage the Government gained by the proclamation; because, in this particular case at Millstreet, as well as at Donoughmore, a most successful meeting was held three or four hours before the proclaimed meeting was advertised to take place, and certainly the speeches made at it were of a far more violent character than those which would have been delivered if the meeting had been allowed to be held. There could be no doubt that the people were far more incensed against the British Government and the Executive than if the meeting had been permitted to take place. Why was it that the Government, on those two occasions, did not act as they were in the habit of acting? Why did they not send down an official shorthand writer to the platform, to take a note of the speeches; or even send a policeman, who was scarcely able to write long hand, to report the speeches? It was the easiest thing in the world to obtain a conviction against any man who made a speech on an Irish platform; and it would not be the first time that several of his hon. Friends had seen the inside of a gaol, and suffered all the tortures of a plank bed, for speeches for which, if they had been tried by an impartial Judge, they would never have been convicted at all. It was the custom under Captain Plunkett to send policemen to these meetings, who only reported isolated sentences, and then to proceed against the speakers for having used violent language. Then, again, he complained that the Resident

Magistrates, by whom those charged with breaches of the Crimes Act would be tried, were selected from a class of persons who did not care one jot what evidence was adduced to obtain a conviction, so long as a conviction could be recorded. Nor did he know of a single case in which a sentence had been set aside on appeal by a Chairman of Quarter Sessions. He did not think it would be possible for such a thing to happen. There might have been cases where sentences had been reversed, but he did not recollect them. With regard to the Tubercurry prisoners, whose case had been mentioned in the House that day, he had one or two words to say as to the treatment which one of his constituents, Mr. Fitzgerald, had received at the hands of the Government, and of the police authorities at Galway. In the first instance, he was arrested without a warrant; and after having been detained for a long time in Sligo Gaol, without any charge having been formulated against him, the police authorities in Cork, acting, as they always did, under the direction of Captain Plunkett, sent a detective to Mr. Fitzgerald's house, in order to induce his wife to say something which might implicate her husband. It had not been denied, in answer to a Question which had been put in that House, that a detective was sent, in order, if possible, to obtain some evidence which might really open up a way to a conviction. He felt bound to say that he had never heard of a more cowardly act. But it was notorious that some officials would have recourse to any act of baseness in order to retain their present position, and secure the enjoyment of their present large salaries, with the prospect also of a further increase; for he could not forget that the House of Commons had been kept until 6 o'clock in the morning discussing a proposal to increase the salary of Captain Plunkett and the other Divisional Magistrates by £500 a-year. The manner in which police officials mannfactured offences for their own benefit was well known in Ireland. He would give one or two instances. It was reported in the newspapers one morning that the police had made a large seizure of arms in Cork, near the military barracks; but he had it on the best authority that only one or two rusty rifles had been taken, and there were strong reasons for believing that those rusty rifles were placed where they were found by the very men who afterwards went to seize them. Another feat of the police occurred a short time ago, three miles from the city of Cork. In the centre of a field 200 yards from the road, the police dug up a couple of sods of earth and found a bottle, which they carried away in triumph. He was told that the bottle contained nothing more dangerous than whiskey; but he could not vouch for that fact. He did not know what it contained; but it was made a pretext by Captain Plunkett for the continuance of an extra force stationed in the city of Cork on account of the dangerous character of the neighbourhood. He had been surprised to hear the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) state that jury-packing did not prevail to any extent in Ireland. If the right hon. Gentleman knew of the way juries were manipulated by Peter O'Brien & Co., he (Mr. Deasy) did not think he would have stated anything of the kind. He had been supplied from the city of Cork with several lists of jurors under the Crimes Act, in which were the names of those who had been empannelled on juries for the last year and a-half, and he found that all of them were Protestants with the exception of four or five—those four or five being magistrates who had signed the Petition protesting against the dismissal of Lord Rossmore from the Commission of the Peace, and who were more strongly opposed to the interests of the people of Ireland than the very worst Orangemen. The Crown had been in the habit, latterly, of challenging from 36 to 38 and 40 Catholics, and not one single Protestant; but they always managed to put on in every jury one or two of the Catholic gentlemen he had just referred to, to try and save appearances; so that, of course, a verdict was given in every case, no matter what the evidence might be. No doubt, last summer, Peter O'Brien had proceeded in a more satisfactory manner, in consequence of the severe strictures which had been placed upon his conduct in that House. It was now the practice of the Crown to challenge three or four Protestants, in addition to 38 or 40 Catholics, so as to show their impartiality, and he congratulated Peter O'Brien on having adopted that ingeneous expedient. He had informed the House a few nights ago, of an instance which occurred at the last Assizes. In one or two cases the jury disagreed where Peter O'Brien thought a verdict ought to have been given, and, after the cases were over, he followed one or two of the jurymen into the street. One of these gentlemen said that Peter O'Brien asked him who were those who disagreed, and who were those who were in favour of a verdict. He had submitted that fact to the House the other night, and he had since received letters from the city of Cork, giving unquestionable proof that similar instances had occurred on more occasions than one. It was evidently the object of Peter O'Brien to find who the dissentient jurymen were, in order that they might be excluded from the jury panel in future. They had an admission from the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland that Freemasonry in England might be very different from what it was in Ireland. He quite agreed with the right hon. Gentleman, and if the right hon. Gentleman knew how different it was in Ireland, and the construction the people were likely to put upon his admission that he was a Mason, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman would have made it. People would now say that it was because he belonged to that Society himself, that he screened French and Cornwall when he was Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. But to return to the subject of jury-packing, he thought it was extremely hard on respectable citizens of the city of Cork, and other parts of the country, that they should be brought from their business, many of them at considerable expense, and then simply told by the Crown, when their names were called, to stand aside. Those gentlemen must feel very keenly the slur thus cast upon them by such men as Peter O'Brien, because there were only two inferences that could be drawn from the action of the Crown—either that the persons challenged were unworthy of sitting upon a jury, or else it was the object of the Crown to obtain a conviction at any cost. Not content with getting convictions by the amount of evidence they were in the habit of producing, they did not hesitate to have secret inquiries of the character the right hon. Gentleman the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland had not scrupled to produce before the House that night. Men of the most respectable character, occupying good positions in Cork, one of them a Town Councillor of the city, had been brought up before these Special Commissions, and because they refused to give evidence as to any Societies with which they might have been connected 10 or 20 years ago, they had been sentenced to imprisonment week after week. These men were determined they would not be the tools of the Government, and had made up their minds that they would remain in prison rather than state what was not true. Neither would they state anything outside the matter they were called on by summons to answer. The result was that the Inquisition had to be abandoned, and the Government had to fall back upon the Secret Service money, in order to obtain witnesses to swear against those men who were marked out for victims. He should like to know how much of that money Detective French had put into his own pocket, and what account he had given of it to the Government. French, three or four months ago, resided near a farm he had purchased; and since he had come into possession of it a great deal of money had been laid out upon it. During his suspension he (French) had remained with a relative near Cork, who was in comparatively poor circumstances up to the time of the appointment of French as Inspector Director. Since then matters had changed, and the worldly circumstances of the relatives of Mr. French had marvellously improved. Whether this was due to the employment of Secret Service money or not, he (Mr. Deasy) did not know; but he was really interested in obtaining some statement of the manner in which that money had been expended by French. Of course, the Secretary of State would consider himself quite justified in making a simple declaration that the money was spent as Parliament desired; but the Government did not know anything, he was quite sure, of the manner in which it was employed. Up to recently, the people of Cork and the police had been on good terms with each other. Latterly, Captain Plunkett, for some reason or other,t had removed most of the Catholic constables from the city, and brought down Orangemen to take their places. He did not attach much importance to that fact; but he should certainly like to have an explanation. On the whole, he thought the less the people had to do with the police the better; but, no doubt, there was some motive in the course Captain Plunkett had taken. He hoped, before the debate proceeded much further, to have a full and satisfactory statement, or at least some attempt at a reply, from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland to those speeches which had been made on that side of the House. It would not do for the hon. and learned Gentleman to tell the House to be satisfied with the speech they had just heard from the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan). That really was no kind of answer at all to the speeches which had been made by the Irish Members; and it was not too much to hope even now, after the treatment they had received from the Government both this week and last, that the hon. and learned Gentleman would get up and frankly acknowledge that the case made out by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was unanswerable, or do the best he could to give an answer to it.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he had listened with great attention to the arguments adduced by hon. Members opposite in support of the Motion on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), and which the hon. Member had supported in a strong and able speech; but he thought some matters had been introduced into the debate by hon. Members opposite which he did not think the House would expect him to deal with. The question of the administration of the Irish Prisons was certainly not germane to the Motion before the House, although he admitted that that question was a large and important one, and deserving of substantial consideration. Nor did he think that the question of the way in which public meetings had been dealt with in Ireland was raised in the present issue. The few meetings which had been proclaimed had been suppressed on principles which had been applied throughout the country with consistency, uniformity, and impartiality. They had been prohibited either on the ground that outrages had been committed in the district in which they were to be held, or that outrages and danger to individuals were to be apprehended, either directly or indirectly, if the meetings were allowed to be held. Anyone who had read the reports in the newspapers during the Recess must have come to the conclusion that the right of free speech in Ireland had not been abridged, but, on the contrary, had been largely exercised by many persons. But dealing with the question immediately before the House, as he understood it, there were two impeachments against the Government which, in effect, came to this—first, that the Government had used the Crimes Act and the powers which it conferred on the Executive; and, secondly, that they had used those powers in an unfair manner. ["Hear, hear!" *from the Irish Members.*] So far had some hon. Members gone—and not the less those hon. Members who now cheered—that they accused the Government of having deliberately, wilfully, and intentionally packed juries in order that innocent men might be convicted. He failed to understand the force of the accusation against the Government, and he did not think that any hon. Member could really believe it. With regard to the first point, the allegation as to the Crimes Act might have been a very good one before the Crimes Act left the House of Commons; but when it was proposed, under the Crimes Act, that powers should be given to the Executive to change the venue, and to examine witnesses without the presence of the accused, those matters were fully discussed, and it was only after a full discussion that these powers were intrusted to the Executive to use them and put them in force, and they would have been neglectful of their duty if, when the occasion required, they had not done so. What was the principal charge as regarded the Crimes Act? It was that this change of venue had taken place. But the change of venue had taken place under the authority of the Attorney General for Ireland by powers intrusted to him by an Act of Parliament. The object was to take away the cases from all local prejudice. If his right hon. and learned Friend came to the conclusion that a fair and impartial trial could not be had in the district in which the crime occurred, he had power to change the venue under the provisions of the Crimes Act. Why was it that the venue had been changed? As he had stated, it was to prevent anything in the shape of local prejudice, local terrorism, and to bring these cases before a jury thoroughly impartial, who knew none of the parties, who had never seen them, and who for, the first time, heard the facts as they were presented to the Court by the witnesses. It was said that the special jurors of Dublin were incapable —he used the words of the hon. Member for Sligo—of trying the cases fairly, because they regarded the prisoners with political, religious, and social prejudices—because they differed from the creed of the accused, and because they were landlords in the country and traders in the towns, who were hostile to their interests. How could it be supposed for one instant that the special jurors of Dublin, comprising not only gentlemen, but its first merchants, would view with prejudice a case in which a peasant from Connemara, or Munster, or from any other part of the country, was accused of murdering another peasant? Almost all the cases which came on were trials of one peasant for murdering another. Surely it was too much to state to the House of Commons that the first merchants which Ireland possessed were, in connection with these cases, so imbued with prejudice that they were incapable of approaching such a trial fairly and impartially? Then it was stated that being a Catholic was sufficient to induce a juror to refuse to believe a man on his oath. Hon. Members opposite complained that there was only one Roman Catholic, or two Roman Catholics, or three Roman Catholics, on a certain jury; and, further, that they were selected because they shared in the prejudices of Protestant jurymen. He thought that it cast an undeserved slur upon the Catholic jurors of Dublin, many of whom were his personal friends, to tell them that they were incapable of serving with Protestant jurors, without sharing in their prejudices, and that, therefore, they were incapable of trying prisoners fairly. As for the allegation that there was a combination to put Protestants on juries, because the Crown were afraid of Roman Catholics, he would tell the House who the Law Officers of the Crown were. The Attorney General for Ireland was a Roman Catholic, and the two gentlemen associated with him in the prosecutions were Mr. Fottrell, the Clerk of the Crown, another Roman Catholic, and the Crown Solicitor, who was also a Roman Catholic.

MR. CALLAN asked, whether at the time the jury principally referred to was empannelled the Crown Solicitor and the Crown Prosecutor were Roman Catholics?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he was speaking of the state of things at present, and what he said was literally true. Hon. Members would not deny that, at this moment, every official connected with the administration of the Criminal Law in Dublin, except himself, was a Roman Catholic.

An hon. MEMBER: How about George Bolton?

MR. HEALY: Since when?

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order!

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that two cases had been cited as an illustration of the mode in which the law had been administered. Mr. Cornwall had been spoken of as an official of the Castle; but it was well known that Mr. Cornwall was not a Castle official at all. He had no more connection with Dublin Castle than any hon. Gentleman below the Gangway, nor had he ever had any connection with it. Mr. Cornwall was an official connected with the Post Office. Now, what was the course the Government had taken in the case of Mr. Cornwall? As soon as the prosecution against him resulted in a verdict—he referred to the case in which the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) was defendant—immediately that verdict was given, proceedings were taken against Mr. Cornwall. The complaint now made by several hon. Members opposite was that all the persons accused of different conspiracies, different crimes, and different acts had not been joined in one charge. He was astonished to find that such an accusation should ever have suggested itself to the mind of anyone—namely, that persons charged with different crimes should all be joined together in one charge. Everyone who knew anything about law knew that such a course was perfectly impossible, and that each case was bound to be dealt with separately. Then it was said that the Public Prosecutor had acted from first to last with a desire to screen Cornwall. The charge was preposterous, considering that Cornwall had been tried for felony at the instigation of the Crown;

Let them see how the case stood. The men accused of these crimes had been tried one by one, it was true, and except in a case of conspiracy that was the only course that could be taken.

Mr. HEALY: That was not the course pursued in the charge against the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell).

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, that was a case of one conspiracy. The charge against the hon. Member for the City of Cork was not at all an analogous case, and was a perfectly different thing from the cases they were now dealing with. It was said that the Government had tried to screen Cornwall; whereas, after the jury had found that Cornwall was a felon by the verdict they gave in the action brought by him against the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), the Crown tried him for felony. If the Crown had not tried him for felony, but misdemeanor and conspiracy, there would have been fair ground for the charge that they had endeavoured to screen him; but, properly and naturally, they tried him for the felony the jury had found against him. The complaint on the side of Mr. Cornwall's friends was that the Crown had pressed unduly against Cornwall, not only in challenging the jury, but in the way in which they had conducted the case, and in trying him twice. Indeed, the Crown went so far as this—that, after he was acquitted on the charge of felony, they pressed the other charge, and tried him for conspiracy, and the jury disagreed. In the meantime another case was tried—that against Dr. Fernandez. Several jurors of the jury who acquitted Dr. Fernandez were challenged, and had said that he left the Court without a stain upon his character. And yet they were told in that House that they were trying to screen Cornwall. In the present Commission, Cornwall had been put upon his trial again for the same charge; and the complaint now was that no juror had been challenged. The objection on the part of Cornwall's advisers was that the Crown did not challenge men of national sympathies, who were likely to find him guilty. The complaint on the other hand was that the Crown did not challenge men who, from the social position they occupied as Freemasons, were likely to acquit Cornwall. The Government were impeached in the House of Commons, because, in an important case like this, out of a panel of 400 jurors of which the special panel consisted, no challenge was made at all, and the jurors, as they came into the box, were allowed to try Cornwall. It was said that that jury was composed almost entirely of Freemasons. He was not a Freemason himself, and he knew nothing about that Body; but this he did know, that, according to the statement of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), there was one Roman Catholic on that jury, and if there were 11 Freemasons who would act contrary to their oath, he did not and could not believe that they would be able to find a Roman Catholic who would be ready to act with them. The statement that there were 11 Freemasons on the jury was made, he imagined, from hearsay, because he did not suppose that anything so incredible could happen as that the first 11 men out of a panel of 400 would be Freemasons, and would be allowed to be sworn without challenge.

Mr. SEXTON said, the number was 200, not 400.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, it was quite incredible that of the first men who entered the jury-box out of so large a panel, 11 should be Freemasons. It had been said that a rider was attached by the jury to their verdict, in the case of Cornwall, to the effect that the evidence adduced by the Crown had not been sufficient. What was the meaning of that? The Crown examined every available witness, and, among others, Johnson and Taylor. The verdict was simply a verdict equivalent to one of "Not proven," which meant that the evidence of Taylor, Johnson, and others was not reliable. Anybody who read the evidence given at the trial would understand, having regard to the cross-examination, that the jury were unwilling to believe, or at least place implicit confidence in, the evidence of Taylor and Johnson, having regard to the mode with which that evidence had been procured, and to the fact that the man who had been employed in getting up the evidence—Meiklejohn—had reduced them to such a state of abject terror that he had compelled them to confess to their own guilt.

Other complaints had been made. The hon. Member for Sligo asked why the ordinary Law Officers of the Crown had not conducted the prosecution? So far as his Colleagues and himself were concerned there was an obvious answer. At the time the Commission sat, he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) was engaged in his Parliamentary duties, and could not possibly have been there; but it was asked why was not the Attorney General for Ireland there? In that case, also, there was an obvious reason. When the Commission sat, his right hon. and learned Friend had gone down as special counsel to conduct a very important prosecution at Sligo. With regard to Serjeant O'Brien, there was a complete answer also, as he had been one of the counsel employed in the case of "Cornwall *v.* O'Brien." Failing the ordinary Law Officers of the Crown, Serjeant Hemphill, one of the most eminent members of the Irish Bar, was retained to conduct the prosecution. That was the answer to the charge of not employing the ordinary Crown counsel. He came now to the case of Mr. French. The trial of French was actually going on at that moment, and had been going on during the whole of that day. It was most unfortunate, therefore, to have it discussed in that House, or that anything should be said by hon. Members opposite which might be read to-morrow by the jury engaged in trying the case. For his own part, he should abstain altogether from saying anything in reference to cases which were absolutely pending. He denied that there was any foundation for the allegation that the Crown had been any party to the absconding of one of the defendants; and as regarded the letter of Mr. French, that letter was actually used and put in by the Government against Mr. French for two reasons. It was first alleged on behalf of French that he was incapable of pleading. As the jury had found that issue against him, he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) could say, without injustice to him, that he was sane and perfectly capable of pleading. This letter, having come into the hands of the Crown, was used first, because it showed conclusively in the judgment of the Crown Prosecutor that French was sane; and, secondly, because it contained a threat against the Government; and, in his opinion, no Government would be worthy of the name of Government, if, when they obtained possession of a letter charging them with improper conduct, under a threat to extort exceptional terms as regarded a prisoner, they had refrained from using it. French was a man who had been for some years in the Public Service, and he now suggested that he held State secrets which he would disclose against the Government. If the Government had refrained from using a letter written by a man about to be tried, containing such charges against them—if they had at all evinced a disposition to hold it back, they would have been guilty of most improper conduct. They felt themselves at once compelled to bring it forward, and as openly and as publicly as they could to meet the allegations made against them. As to the letter of Mr. Reid, which was referred to in French's letter, and upon which so much stress had been laid by the hon. Member for Sligo, according to the best information he (the Solicitor General for Ireland) could obtain, there never was any such letter in existence. He knew nothing about the matter himself; but he had received a communication stating that no such letter existed containing one word in support of the statements of hon. Members opposite. He made that assertion on the best information he had been able to secure. The trial of Fitzgerald had been referred to; but French, admittedly, had no earthly connection with the case. Fitzgerald was arrested subsequently to French leaving the service of the public, and French was neither directly nor indirectly connected with it. The main charge against the Government was that of jury-packing. He quite agreed with the hon. Member for Sligo, that it should be the object of everybody to secure a jury which would be fair and impartial, thoroughly free from bias, and free from the imputation of undue influence. Men possessing those qualities were the men whom everyone wished to see performing the duties of jurors. Those being the objects every man desired, and which he believed every honest Crown Prosecutor desired, they were secured by certain safeguards as old as the law itself. In the first place, in the interests of the prisoner himself, he was given the right to challenge, and the right of "stand by" was also possessed by the Crown. In the ordinary class of cases they had to deal with in Ireland no difficulty whatever arose, and it was considered that every juror as he came forward was just as capable of trying a case fairly and impartially as another. But the House must remember what the history of the country had been. Hon. Members would not forget that within a very short time the history of Ireland had been so lamentable that it was difficult to obtain men who would discharge the duty of a juror; and, in one celebrated case, a juryman, for no other reason than that he had discharged his duty fearlessly, was all but murdered. That case would be fresh in the recollection of the House, and all that this juror did was to perform his duty in the jury-box, and to give a fair and honest verdict. Another juryman had his life spared almost, as it were, by the interposition of Providence. Threatening notices had been sent broadcast throughout the City of Dublin in the case of an important trial; and with the knowledge that these influences were at work, were the Crown to be blamed for trying to secure an impartial jury, and for endeavouring to free the jury-box from the influence of terrorism and fear? Their only desire was to secure jurymen who would try to do their duty fairly, honestly, and impartially. Catholics, no doubt, had been ordered to stand aside in many cases; but there was no slur upon them. This grievance was not put forward by them, but for them, and it was a false issue altogether that was raised. There were also many persons who, for their own sakes and from the nature of their business, were ordered to stand by. [*Interruptions.*]

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland must be allowed to proceed without interruption.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): The hon. Members opposite were, perhaps, not aware of the mode of procedure in these cases. Jurors were not placed upon the jury panel by the Crown. They were placed on it according to the rating, and the Executive had no more to do with that than any Member of that House. So much for the composition of juries. Then, under the rules laid down, persons were in some cases ordered to stand by for their own sakes, and, in many cases, from the nature of their trade. And, again, in the case of persons known to be subject to fear or influence, the Crown would neglect its duty, if it did not order them to stand aside, and call in their place fair and impartial men. Anyone acquainted with criminal trials in Ireland would know that there were many persons whose trade, and whose lives, perhaps, might be endangered by their serving as jurors. But in ordinary cases, those rules did not apply, because they were laid down solely for the purpose of securing a fair and impartial jury—free from fear or influence. For that purpose they were framed, and for no other purpose were they applied; and he appealed to the record of jury trials, to the results known to that House, to the state of crime in Ireland as it was now and to that which existed some years ago, as affording the best proofs that juries in Ireland had fearlessly and impartially discharged their duties. Finally, he said that the jurors of Dublin—merchants and gentlemen—who were unpaid and unrewarded, with nothing to gain, but with much abuse, at least, and sometimes danger to fear, and who had thus discharged their duties, deserved the thanks of the community.

Question put, "That those words be there inserted." ["No, no!"]

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy.*)

Mr. PARNELL said, he had hoped that the House would have had the pleasure of listening to the remarks of the right hon. Gentleman the new Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on this question. It was true that the right hon. Gentleman was not responsible by the actual tenure of his present Office for the course of the events which had given rise to the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton). But, still, he (Mr. Parnell thought they were entitled to assume that the right hon Gentleman had been an attentive observer of those events, and that he would not have assumed the Office which he now held, without having examined and carefully considered the nature and general bearing of all these complaints of Irish Members, at least during the two years which had elapsed since the Crimes Act of 1882 had been in force; and, therefore, he believed that the right hon. Gentleman was in a position, on the present occasion, to give to hon. Members on those Benches, and the House generally, the benefit of his opinion and his judgment upon the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo, and upon the proceedings of the Irish Executive, which that Motion impugned. The right hon. Gentleman, by the assumption of his present Office, had, to a certain extent, made himself responsible for the doings of his Predecessor; and although they had had the able assistance of the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), yet, at the same time, he (Mr. Parnell) thought it would be more satisfactory to hon. Members around him—he did not know whether it would be so to the House generally—if they were to have the benefit of hearing the voice of the right hon. Gentleman on that occasion. Certainly, it was rather an unusual occurrence, when the adjournment of the debate was moved upon a question of the present magnitude, involving such important issues, and connected with such very serious charges against the Irish Executive—it was rather unusual that the Question should be put from the Chair without any observation whatever, or reply, from the Minister responsible for the defence of the Government to the charges made. He should have thought they would have heard why the Government intended, as it was evident that they did intend, to oppose the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, and that the hon. Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy) might have received some reason for that opposition? Without going into the nature or the merits of the case, which, on the present Motion, it was impossible for him to do, he submitted that the questions involved were of the greatest moment and weight, that they required greater time for consideration, affecting, as they did, the lives and liberties of many persons in Ireland, which in some instances had been menaced, and in others actually taken away; and that, therefore, the Government would do well to yield to the Motion before the House. He could not understand how they expected in the long run to gain that time which they wanted to gain, or to obtain the earlier discussion of the Franchise Question, by curtailing the minutes and hours asked for by hon. Members on those Benches.

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, I feel it my duty to offer a decided opposition to the Motion of the hon. Member opposite (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy). I have heard the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) urge two reasons for that Motion. One is that my right hon. Friend the present Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) has not entered into this debate. That, Sir, is perfectly true; but the present Chief Secretary for Ireland has no special responsibility for what has occurred in Ireland up to the present moment, and the right hon. Gentleman who has such responsibility for what has occurred during the last two years has entered fully into the debate, as has also the Legal Adviser of the Crown. The other reason of the hon. Member is that the subject of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo is most important. No doubt, Sir, it is most important; but there are other important subjects awaiting discussion in this House, which, if they were raised, might occupy us for 12 months. Sir, the debate on the Address is not the occasion for discussions merely because they are important; and if that principle is to be applied, as it is now being applied, to an extent which threatens to be fatal to the dignity and efficiency of this House, I can only say that a new revolution will have been introduced into Parliamentary practice. We have had, I believe, eight days of discussion on the Address. Parliament was called by the Crown for a special purpose, and was exhorted to give its immediate attention to that purpose; and it is impossible for us, as the Advisers of the Crown, not to appeal to the House to assist us in giving effect to that intention, which I believe to be sustained by the entire voice of the nation. Therefore, Sir, the House having exhibited great patience already, we are not able to consent to this indefinite extension of the debate on the Address, and I hope the House will by a large majority refuse the Motion before it.

MR. HEALY said, the Prime Minister had truly stated that the subject of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was most important. Of course, hon. Members on those Benches did not deny that, in the opinion of the Government, the Franchise Question was of more importance; but that was not their opinion. To them the lives and liberties of their fellow-countrymen were of much greater importance than the possession of votes at quinquennial elections; and he could not but think that the fact that the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland was allowed to sit down a few moments ago with an absolutely empty Treasury Bench, and that the Speaker was obliged to rise and put the Question without a word from the Government, when the whole of the Radical Party cried "No!" was most noticeable. And then they had all the occupants of the Treasury Bench trooping in by preconcerted arrangement from parts unknown, where they had remained at a time when he (Mr. Healy) thought they would have have been much better occupied in attending to the debate raised on a question which the Prime Minister himself had admitted to be most important. He would ask how the Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman had shown their sense of its importance? By coming into the House at half-past 12 o'clock, when the Motion was made for the adjournment of the debate, and by their absence while the debate was going on. It was in that way hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on the Treasury Bench showed their sense of the importance of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo. When the adjournment of the debate was moved, they had a speech from the Prime Minister, and Irish Members very well knew with what intent and purpose calculated speeches of the kind were made; they knew that, to all appearances, there was a prearranged scheme.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member (Mr. Healy) must confine himself to the Question before the House.

Mr. HEALY said, that, while following the ruling of Mr. Speaker, he would remind hon. Gentleman opposite, even at that hour of the morning (12.35), of the words of Dr. Watts, and ask them not to "let their angry passions rise." The Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy) for the adjournment of the debate had been made distinctly on the ground that hon. Members on those Benches had not had sufficient opportunity for discussion. One night only—from 5 to 12 o'clock—had been occupied in the discussion of the Motion of the hon. Member for Sligo; and he would put it to any reasonable man whether, considering the practices which had been going on in Ireland—considering the extraordinary revelations made by Inspector French, the Motion for the adjournment of the debate after six hours' discussion was reasonable or not? They knew that, on other occasions, Motions of the kind had not been resisted by the Government, because they were made by the Tory Party; they knew it was not considered irregular to devote four nights to a discussion on matters relating to some wretched corner in South Africa; yet one night only was considered sufficient for the debate on a question affecting the lives and liberties of 5,000,000 of Her Majesty's subjects. He (Mr. Healy) himself had been anxious to speak earlier that evening, in consequence of what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland, the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan). Again, there was, of course, an anxious desire to hear the reply of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, which had led the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and other hon. Gentlemen interested in the debate, to reserve their speeches. And now the proposal was that a species of garotte should be put in operation, and they were to be compelled to make their speeches at an hour when not a single word that they might say on this grave and important subject could be heard outside the House. He would not question from a Radical point of view the importance of the Franchise Bill to which the Prime Minister had referred, or the necessity of making progress with that measure; but it was for hon. Members in all quarters of the House to give their opinions as to the necessity of Motions for Adjournment, and as to the fair amount of time which should be allotted to the discussion of important questions, and he maintained that the action of hon. Members on those Benches was perfectly reasonable in asking for the adjournment of the present debate. They could not but suppose that the right hon. Gentleman the new Chief Secretary for Ireland was anxious to make his maiden speech upon an Irish question; and he said it was not respectful to that right hon. Gentleman, who had just come in, that he should be compelled to address the House at that hour of the morning. Because, if this Motion for Adjournment were not acceded to, what would happen? After a prolonged wrangle, such as, unfortunately, they were becoming seasoned to, the speeches of hon. Members who had not spoken on the previous question would begin, and then, at an unreasonable hour, they would be obliged to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland to go into the facts of the case. Anxious as the right hon. Gentleman must be to free his soul as to his experiences at the Castle, they were unwilling to inflict that upon him on the present occasion. Nor were Irish Members desirous that the Autumn Session should begin with a wrangle of the kind he had alluded to, for the sake of saving a little of the Government time, which, after all, might not be secured. It was desirable that the Government should consider what the continuance of the debate at that hour involved. When the Franchise Bill was last before the House, he (Mr. Healy) surrendered a whole sheet of Amendments rather than have time wasted, because he found his Amendments were being used by the Tory Party for obstructive purposes. Were the Irish Party to be deprived of a few hours' debate, when, perhaps, later on, if the Amendments to which he referred were to be put down and discussed at the length their importance justified, several days would be occupied in their consideration? As they had undertaken this discussion, let them conclude it quietly. The Irish debate would, in the nature of things, close tomorrow night; the Government would be able to bring up the Report of the Address, provided they "squared" the shipowners, on Wednesday; and they could begin the debate on the Franchise Bill on Thursday. He supposed the Tory Party would not require more than three nights for the debate on the second reading of the Bill, so that the Division could be taken comfortably this night week. In his opinion, a more convenient arrangement could not be arrived at. As one who took considerable interest in the fate of the measure which would so soon be laid before the House, he respectfully urged the Government not to inaugurate the discussion on the Franchise Bill in unseemly wrangles. A Division would show the sense of the House as to an adjournment of the debate; but then somebody else—some one on the Tory Benches, for anything he knew—might object to continuing the debate at that hour of the night (12.45). Thereupon, there would be another wrangle; and no doubt in the end, when they had got tired, the Government would give way as they had done on other occasions. He appealed to the Government to let the House decide the matter in an amicable and reasonable spirit. He and his hon. Friends did not ask for more than another night's discussion. The hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork had not had an opportunity of speaking a single word on this question. It was quite unreasonable that the Leader of a great Party, not perhaps in numbers, though there was every promise that bye-and-by it would be great even in that respect, should be expected to discuss a question of this kind, after a series of wrangles, at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning. Once more he appealed to hon. Gentlemen to act reasonably in the matter. He supposed that after a few of his hon. Friends had spoken they would be called upon to divide. It would then be 2 o'clock. Two or three more speeches would be made, and about 3 o'clock, or possibly some time later, an hon. Member would propose a surrender, and the adjournment would be granted. He trusted the House would agree to the adjournment of the debate without any further waste of time.

MR. LEAMY said, that at 20 minutes to 9, when the hon. Gentleman the Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) concluded his speech, the Irish Members who were then in the House called on the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) to speak; but the hon. and learned Gentleman refused to rise. If he had risen then, and delivered his speech, it was more than probable that the debate would now have been concluded. The hon. and learned Gentleman following, he (Mr. Leamy) supposed, the example set him by a late Irish Law Officer, refused to speak because it was the dinner hour. The result was that Irish Members of no importance in the House, like himself, had to continue the discussion. The Solicitor General for Ireland had spoken at such an hour as to make it quite unreasonable to expect the hon.

Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and other Leaders of the Irish Party to reply to him. They asked for an adjournment, and the fault, if there was any, must be placed on the head of the Solicitor General for Ireland, who was too vain to speak in a comparatively empty House.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he was at a loss to understand with what show of justice the Prime Minister asked them to cut short, or rather to suppress, this matter after a few hours' discussion, and before any of the prominent Members of their Party had taken part in the debate. He asked hon. Members opposite, who were so proud in their strength of numbers, to remember that those questions which were mere Party questions for them in England, were questions of life and death for the people in Ireland. It was very likely the Prime Minister would remind the Irish Members that they had had a couple of nights' discussion upon the Maamstrasna revelations, a couple of nights which were chiefly occupied with the protests of English Tory and Radical Gentlemen against the conduct of the Government in Ireland. Why did they have two nights' discussion upon the Maamstrasna case? Simply because the Government would not yield an inquiry which was demanded by the entire public opinion in Ireland, and which was demanded in the secret hearts of many of the Government's own supporters.

Mr. RUSTON: I rise to Order. I wish to ask you, Sir, whether the hon. Gentleman is speaking to the Question before the House.

Mr. O'BRIEN was sorry the hon. Gentleman, who had not yet discovered himself to fame——

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman must confine himself strictly to the Motion for Adjournment. He is not in Order in travelling beyond the Motion.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he had not been called to Order; he was simply replying to the interruption of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ruston). He knew there was not much use in appealing to men who had big battalions on their side; but he reminded the House that they were engaged to-night upon as important business as could well engage their attention. They were engaged in showing that the English rule in Ireland rested on infamy and corruption——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! That is not the Question before the House. The question is the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. O'BRIEN said, he was trying, against a good many difficulties, to show that the debate ought to be adjourned, because this was a subject they had not yet had an opportunity of discussing fully, a subject which was of vital importance to the people as well as to the Members of the Ministry in Ireland. He wished to remind the House that for three months past, Parliament not having been sitting, tyranny had had full swing in Ireland——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order! I have twice observed that the hon. Gentleman is speaking irrelevantly. I call upon him to resume his seat.

Mr. O'Brien resumed his seat accordingly. [*Cries of* "Cowards, cowards!"]

Mr. SEXTON said, it was a matter for extreme regret, regret not confined to any Party, but regret, he believed, which would be shared to-morrow by all thoughtful Members of the House, no matter to what political Party they belonged, that the Prime Minister, guided and controlled by some intelligence less competent than his own, had entered upon the course which he had announced that night. He (Mr. Sexton) did not for a moment question that the reasons existing in the mind of the Prime Minister appeared to him to be sufficient to justify the course which he had adopted. No one, indeed, ever doubted that the reasons of the Prime Minister for the adoption of a particular course always appeared sufficient for himself. But the reason which the right hon. Gentleman had assigned to-night for refusing an adjournment of the debate was not a reason concerned with the inherent importance of the question under discussion. It was not asserted that they had fully debated the question. No; the Prime Minister had set forth the importance of some question which the House was to discuss in future as a reason why the present debate should not be adjourned. Whatever that question might be—if it be the question they all had in their minds—he respectfully suggested to the Prime Minister that the chances of the rapid and complete success of that question did not depend upon one Sitting more or less. Whether they adjourned the debate, or they were compelled to close the discussion on the Irish Question that night, it appeared to him the important question to which the right hon. Gentleman referred stood an equal chance of arriving at a successful issue. He submitted to the Prime Minister whether or not he increased or improved the chances of that important question by the course he had taken up to-night? No man had shown more than the Prime Minister a keen sense of the necessity of mobilizing Parliamentary force; and he asked the right hon. Gentleman whether, in refusing the adjournment of this debate, he was taking that course which was most judicious and most likely to secure permanent success for the important measure he had in mind? From the point of view of the Irish Members, the question they had been discussing was more important than the question which was in the mind of the Prime Minister. The question which the right hon. Gentleman contemplated was very much of the nature of an abstract question concerning the political rights of persons in this country—a question which would not be brought into practical operation for months or years. But to-night they had been discussing the conduct of the Government in a series of trials proceeding at this very moment. He wanted to know, before that discussion closed, what course the Crown meant to take in the case of James Ellis French? Before this discussion closed, before any attempt was made to put a gag on their mouths, he and his hon. Friends must know whether the Legal Advisers of the Crown in Ireland meant to repeat upon the second trial of James Ellis French their scandalous conduct of last Friday. He was personally interested in this discussion, because the liberties of 11 of his constituents were now at stake. The House was aware that during the last six months he had repeatedly called attention to the case of these men. He had fruitlessly endeavoured that night to extract from the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), or the Legal Adviser of the Irish Government, the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker), some assurance that when these men were placed on their trial for political offences, they would get treatment as fair and as liberal, treatment as little calculated to cause a harsh verdict to be given against them, as the treatment which had been extended to the officials who had been placed upon their trial in Dublin. The debate ought not to close until they knew what was done that day in the case of James Ellis French, and until they knew what course the Government intended to pursue in the case of the Tubbercurry prisoners. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman the ex-Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) was very academical and ingenious, one in which he kept wide of the question at issue. The speech of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, on the contrary, went very close——

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Gentleman is not entitled, upon the Motion for the adjournment of the debate, to discuss the speeches delivered during the last debate.

MR. SEXTON said, he was pointing out that, while the speech of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was remote to the subject, the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland went close to the subject, and they, the Leader of the Irish Party (Mr. Parnell), the Vice Chairman of the Party, (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), and several of the important Members of the Party, had had no opportunity of replying to that, the only important and only relevant speech which had come from the Government Bench in the course of the discussion. He (Mr. Sexton) was the less disposed to yield to the dictation of the Prime Minister, because he plainly saw that there was, he would not say a plot, but would use the word arrangement, to oppose any adjournment of the debate. When his hon. Friend the Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy) moved the adjournment of the debate, there arose loud cries of "Divide, divide!" which made it clear to him there was something unusual in the wind. He had never before heard a Motion for Adjournment received, at the very moment it was proposed, with such——

MR. SPEAKER: It is my duty again to tell the hon. Gentleman he is not in Order. [*Cries of* "Clôture!" *from the Irish Benches.*] I must ask hon. Gentlemen to be silent while I am addressing the House. For the second time, I tell the hon. Gentleman he is deviating from the point before the House. I must ask him to keep to the question of the adjournment of the debate. It is a painful duty I have to perform; but if the hon. Gentleman offends again, I shall be obliged to take notice of the fact.

Mr. SEXTON thanked the Speaker for the warning he had given him. He was aware the Speaker had twice expressed the opinion that he was deviating from the Question before the House. The Speaker, too, had very properly said that he had a duty to perform from the Chair. But the humblest Member of the House had also a duty to perform, and he (Mr. Sexton) was endeavouring respectfully, reasonably, and calmly to state his reasons for supporting the Motion of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Athlone. If he again incurred the Speaker's displeasure, he would gladly welcome any penalty that might be imposed upon him. He repeated that he was inclined to resist the course proposed by the Prime Minister, because it appeared to him there was a disposition on the Government side of the House to prematurely close the discussion which had been raised to-night. He maintained that that disposition was evinced and emphasized by the sudden appearance of Ministers of the Crown when the Prime Minister rose. Seeing that no valid reason had been assigned against the Motion of the hon. Member for Athlone, and that it was clear there was an arrangement to prevent an adjournment of the debate, he invited his hon. Friends to resist with all their force the proposal of the Government.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND said, that in supporting the Motion of his hon. Friend the Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy) for the adjournment of the debate, he would appeal to Her Majesty's Government to look at the matter, even from their own point of view. A most important discussion had taken place in the House that night with reference to matters of the utmost consequence to the Irish people, and if Her Majesty's Government wished that the Irish people should rest in any degree satisfied with the discussion which took place they must provide that the discussion should appear to the Irish people to have been exhaustive. The Government would not be serving any good or wise purpose if they insisted upon the debate being closed that night; because he could assure the Government that the Irish people would not consider as either satisfactory or exhaustive any discussion in the House upon Irish affairs which was not participated in by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), the Vice Chairman of the Party, the hon. Member for Longford (Mr. Justin M'Carthy), the hon. Member for Galway City (Mr. T. P. O'Connor), and several other hon. Gentlemen who were regarded by the Irish people as their leaders. He did not appeal to the Government from their own point of view, or because he had any sympathy with the anxiety of the Prime Minister regarding the Franchise Bill; but he appealed to them to agree to the adjournment of the debate, because such a course on their part would be most satisfactory to the majority of the Members of the House. He appealed to the Government, not because he sympathized with the right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench, but because he sympathized with a great number of English Members he saw at hand to support the Government, and who, he believed, if they only spoke their minds, would be very favourable to the Motion of his hon. Friend (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy). It was a monstrous proposal that the discussion should close that night. What would the conclusion of the debate mean? It would mean that whenever the Government wanted to stifle debate, or to shut out of the debate the voices of the most important Members of the Irish Party, all they would have to do in the future would be to keep the Government officials on the Treasury Bench from making their speeches until the eleventh hour in the debate, and then oppose every Motion for Adjournment. If he and his hon. Friends were not to insist upon the adjournment of the debate, they would be giving their sanction to the very undesirable precedent he had described. The Prime Minister and every Member of the Treasury Bench must know that the Irish Party would not permit any debate to close to which Members such as those he had before metioned had not contributed their opinions. He appealed in this matter to whatever sense of fair play there might be amongst English Members; and he put it to those Members whether they considered he and his hon. Friends were making an unreasonable demand when they asked that the Leaders of their Party might have a proper opportunity of expressing their opinions upon this burning and important question?

MR. BIGGAR said, the Prime Minister had told them that Parliament was called together for the transaction of very important Business—namely, the consideration of the Franchise Bill. He (Mr. Biggar) did not know whether he spoke in accordance with recognized custom or not; but, as far as his experience had gone, it had always been a practice on the Address to draw attention to subjects which were of a pressing nature.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is wandering from the subject now before the House.

MR. BIGGAR: I think that ——

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman has taken no notice of my remark. I said he was wandering from the subject before the House. He must keep strictly to the question.

MR. BIGGAR apologized for the transgression. He had forgotten for the moment the Rule with regard to Motions for Adjournment. However, he did not intend to pursue that branch of the subject further, but to point out that the question which had been raised by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was one of great importance to the Irish people. He could not help thinking that the Government would do well to agree to the Motion for Adjournment, in order that the subject might be fully and reasonably debated, instead of being cut short as suggested. It had been pointed out that there were some points in the speech of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) which required a reply. The hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), who was well qualified for a job of that sort, the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and other influential Members of the Irish Party, were in the House ready to reply; but the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland did not give them an opportunity of replying, because he did not sit down until 25 minutes past 12 o'clock, a time when it was quite unreasonable to ask a leading Member of any Party to commence a speech in reply, seeing that a proper and fair report of the speech could not appear in the morning's papers. It must be borne in mind that if the Government succeeded in closing their mouths that night, he and his hon. Friends would find other opportunities of raising the same question. He really did not see that any practical good was to be gained by the Government in forcing Irish Members to close their mouths on this particular occasion. If they were gagged now, they would feel themselves called upon to make the speeches they had intended to make that night at a not very distant time. He asked the Government whether, as a matter of self-interest, they were playing a judicious game in endeavouring to put the *clôture* upon the Irish Party?

MR. BARRY said, he was strongly inclined to think that if the Prime Minister had followed the course of the debate that night, he would not have opposed the Motion for Adjournment. What were the facts? After the statement of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) and the speech of the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien), the Irish Members waited patiently for some declaration from the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker). Just before 9 o'clock, there were cries from the Irish Benches for the Solicitor General; but the hon. and learned Gentleman refused to rise. He (Mr. Barry) put it to the Government, as a matter of common sense, was it likely that any time would be saved during this Autumn Session if it came to protracted wrangles of this kind? Something was said about the dignity of the House. To enter upon a physical struggle at 1 o'clock in the morning, was certainly not at all likely to add to the dignity of the Assembly. He hoped that, on further reflection, and after having heard the true bearings of the case, the Prime Minister would see fit to give way, and grant the adjournment.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, there was one observation of the Prime Minister which ought not to pass without some kind of challenge. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy) moved that the debate be adjourned, whereupon the Prime Minister rose and opposed the Motion on the ground that there was very important Business of another kind to be transacted by the House, and then the right hon. Gentleman said that this Parliament was assembled on this particular occasion for the special purpose, and that the Crown enjoined upon the House to do certain Business. That appeared to him (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) to be language of a strange and unconstitutional character. If there was one thing more largely written upon the history of the House of Commons, it was the unceasing and determined efforts made to vindicate its independence of the Crown, The Crown had no right and no power to enjoin on this House to proceed to any work at any particular time.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he would like to explain. He did not speak of the Crown as enjoining that House.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he took down the word.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that word was never used. He did not speak of the Crown enjoining on this House. The word "injunction," however, did escape him, andhe wished to withdraw it.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR accepted the disclaimer of the right hon. Gentleman, and assumed that he himself made a mistake. He thought it was the verb, and not the substantive, that he noticed. He reminded the House that at the commencement of every Session it was the constant practice to proceed with a Bill of no importance, before the debate on the Address was concluded, simply and solely because the House was determined to vindicate its independence. Under these circumstances, the House must remember that it was not bound to proceed with the consideration of any Franchise Bill. Whatever might be said in the Speech from the Throne, the House was not even bound to consider a Franchise Bill; but, having entered his protest against the remark of the right hon. Gentleman, he would not occupy further time.

Mr. KENNY said, he had expected that some Irish Member sitting opposite, and giving a regular support to Her Majesty's Government, would have entered his protest against the proposal of the Government to close this debate, contrary to the unanimous feeling of the Irish Representatives. It must be borne in mind that, with one or two exceptions, only unimportant and uninfluential Members of the Irish Party had expressed their views upon the question raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton), besides which, not a single Member of any consequence sitting on the Government Benches had enlightened the House upon the subject. It struck him that it was extremely unwise on the part of the Government to refuse the adjournment of the debate, when it was asked under circumstances so reasonable as those which had been put forward by his hon. Friends who had already spoken. It was a strange thing that the Government should attempt to get rid of this question, which was one of vital importance to the Irish people, after only a few hours' discussion, and that at a time when subjects of very much less importance to the vast body of the people had been allowed to occupy the attention of the House for days together. A squabble or row amongst a horde of ruffians in Birmingham was debated seriously in the House for a whole night, and would have been discussed another night if only an adjournment had been proposed. He was hopeful that in the course of this discussion a gleam of light might dawn upon the Treasury Bench, and that the Government might see that resistance to the wish of the Irish Members, or an unseemly effort to close their mouths, was not the most effective way to dispose of questions which might appear frivolous to the House, but which were of the utmost importance to the welfare of the Irish people.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he had hoped that Her Majesty's Government would give way upon the question of adjournment. He did not attribute very much importance to the question whether there was another day or not occupied in continuing this debate, if debate it could be called. It could scarcely be called a debate when all the speaking had been on one side. There was one very powerful reason why the Government should agree to the adjournment, and it was this—that if they did not, whatever might be the real facts of the matter, it would be believed throughout the length and breadth of Ireland that the Government attempted to stifle discussion when subjects of vital importance to the lives and liberties of the Irish people were brought before the House. He belonged to a class of people in Ireland who strongly objected to the course which the Government had pursued in the administration of the Crimes Act. Probably, there was not a peasant in that country who felt more intensely than he did the contrast between the manner in which the law was administered in this country, as compared with the way in which it was administered in Ireland. He hoped Her Majesty's Government would consent to the adjournment of the debate for another reason. At that late hour of the night, Irish Members could not feel themselves able to discuss the Speech with that advantage and propriety which they thought its importance demanded. He trusted that the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government would withdraw his opposition to the Motion, and not, in what the Irish people would regard as an unseemly fashion, press the Motion to a Division after what had occurred.

MR. DEASY said, he had hoped that, after the expressions of opinion which the Government had heard during the last three-quarters of an hour, they would have seen the propriety of acceding to the proposal of his hon. Friend the Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy). He (Mr. Deasy) was quite sure that if the Prime Minister had heard many of the speeches which had been delivered in the course of the evening, he would have felt that it was impossible for the Irish Members to conclude the debate that night. The question which had been raised by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was one of great importance to the Irish Members, and of great importance to Ireland. It was felt that there ought to be a further opportunity of alluding to the numerous cases of hardship and injustice which had occurred in remote localities in Ireland, and which, if the debate were brought to a premature close, there would be no opportunity of referring to during the remainder of the Session. Apart from that injustice, it was undesirable for the Prime Minister, or any other Minister of the Crown, to close the debate summarily, without having given his opponents a full and adequate opportunity of discussing questions of importance which might arise, simply because the Government, for the time being, were able to command a majority of the House. Irish Members knew very well that in any action taken by the right hon. Gentleman and persevered in, they would be out-numbered at least 10 to one. ["No, no!"] He did not know what the exact number would be; but he felt confident that they would be defeated by a large majority, and that almost all hon. Members opposite, whether Radicals or Whigs, would be certain to go into the Lobby against them. The Solicitor General for Ireland had had several opportunities of speaking during the night, and he (Mr. Deasy) believed that the hon. and learned Gentleman would have let the debate close if it had not been that he (Mr. Deasy) intervened, against his will, for a short time, in order to give the hon. and learned Gentleman to understand that the Irish Members were determined to hear him. He was followed by the hon. and learned Gentleman who did not rise until about midnight, so that his speech was not concluded until after half-past 12. Of course, at that hour of the night, the Leader of the Irish Party felt that he was unable to reply, and it would be highly improper for the debate to close until the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had had a full opportunity of addressing the House. He (Mr. Deasy) had taken the liberty, a short time ago, of pointing out how desirable it was that the House should hear something from the new Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). They were all of them anxious to know his views on the question which had been raised in the course of the debate, and it was useless for the Prime Minister to tell them, as he did a short time ago, that as the right hon. Gentleman was in no way responsible for what had taken place during the last year or two, that upon that ground they could not expect him to take part in the debate. Surely, when the right hon. Gentleman undertook the Office of Chief Secretary, he also undertook the responsibilities of that Office, and should be made responsible for everything that took place before he came into Office, just as much as the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy (Mr. Trevelyan) or the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) would have been. Whether that were so or not, he thought it was unseemly on the part of the Government to endeavour to compel the Irish Members to continue the discussion at that late hour of the night. If the Government persisted, the House would be compelled to sit until 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning; and, as far as he was concerned, he did not look forward to that prospect with any feeling of pleasure or satisfaction. It would not, however, be the first time, in his short experience of the House, that the Government had forced an All Night Sitting, and it would not be the first time that the Government would have come out of that All Night Sitting second best. The lives and liberties of the people of Ireland were at stake; and whatever the dignity of the House of Commons might be, the welfare and liberties of the Irish people were considered by hon. Members on that side of the House to stand far above the dignity of the House, or the convenience of any of Her Majesty's Ministers. He could not conceive for a moment what the Government expected to gain by forcing on this discussion that night. Surely, as had been pointed out by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), if the Irish Members chose to put down interminable Amendments on the Franchise Bill, and persisted in discussing them, the Government would lose more time than they would gain by closing the present debate.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that he is not discussing the Question before the House, which is the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. DEASY said, he was endeavouring to point out that the Prime Minister, in saying that the House had been called together this Session for the purpose of considering an important measure about to be introduced, had altogether miscalculated what the effect of his words might be, and had not taken into account the result of peremptorily closing the discussion that night. The effect of closing up the discussion that night, might make the passage of that Franchise Bill rather more difficult than it would be if the Government allowed the present debate to stand adjourned, and the discussion to continue until it was fully threshed out. The Irish Members did not propose to continue the debate much longer, and probably it would be over at an early hour to-morrow. He was therefore satisfied that if the Motion for Adjournment were agreed to, the Government Business would be greatly facilitated. He trusted that those Members of the Government who were now present would come to the conclusion, on second thoughts, that they would be acting wisely, even from their own point of view, if they would allow the adjournment to be carried without any further discussion.

Mr. WARTON said, that it was extremely difficult, under the New Rules, to discuss a Motion for Adjournment, even although the word "strictly" had been struck out of those Rules as originally drawn, and the debate was required to be simply confined to the question of the adjournment. He hoped he would not incur the displeasure of the Speaker in any observations he was about to make. The request made to the Government seemed to extend to the delivery of two or three speeches, and probably half-a-day would be sufficient to finish the debate. The Government might then have the Address disposed of, and the Report agreed to to-morrow, so that by Thursday they might proceed with the Franchise Bill. Under those circumstances, he would ask them to extend a little latitude to the Irish Members.

Mr. JOHN REDMOND said, he thought the Irish Members had been treated with great unfairness in this matter by Her Majesty's Government. When the prolongation of a debate was objected to by the Government, it was usually objected to on one of two grounds—either that the subject under discussion was a trivial one, which did not demand any further attention on the part of the House, or that its importance had been threshed out. Neither of those reasons could be alleged by the Government on the present occasion. Certainly, it could not be alleged that the subject which they wished to discuss further was a trivial one. As every Member of the House was aware, it was a subject which raised the whole question of the administration of the law in Ireland, and a subject which raised the whole question of the government of that country. Therefore, no one could be found who would say that that subject was a trivial one. Then the question which occurred was, had it been threshed out? He trusted, in the few words he was about to say, that he would not incur any interruptions from the Chair, because he desired to keep strictly to the question whether the debate should be adjourned or not. Had the subject been fully threshed out already, when the question of the whole administration of Ireland, and of the government of that country by the present Administration, had only been debated for one night? He did not believe there had been any previous Session in which the Irish Question had been debated so little as it had been on the present occasion. It was usual, on the consideration of the Address to the Crown, to discuss at length the various phases of the Irish Question. On the present occasion, that question had only been discussed for one day; because it must be remembered that the discussion which took place last week was not the Irish Question, but a particular point in relation to a verdict which had been given in a Court of Law. He submitted that the question now under discussion—namely, the administration in Ireland generally; the conduct of certain officials connected with the Irish Executive in the empannelling of juries; in fact, the whole question of the government of the country, was raised by the present Amendment, and it had only occupied the attention of the House for one day. He thought it most unreasonable for the Government to attempt, on the present occasion, to limit a discussion which, on previous Addresses to the Crown, had never been attempted to be limited in a similar way. The few words addressed to the House by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) contained, he thought, a great deal of common sense. He did not think the Government had anything to gain by entering into a squabble with the Irish Members on a matter of this kind. He believed they would facilitate the passage of the important Business to which the Prime Minister had alluded much better by enabling the Irish Members to thresh out thoroughly to their satisfaction the question raised by the Amendment of his hon. Friend, than by bringing it too summarily to a close. During his short experience of the House, he never remembered any attempt being made by the Government to close an important debate immediately after the only important speech delivered in their behalf. He remembered, on a somewhat similar occasion—namely, an Amendment to the Address—that an important speech was delivered late at night which did not conclude until half-past 12. The speech to which he referred was the speech of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) at the time when the right hon. Gentleman had certain Irish Members under lock-and-key in Ireland. On that occasion, he (Mr. Redmond) rose himself to move the adjournment of the debate, and, although the discussion had then lasted for several days, the Prime Minister at once got up and stated that the important speech which had been made on behalf of the Government deserved the consideration of the Irish Members, and therefore the debate ought at once to be adjourned, in order that they might see the speech in print, and have an opportunity of answering it. He (Mr. Redmond) now claimed the same right of seeing the speech of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland in print, and also the right of the Irish Members to answer that speech. He would frankly say that he believed it to be the duty of Members on that side of the House, if the Government persisted in their present attitude, and prevented them from discussing this matter, further to avail themselves of the opportunity to-morrow of bringing forward another Amendment to the Address, which would enable every one of them to continue the discussion. It was beating the air in vain to attempt to smother this discussion, and he believed the Government would find in the result that they had only wasted their time, their patience, and the temper of the House. In the end they would have to listen to the speeches which his hon. Friends were ready to deliver on important points connected with Irish administration, and which no section of the Government, or of the officials in that House, would be able to suppress.

MR. R. POWER said, he thought the proceedings which had taken place that night fully justified the opinion which he had formed when he first entered the English Parliament—namely, that it would be an utter impossibility to get anything from that Parliament; and when he had the honour of addressing his constituents, he told them, plainly and frankly, that he did not believe they would ever get anything from Parliament by simply coming over here and arguing out their case. If anything could prove the truth of that assertion, it had been proved by the proceedings which had taken place that night. Ten Irish Members had spoken upon this question, and only two English Members had replied to them, notwithstanding the fact that this was a case of the greatest importance to their country, and a question which the whole Irish people took the deepest interest in. He asked English Members to show fair play to Ireland. He regretted to say that the people of Ireland did not believe that fair play was displayed towards them. He would ask them, was it fair play, when they had presented their views of the question in the best possible manner, that only two hon. Gentlemen from the Treasury Bench should get up and reply to them? English Members had always said that they were anxious to study this Irish Question, and to arrive at a true solution of the difficulty. So were the Irish Members. But how were they to come to a solution of the question, when the Leader of their Party and the principal men among them had not been able to speak that night, and when only two hon. Members on the other side had got up to defend the policy of the Government—what he would call their vile and infamous policy—in Ireland?

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is quite out of Order in using language of that kind, and he must confine himself to the question of the adjournment of the debate.

Mr. R. POWER said, the intimation of the Speaker was quite sufficient. He would at once withdraw the words "vile and infamous," and allow the Irish people to form their own opinion about the matter. It was, however, a remarkable fact that when the debate was over, the new Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) walked out of the House, and since it had closed, he had been absent. He should have thought that the right hon. Gentleman, if he wished to understand anything about Ireland, ought to have been there to listen to the remarks of the Irish Members. He (Mr. R. Power) was afraid the right hon. Gentleman would know very little more in 12 months, or in 12 years, than he knew already, for it was an impossibility—

Mr. SPEAKER: I must again point out to the hon. Member that he is not discussing the question of adjournment, which is the only question before the House.

Mr. R. POWER said, that again he would bow to the decision of the Chair. He would ask if that was the Government idea of English fair play? Were hon. Members, who boasted that they were prepared to see fair play all over the world, not going to allow the adjournment of this debate to take place in order that they might continue their arguments in support of the Motion to-morrow, and show how erroneous had been the statements of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker)? He earnestly appealed to the Government not to bring forward at that moment their physical-force argument, because, although their supporters had come down in their numbers, and hon. Gentlemen who supported the Motion were comparatively few, they would find that it was not in their power to stifle the discussion of that question. Although the Motion of his hon. Friend for adjournment might be negatived by an overwhelming majority, the Government might depend that, even if discussion were stifled that night, as it might perhaps be to-morrow, he and his hon. Friends would bring up the question again and again, and would not rest until they had proved finally, as they were constantly doing, that the Government rule in Ireland had been to them not only ruin, but disgrace.

Mr. CALLAN said, he could excuse the hon. Member for Ennis (Mr. Kenny) for expressing a wish that some of the nominal Home Rulers, or Whig Irish Members on the Ministerial side of the House, would stand up and support this Motion. He could excuse him on the ground of the frankness and innocence of youth.

Mr. SPEAKER: I must call the attention of the hon. Member to the fact that he is not confining himself to the Question before the House.

Mr. CALLAN said, he withdrew the expression "frankness and innocence of youth." They had had a discussion on an important subject relating to Ireland, and they had heard one of the scare-crows of the Castle——

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is trifling with the House. I ask him to resume his seat.

Mr. Callan resumed his seat accordingly.

Mr. O'KELLY said, he hoped the Government would allow themselves to be convinced of the uselessness of the struggle they were forcing on Irish Members, and that they would agree to the adjournment of the debate. If hon. Members had taken the trouble to follow the course of the debate of that evening, they would be aware that the Government had really made no effort whatever to answer the more serious charges made against them, but had hung their defence on matters of altogether secondary importance. Under those circumstances, and, further, owing to the lateness of the hour at which the hon. and learned Solicitor General (Mr. Walker) replied, hon. Members on those Benches had had no fair opportunity of discussing the position taken up by the Government on this question, and he thought that the Government would only be doing justice to themselves if they were to agree to the adjournment of the debate. Unless they did so, it would be within the power of hon. Members to take the hours which the Government proposed to save now, tomorrow, by having recourse to the practice of the House. Under the circumstances, there was nothing to be gained from the struggle on which the Government proposed to enter, and he would, therefore, repeat his appeal to them to give way to the Motion of the hon. Member for Athlone.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, the manner in which the Motion for Adjournment had been treated by Her Majesty's Government was characteristic of the whole of their treatment of the question that was under debate. A number of hon. Members had supported the Motion for the adjournment of the debate; but not a single Member of the Government had spoken, with the exception of the Prime Minister, whose speech he (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) had not the opportunity of hearing, but to which he understood that the most extravagant computation would not assign a longer duration than four minutes. Here, then, was a question of the gravest importance, as the Prime Minister admitted it to be, and it was to be disposed of by the right hon. Gentleman in four minutes. The situation was clear; the Prime Minister found it impossible to give any answer to the arguments of hon. Members in favour of the Motion for Adjournment. The first of the two arguments of the right hon. Gentleman was, that Irish Members should cease to debate the question, because there was an injunction from the Crown to debate the Franchise Bill; and the second was, that there were other questions of importance awaiting settlement. But with regard to those two arguments which the Prime Minister put forward in the course of his four minutes' speech, the right hon. Gentleman had, so to speak, been obliged to swallow one of them, because the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) had been able to show that the right hon. Gentleman, notwithstanding his long acquaintance with the affairs of the country, had taken upon himself to recommend to the House a doctrine completely at variance with Constitutional Law. The right hon. Gentleman had then abandoned that argument, for the very obvious reason that it was an insult to the intelligence and historical knowledge of hon. Members to put it forward as a ground for closing the debate. The second argument was, that although the question was important, there were other questions quite as important remaining behind.

MR. GLADSTONE: I beg pardon; that was not my argument. I said there were questions of importance which, if they were debated on the Address, would occupy the entire time of the House for 12 months.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he was sorry that he had misrepresented the argument of the right hon. Gentleman, and he was glad that he had given him an opportunity of correcting the impression he was under. But he took issue upon the argument of the Prime Minister as now presented, that there were other questions of importance which, if discussed, would occupy the time of the House to the exclusion of all other Business. In the first place, what were those questions; and, in the second place, what other opportunity was there open to Irish Members for bringing forward questions of this kind? If the Prime Minister were to have his way, and the programme which he had laid down for the guidance of the House of Commons were strictly followed, immediately the debate on the Address was closed, the attention and time of the House would be entirely occupied with the consideration of one piece of legislation. However, the right hon. Gentleman must know that there were other occasions than the Address on which this question could be raised; and he had moreover been told and received warning, in no unintelligible or obscure language, that those opportunities would be taken advantage of. He (Mr. T. P. O'Connor) was sure his hon. Friends would be driven, with great reluctance, to take that course, and if the Government were to see their way to adopt wiser counsels, that they would get rid in an easier way of the troublesome question of the Franchise, which was now vexing hon. Members. Having had experience of prolonged discussions on similar questions to that immediately before the House, he believed that no one who had been engaged in them would wish to go through the ordeal again. If the Government would yield to the Motion of the hon. Member for Athlone (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy), he did not think that their concession would be taken undue advantage of, but that the debate to-morrow would be kept within reasonable and fair limits, which would enable the House to get on to other Business sooner than they were likely to do if the present attitude of the Government were maintained.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he trusted the Government would see their way to accede to the appeal which had been made to them so temperately by the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. T. P. O'Connor); if not, he thought they would be doing a very unfair thing in a very ungracious way. He would remind the Prime Minister that they had not had any opportunity of discussing the general question of Irish Administration up to that moment, because it would be in the recollection of the House that, in the course of the debate on the Motion of the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington), certain words were struck out which referred to that general question, and the discussion was, consequently, confined altogether to the one question of the Maamtrasna investigation. He had himself been anxious to offer some observations on the present question; and he wished for the adjournment of the debate on that ground, and also in behalf of other hon. Members who had not had an opportunity of speaking.

Mr. MOLLOY said, there was one other reason in favour of the Motion for Adjournment made by his hon. Friend (Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy), which, he believed, had not yet been laid before the House. It was that they had in the House, for the first time during the debate, a new Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and that the speech which they had heard from his Predecessor in Office was not a speech pertinent to the arguments put forward from those Benches, inasmuch as it was more in the nature of a personal defence, or, as he (Mr. Molloy) would call it, that sort of self-defence which consisted in having the last word. It was irrelevant in the last degree, and throughout the whole of it the right hon. Gentleman did not touch the subject under discussion, so much so that hon. Members who were interested in hearing a speech from the Government on the subject before the House waited until the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker) arose. He (Mr. Molloy) would not repeat the argument so ably put by his hon. Friends—that the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman required an answer, which could only be given to it after further consideration, but would return to the point which he wished to press on the attention of the House. They had all waited to hear the voice of the present Chief Secretary for Ireland, because the speech that he would make would have afforded an indication of the policy which he intended to adopt in future with regard to Irish matters; it would, in short, have shown whether his advent to Office was to mark the continuance of the old, or the commencement of a new policy. They knew, from past experience, that changes did take place in the policy of Governments at such times. Now, the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland would have affected, to a large degree, the continuation or otherwise of this debate. Hon. Members on those Benches were, therefore, asking nothing that was unreasonable; indeed, it was only fair that they should on this occasion, probably the last opportunity they would have during the Franchise Session, hear the voice of the new Chief Secretary on this important question. He would put it to the Prime Minister, and, if the right hon. Gentleman did not hear him, to the Government generally, whether it was not fair, upon an appointment like the present, which affected the whole policy of the Government in Ireland, and the welfare of the whole people—whether it was unreasonable that Irish Members should ask that the new Chief Secretary should be permitted, or have the opportunity afforded him, of informing the House with regard to his views and policy? Now, if the debate were closed without a speech from the Chief Secretary for Ireland, it seemed to him that the construction would be put upon it that the arguments of Irish Members were of such a character that the Government thought it wise to curtail the debate, and get rid of the subject before any further discussion could take place. For these reasons he supported the Motion of the hon. Member for Athlone for the adjournment of the debate; and he begged to assure the Chief Secretary for Ireland that his observations with regard to him had been made with absolute sincerity and conviction, and from no desire to occupy the time of the House. He thought it very hard that the speech asked for was denied them by Her Majesty's Government. Had it been intended to occupy the whole of to-morrow with the remainder of the debate, there might have been some ground for the view taken by the Prime Minister, which, however, did not exist, for it had already been indicated by several hon. Members on those Benches, who were cheered by others, that the debate would be confined within reasonable and fair limits. He hoped the Prime Minister would see his way to granting the request which had been made to him, and which he (Mr. Molloy) would make again with all respect and with all sincerity. He thought that in a question of this sort, even if the Prime Minister considered the debate had continued long enough, seeing that the difference between them was so small—that was to say, seeing that the question was not one of a whole day, but only of a few minutes—a concession might well be made to the Irish Members to enable them to continue the debate, with satisfaction to both sides, and to enable the House to proceed in an amicable spirit, and with that calmness, good feeling, and kindliness which should characterize all their discussions, to the consideration of the next question before it. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and* "Divide!"] He was making an appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister on the question of adjournment, and in so doing was perfectly in Order. He would continue that appeal. He would point out to the right hon. Gentleman that only two or two and a-half hours would be necessary for the conclusion of the debate, and that it could not be a satisfactory policy in its present effect, nor lead to satisfactory results in the future, to allow so small a question to continue to stand between them. He earnestly appealed to the right hon. Gentleman to form a different opinion to that he had expressed. He appealed to him, in all sincerity, for the sake of peace and the progress of Business generally, and for the sake of the satisfaction it would give, not only to hon. Members on those (the Irish) Benches, but in all parts of the House. An adjournment was desirable, in order to allow the new Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who was the only Minister—if he might call him so—they had connected with Irish affairs, to say something on the subject they had been engaged all night in discussing. He (Mr. Molloy) would ask the Prime Minister to consent, not to the prolongation of the debate to unnecessary length, not to Obstruction, but to the continuation of the discussion for an hour or two longer to enable it to be brought to a satisfactory conclusion. He appealed to the right hon. Gentleman with some confidence, as he could not believe that, for the sake of a couple of hours or two and a-half hours, the right hon. Gentleman would allow an unpleasant feeling to be engendered between the Irish Party and the Government on a matter of importance. He hoped the Prime Minister would pay some little attention to the appeal he had made, and which he had urged with all sincerity.

MR. GRAY said, that the Irish Members were placed at great disadvantage during the present discussion. In consequence of the Rules of the House, it was not open to them to call in question or discuss the ruling of Mr. Speaker; and the great majority of Members and Ministers now present, including the Prime Minister, had not been present during the debate, and, therefore, were not in a position to form any kind of judgment or estimate as to whether the question had or had not been adequately discussed, and as to whether the claim of the Irish Members for a little more time to discuss it to-morrow was or was not a reasonable one. He himself believed that if the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Gladstone) had been present during the debate, he would see that the claim was a most reasonable one, that the Irish Members had not been met in a fair way during the debate, and that it was impossible for them to carry on the discussion satisfactorily until a late hour. It was late when they became possessed of the arguments of the Irish Government, and knew what they had to answer; and the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and others who were entitled to speak for the Irish Party—and who, he believed, the House desired to hear on the question—had not been able to speak in such a manner as to make their speeches effective, for the reason that it was too late for the newspapers to report what fell from them. It was very late when the Prime Minister came in, accompanied by a large number of his Colleagues, and announced that they had determined to close the debate. That was a somewhat peremptory course. He (Mr. Gray) would not go into the arguments advanced by the right hon. Gentleman in support of it, because they had been answered more than once. Practically, however, they amounted to this—that the Government wished to save the time of the House. Now, was that really the sole motive which was guiding the Government on this occasion?—and he would put the question to the Prime Minister or any other Member of the Government—because, if it were, he would point out that it would be far easier to attain that object by the adoption of an opposite line of policy. If the Government consented to the suggestions of the Irish Members, and gave them two or three hours to-morrow, on the understanding that the hon. Member for the City of Cork would use his influence with his Colleagues to limit the duration of the debate to two or three hours, instead of leading to a waste of time such a concession would eminently conduce to its economy. If the Government persevered in their present course, apart altogether from the question of exasperating a small minority, and strengthening in them the feeling that they were not treated as any other section of the House would be under similar circumstances, and apart from the question whether such treatment was not calculated to stimulate the minority to exercise their rights to the utmost, quite irrespective of the loss of time it might involve, they would be unwise, because, if the adjournment were conceded, only a limited number of Irish Members would speak to-morrow, and the discussion would be concluded; whereas, if the Prime Minister's policy were carried out, and some form of *clôture* were applied to the Irish Members now, it would be open to every one of them to rediscuss the question on the Report of the Address. If there was to be warfare, it would be well to understand that the provocation had not come from the Irish Members. The conduct of the Treasury Bench throughout this debate was eminently calculated to exasperate and provoke. He (Mr. Gray) did not wish to incur any censure from Mr. Speaker—any movement on that right hon. Gentleman's part would quite suffice to stop him. The Irish Members had discussed the Motion for Adjournment with an earnest desire to apply themselves to the facts. They desired now only to obtain a reasonable time for the purpose of enabling the hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), and one or two other Members, to make speeches which they deemed to be necessary to the full elucidation of the subject under discussion; and before the present debate reached an acrimonious pitch, they appealed to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to say whether it would not be more fair and more reasonable, and whether it would not better conduce to the attainment of the objects he had in view—if his avowed objects were his sole objects, and if there were not behind them something which he had not given expression to—if he assented to the proposal of the Irish Members and permitted an adjournment, on the understanding that not the whole of to-morrow should be given, but that after two or three hours' discussion the Division should be taken? He did not think the right hon. Gentleman fully appreciated, at that moment, what the result of perseverance in his determination summarily to terminate the debate would be. In the course of a very few minutes, a decision must be had on the particular Motion now before it. It might be open to some of the Irish Members then to move the adjournment of the House, and that Motion might be fully debated. Then a third Motion might be made for the adjournment of the debate, and it would be open to anyone to put an end to the discussion, and, judging from the crowded state of the Ministerial Benches, some such course—which would terminate this discussion in a forcible manner—was in contemplation. It was perfectly easy to put an end to these debates in that way. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had only to propose it to have it done. The Irish Party, at the present moment, did not number 40 Members—they were only about half that number—and were powerless in the face of the Rules the right hon. Gentleman had given himself so much trouble to pass in the Autumn Session two years ago. What would be the effect outside the House of the course the Government were now pursuing? That would be the first time that Session, that this form of summary closure—whether it were the formal *clôture* or not——

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member that he is now discussing the *clôture*, on the Question of the adjournment of the debate. The hon. Member is not entitled to do that.

MR. GRAY said, he was inviting the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister to consider what the effect of closing the debate that night would be. He had used the word *clôture*, but not with the least desire or intention of discussing that method of putting an end to discussion. He wished to invite the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to what would be the effect of perseverance by him in his determination to refuse to permit further discussion on the subject just now before the attention of the House. The effect—to put it in a few words—would be this—to show that, at the invitation of the Prime Minister of England, backed by every Member of his Government, the House was determined to put an end to a discussion raised by the whole body of the Irish Members, and determined to do it for the purpose of screening James Ellis French, Bolton, and Cornwall. That would be the conviction of the Irish people at home; and he could not suppose that, when the right hon. Gentleman came calmly to consider the matter, he would not believe that the nominal saving of some three or four hours by the success of his Motion was dearly purchased at such a price.

MR. COMMINS said, that at that late hour of the night it was not his intention to add more than a sentence or two to what had been already said in support of the Motion for the adjournment of the debate. He did not exactly know what the arguments against the Motion had been. He had not had the pleasure of hearing the speech of the Prime Minister, neither had he had the pleasure of hearing the speeches which had been made in answer to the terrible indictment which had been brought by the Irish Members against the administration of justice in Ireland. He had sat here for three or four hours, waiting in vain for some answer to come from the Treasury Bench, or from the Irish Law Officers—the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland—or someone else capable of speaking for the Government on the question of this terrible indictment. The indictment was one which filled the public mind in Ireland, and had been debated in the House for some hours. He had not heard the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland, as he had been obliged to leave the House for the purpose of dining; but he should like to have an opportunity of reading it, and, in his weak way, of answering the arguments in it—such as they might have been. It would be an advantage in the way of satisfying public opinion outside the House, if a proper opportunity for the continuation of the debate were afforded. He did not know whether the object of the Prime Minister was the saving of time. The hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had told them that a couple or three hours to-morrow would enable them to complete the debate, to the satisfaction of both sides of the House, and of the people of Ireland, who were deeply interested in the matter. This debate on the adjournment commenced nearly two hours ago, and those two hours might just as well have been used in continuing the debate, if the Government had only conceded that it should terminate to-morrow. The Government had not gained anything by the attitude they had taken up, for they would have to face this subject to-morrow, or the day after. The matter would have to be fought out—if not to-morrow, then on some other occasion—and other two hours might be lost in useless debates, as they had been lost to-night. He was entirely of the same opinion as hon. Members who had preceded him—namely, that the Irish Members represented the feelings of the people of Ireland. They were told they were not representing the opinions of Ireland——

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Member is now travelling beyond the Question before the House.

Mr. COMMINS said, he should be very sorry to exceed what Mr. Speaker considered the fair and proper discussion of the Motion before the House. It was a subject which would have to be discussed outside as well as inside the House, and he had been merely pointing out the importance of satisfying the opinion of the public outside, as well as the opinion of Members in the House. If it were not too late, and all opportunity of concession were not entirely lost, he would again appeal to the Government whether they could not now make a concession? If a concession were made, the Irish Members surely would not abuse it to-morrow, but would confine their remarks within the narrowest limits.

Colonel NOLAN said, he only wished to make one or two observations in order to call attention to two important points which hon. Members must have overlooked—at any rate, they had omitted to refer to them. One of these points related to Party tactics, and the other to the question of Party courtesy; and they were, he thought, worthy of the attention of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. In the first place, with regard to courtesy, if it had been intended, from an early period, to summarily close the debate, it would only have been just to have hinted, through the Parliamentary Secretary, or some other subordinate, to the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), that such was the case, so that the hon. Member might have had an opportunity of rising to reply to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland. He did not blame the Prime Minister for that. Probably the right hon. Gentleman did not know that no intimation had been given to the Irish Party of the intentions of the Government; but, whoever was to blame, it was a curious omission. He had made every inquiry amongst his Friends to find out whether any suggestion as to the course to be adopted had reached them, and he was assured that not so much as a hint had been dropped. When one of his Friends had endeavoured, in other ways, without going to the Parliamentary Secretary, to find out what was the intention of the Government, he had not been informed that the debate would be closed to-night. Seeing, then, that in this case there had been a breach of ordinary Party courtesy, he would put it to the Prime Minister, whether it was right to hurry the debate to a conclusion? If the right hon. Gentleman had taken measures to advise Irish Members of his intention early in the evening, no doubt those hon. Gentlemen would have made their arrangements accordingly. Fancy the Prime Minister, on a question of interest to the Conservative Party, telling the Leader of the Opposition, the last thing at night, that the Government intended to insist upon a Division being taken without an Adjournment. If the right hon. Gentleman had done such a thing, the whole of the Opposition would have been up in arms in a minute to denounce such a breach of Party courtesy. The right hon. Gentleman, however, had dealt in this way with the Irish Party—or some other Members of the Government had done so, for he (Colonel Nolan) did not like to think that the Prime Minister was responsible for this information having been kept back from the Irish Members. Whoever had done it, had invited the House to enter upon a serious Constitutional struggle. They wished to trample the Irish Party under their feet. It was all, no doubt, owing to simple negligence, or to the whole of the Liberal Party being so set up with the result of the Scarborough election, that they forgot ordinary politeness to the Irish Party. He had always noticed that when the Irish Members were not treated with the same courtesy as the great Conservative Party, there was trouble in the House. He had said the same thing over and over again to the Conservatives when they were in Office—that whenever the Irish Members were accorded less consideration than the Liberals, there was trouble—and he had told them, as he now told the Liberal Government, that his Colleagues would use the Forms of the House to compel ordinary courtesy. With regard to the second point which he wished to refer to as a piece of Party tactics, it was so conspicuous that he wondered no one had noticed it. The Prime Minister was in his place, and, no doubt, it was more his business than his (Colonel Nolan's); but still he would take upon himself to bring it to the notice of the right hon. Gentleman. He referred to the conspicuous absence of the Conservative Party. As a rule, he observed that when the Irish Members were to be crushed——

MR. SPEAKER: This is really not germane to the Motion before the House. The absence of the Conservative Party has nothing to do with the adjournment of the debate.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he bowed to Mr. Speaker's ruling, and, in making his apologies for having been irrelevant, he would only say that the point he had intended to deal with was that he had generally observed that whenever the Irish Party was to be suppressed, there was a combination between the Liberals and Conservatives. As Mr. Speaker had ruled him out of Order, he should reserve his observations on this subject to another occasion.

MR. MARUM said, he rose for the purpose of preventing the Government using the argument that the Irish Party were not unanimous on this question. If no deference was paid to the Irish Members in the House of Commons on this occasion, when they were asking for the adjournment of the debate, at least some deference ought to be paid to the constituents of those Irish Members. Their constituents, he could assure hon. Members opposite, were more exacting than might be supposed. They were not so educated to the ways of Parliamentary life as hon. Members, and they naturally thought that their Members ought to express their sentiments, even if their speeches only amounted to reiteration. It was owing to this fact that they frequently found nearly all the Members of the Irish Party anxious to speak on the same subject—as they had all been anxious to speak on the subject now before the House. The Amendment before the House said—

> "It is essential to the public interest that the Criminal Law, more particularly with regard to the composition of juries, be impartially administered to the different classes of the people in Ireland."

Already, in the debate which had taken place in regard to the Maamtrasna case, the great interest they took in these matters and the vital importance they attached to them had been abundantly manifested. On that subject he should not be, he thought, within the line of the strict rule which Mr. Speaker applied to them, in confining them to the question of the adjournment, if he were to refer to what had fallen from his Colleagues who had preceded him and the two speakers who had addressed themselves to the subject on the side of the Government.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is trifling with the House.

MR. MARUM said, he would not detain the House further than to say that he entirely concurred with the Members of his Party in the question which they had unanimously addressed to the Prime Minister, requesting that, in view of the early stage of the Session and of the important Business which had to be gone through, he would not commence with a policy of exasperation against the Irish Party. If the right hon. Gentleman took no notice of that request, probably it would not facilitate the transaction of Business in the future.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 30; Noes 118: Majority 88.—(Div. List, No. 4.)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE said, the Government had felt it their duty to take the sense of the House, not with reference merely to the particular debate that was before them, but as the most practical protest that they could make against the growth of a system which appeared to be more obstructive of the order and proper transaction of the Business of the House than any other system which could be imagined—the system of accumulating so much discussion on the Address.

MR. HEALY rose to Order. He wished to know what was the Question now before the House?

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY: Is it in Order, upon a Motion of this kind——

MR. SPEAKER: The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister is in possession of the House.

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was speaking to an amicable purpose. He wished to explain that the Government did not wish to press hon. Gentlemen too hardly upon matters in which they took a deep interest; and having, as he had said, taken the sense of the House with regard to the general practice, he was himself prepared to move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. SPEAKER: If the House negatives a Motion for the adjournment of the House, it would then be competent to move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. GLADSTONE: Then I will move the adjournment of the House.

Motion made, and Question, "That this House do now adjourn,"—(*Mr. Gladstone,*)—put, and *negatived.*

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. HEALY moved the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question, "That the Debate be now adjourned,"—(*Mr. Healy,*)—put, and *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

House adjourned at a quarter before Three o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday, 4th November,* 1884.

The House met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, to Thursday next, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday, 4th November,* 1884.

MINUTES.] — PUBLIC BILL—*Ordered*—*First Reading*—Municipal Franchise (Ireland)* [27].

## QUESTIONS.

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### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN OF BOARD OF GUARDIANS, CLIFDEN UNION.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why, after the decision of the Local Government Board in May, that two of the guardians who voted for the present chairman of Clifden Union were disqualified, they allow the chairman to retain the position, seeing that he was only elected by a majority of one vote; and, is it the fact that, in the case of three other guardians, whose qualification was also disputed, the Local Government Board refused to grant an inquiry, unless documentary evidence was forwarded them, when it is alleged the facts to be proved only admit of oral evidence which on the spot is abundantly obtainable?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Section 30 of the Irish Poor Relief Act provides that no defect in the qualification of any person acting as a Guardian at a Board of Guardians shall vitiate any proceedings in which he may have taken part. Therefore, the subsequent removal of two Guardians from the Board did not affect the validity of the election of Chairman. With regard to the three Guardians referred to in the second paragraph of the Question, the objection made was on the ground of alleged non-occupancy of the premises or holdings in respect of which they derived their qualifications. The Local Government Board consider the explanation of the Returning Officer on this head to be satisfactory. They have communicated that explanation to the objector, and informed him that he should sustain his objection by some documentary evidence. The Board consider that objection on the ground stated should admit of such proof, and they cannot, on the unsupported allegation of an objector, institute a local inquiry without some *primâ facie* evidence to show that there are reasonable grounds for the objection.

### SALMON FISHERY (IRELAND) ACT—EMPLOYMENT OF CONSTABULARY AT BLACKROCK AS WATER BAILIFFS.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, On what authority and by whose directions the Constabulary in the Blackrock Police Barrack, county of Cork, are employed as water bailiffs?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed that it is not a fact that the Blackrock constabulary act as water bailiffs. They do what they can to assist the *employés* of the Conservators to detect poaching, which has been extensively practised. Their action is purely for the protection of the public interest, which it is the duty of the Constabulary to enforce, and which they are empowered to do under the Fishery Act.

### EMIGRATION (IRELAND)—RETURN OF STATE-AIDED EMIGRANTS BY THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the attention of the Government has been called to the fact that several families have recently been sent back from New York to Queenstown by the United States Government in a state of great destitution, and have become a burden on the rates of the Cork Union; and, what steps the Government propose to take with regard to such cases?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is true that several families have been sent back from New York to Queenstown as stated. When persons thus returned had been State-aided, arrangements were made by the Local Government Board that their expenses to their own Unions should be paid. But neither the Government nor the Local Government Board could take action with respect to the removal from Cork of returned emigrants, who had been sent to America by other means. The Board have obtained a list of the returned emigrants who have received relief in Cork Union, and are causing inquiry to be made as to the circumstances under which their emigration was carried out.

### FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—TEELIN PIER.

Mr. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to recent correspondence in the press about Teelin Pier, and to General Sankey's explanation on behalf of the Board of Works; whether he still adheres to his former statements; and, whether it is intended to grant any inquiry into the alleged waste of public money?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he had seen the Correspondence. The hon. Member was, perhaps, aware that the case would come before the Donegal Grand Jury, and it was not possible to give any opinion upon it until afterwards.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MR. VAUGHAN MONTGOMERY, J.P.

Mr. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, How the prosecution against Mr. Vaughan Montgomery, J.P. now stands; has the attention of the Lord Chancellor been directed to the report of the trial in *The Belfast Morning News* of 29th September; is it intended that he should continue in the Commission of the Peace; was the second summons taken out against him by the Crown as intended; and, what course do the Government mean to take in his case?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I have seen the report in *The Belfast Morning News* referred to in the Question. The Sessional Crown Solicitor reports that owing to the mode in which claims to vote were received, the magistrates decided that there was not sufficient proof of the tendering of the claim within the Statute. A second summons could not now be sustained, having regard to the date of the claim. The case is one which, as regards Mr. Montgomery's conduct, will be submitted to the Lord Chancellor.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF —— PAYNE.

Mr. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If it is the fact that a young man named Payne, servant to a justice of the peace in the county of Wicklow, and who had formerly been in the employment of Mr. Gustavus Cornwall, Ex-Secretary to the Post Office, was committed to Wicklow Gaol, after a magisterial investigation, *in camerâ*, to take his trial for a felonious offence; whether the principal witness against him came over from Wales to give evidence, but was informed by the police at Newtown Mount Kennedy that he was not wanted; whether it is the fact that when the case was called on the Crown entered a *nolle prosequi;* and, if he can state the reason why the prosecution was not proceeded with?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): A man named Payne was returned for trial to the Wicklow Assizes; but on the information being laid before the Attorney General, he was of opinion that no offence was disclosed by them on which a prosecution could be sustained. A bill was found against the same man for a minor offence; but the prosecuting counsel considered that the case was not one in which the Crown should proceed, and the Attorney General saw no reason to disapprove of the judgment exercised by them at the Assizes. No one connected with the prosecution knows or has heard that the man had been in the employment of Mr. Cornwall, and the first suggestion of it, so far as is known, appears in the Question.

## PRISONS (IRELAND) ACT, 1877—EXPENSES OF CONVEYANCE OF PRISONERS.

MR. DEASY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it is a fact that the Budget of 1882 made provision for the sum of £100,000 to recoup English Counties for moneys paid by them for the conveyance of prisoners after committal, from the passing of "The Prisons Act, 1877," to the decision of the House of Lords in the case of Mullins *v.* Treasurer of the County of Surrey; and, whether the Government will adopt a similar course in regard to Irish Grand Juries, and make good the sums paid by them under the same Act, from 1877 to the passing of the Amendment Act of the present year?

MR. COURTNEY, in reply, said, he was afraid that the hon. Member had been imperfectly informed as to the facts of the case. The decision of the House of Lords on the English Act imposed a retrospective liability on the Exchequer which it was necessary for the Government to meet out of taxation. The Irish Act was differently worded, and the decision in question did not apply to it. Moreover, it expressed correctly the intention of the Legislature in passing that Act which had failed in the English case owing to an error in the wording. There was no obligation to make the provisions of the amended Act retrospective, and he saw no reason in justice for so doing.

## IRELAND—THE ROYAL UNIVERSITY—THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, GALWAY—MR. CHARLES GEISLER, PROFESSOR OF MODERN LANGUAGES.

MR. HEALY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the inquiry, promised by his predecessor, into the qualifications of Professor Geisler, F.R.U.I. and Professor Queen's College, Galway, has taken place; and, if so, with what result?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The charges made against Professor Geisler and his reply thereto were, at the request of the Government, investigated by the President of the Queen's College, Galway, who has reported upon them, supporting his conclusions by original documents. The result is that the Government are satisfied that Professor Geisler did not obtain his appointment at Galway on the strength of a degree which he did not possess, but because he was thought by the Government of the day to be the best candidate for it, and that he subsequently obtained a degree at Vienna in the usual way, and not on the strength of his holding a Professorship in the Queen's College, Galway. I may add that Professor Geisler is borne in high estimation by men competent of judging of his qualifications, and is, as I am informed, a man of estimable character, who has faithfully discharged all the duties of his position.

MR. HEALY wished to know if it were not the fact that this inquiry was conducted by a gentleman who was to some extent *particeps criminis* in the alleged fraud—namely, the President of Queen's College; and if an independent inquiry had been made by any gentleman unconnected with the Queen's College who would command public confidence?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, that the President of the College, who had inquired into the matter, had supported his Report by original documents, which were of such a character as to satisfy the Government that the allegation of fraud was not well founded.

MR. HEALY asked whether the hon. Gentleman would lay the Report on the Table of the House?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, if the Report was not a confidential document, the proofs accompanying it undoubtedly were, and without them the Report would not be intelligible.

### PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—REDISTRIBUTION—CENSUS OF WALES.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD asked the Right honourable Baronet the Member for Wigton, in reference to his Redistribution Bill, on what principle he computed the population of Anglesey at 193,511; what are the "latest available returns" of population mentioned in his Bill, Schedule A, in contrast with the Census of 1881; and, what is his authority for the statement that the population of Wales is "stationary," seeing that, according to the Census Report of 1881, the population of Wales had increased 11.7 per cent. since the Census of 1871, being a greater per-centage of increase for Wales than for Scotland?

SIR JOHN HAY: I have to thank the hon. and learned Gentleman for his courtesy in giving me private Notice of his Question. In column 3 of Schedule A of the Bill the urban and rural population of Anglesey is correctly given as 51,416. The error in column 2 is owing to an error of the copyist, who has inserted the number of statute acres 193,511, taken from the next column of the table. This is an error, however, which I ought to have detected, and for which I express my regret to the House. As the number of Members to be returned in column 6 is based on column 3, the error makes no change in the other parts of the Bill. The latest available returns of population are to be found in the quarterly return of births, deaths, and marriages, 1884; but I have also to express my obligation for information derived from the returns of the hon. Members for Salford, East Staffordshire, and Stafford, and from a return circulated by Sir Henry Peek, lately a Member of this House, and from *The Statesman's Year Book*, *Whitaker's*, *Oliver and Boyd's*, and *Thom's Almanacks*, and other sources of information. The population of Wales in 1871 was 1,217,135; in 1881 it was 1,460,513; and in 1884 it was 1,376,480. From 1871 to 1881 it increased 11·7 per cent; but from 1879 to 1881 only 1·3 per cent, and the rate is now even less, and may, I think, be described as stationary. As the hon. and learned Member is aware, the civil and registration county of Anglesey is not conterminous. The population of the civil county, exclusive of boroughs, in 1881 was 36,570; in 1884 it was 35,141, a decrease of 1,429 in four years.

MR. MORGAN LLOYD: On what has the right hon. Baronet founded his calculation of the number of inhabitants of Wales in 1884?

SIR JOHN HAY: On the Registrar's Returns of births, deaths, and marriages, laid on the Table of this House in May, 1884.

### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—COLLECTION OF POOR RATES, BANDON UNION, CO. CORK.

MR. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that a Mr. Dineen has tendered to collect the poor rates of the Bandon Union, county Cork, at a poundage of fourpence; whether a majority of the Board, made up principally of ex-officio Guardians, have elected a Mr. Stanley at a poundage of sixpence; and, whether, if the facts are as stated, the Local Government Board will order the appointment of Mr. Dineen?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The facts are substantially as stated. But the resolution of the Board of Guardians fixing the poundage at 6*d*. was formal and legal, and requires no interference on the part of the Local Government Board.

### WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS (SCOTLAND)—THE CROFTERS OF SKYE.

MR. D. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has received any official Report of the disturbances alleged to have taken place in the Island of Skye; and, whether the nature of those disturbances is such as to call for exceptional measures; and, if so, what steps Her Majesty's Government propose to take to vindicate the Law in that part of Her Majesty's dominions?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir; we have received official communications from the Justices — the local authorities in the county of Inverness— who informed me that in Skye the police have been attacked and overpowered; and, in my opinion, it is quite clear, under these circumstances, that it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to take such measures in connection with the local authorities as may be necessary for supporting the police in the execution of their duty and the maintenance of order and law.

### THE CROWN COLONIES—COLONIAL EXPENDITURE.

**Mr. HEALY** asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If, according to the Colonial Regulations, all expenditure of public money in Crown Colonies is strictly forbidden until sanctioned by the Secretary of State; if so, and Lord Derby admits that the grant for the Anglican Parsonage in Grenada was improper, and "would not have been sanctioned if submitted to him," he can say who is responsible for not only voting but disbursing the money, without the permission of the Secretary of State; is he aware that in the Legislative Council the Local Government stated they had obtained Lord Derby's sanction; what notice has been taken of the irregularity and misrepresentation; why should not the authors of the misappropriation, and not the taxpayers, suffer by what has been done; and, what guarantee exists against the recurrence of such incidents?

**Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY**: The hon. Member can see in *The Colonial Office List*, published annually, what are the rules and regulations affecting the question at issue. They do not prohibit all expenditure of public money in a Crown Colony until the sanction of the Secretary of State is obtained, although it is generally understood that, except in ease of emergency, the Governor should not propose a Vote or authorize expenditure of an unusual description without such previous sanction. In the case referred to in the Question, Lord Derby considers that both the Governor and the Legislative Council committed an error of judgment; but, under the circumstance of the Governor holding a *bonâ fide* belief that there was a legal obligation to put the rectory-house in repair, Lord Derby does not think it necessary to take any action beyond that which he has already taken. He does not anticipate the recurrence of such incidents, and, therefore, does not consider it desirable to lay down any more stringent rule fettering the discretion hitherto wisely exercised by the Governors of Crown Colonies. We have no reason to believe that the local Government stated that they had obtained Lord Derby's sanction.

### CIVIL SERVICE (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

**Mr. HEALY** rose. The following Question appeared on the Paper in the name of the hon. Member:—To ask the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the present position of Mr. George Bolton; is he in receipt of a salary from the Crown; and, what are the intentions of the Government respecting him?

**Mr. SPEAKER**, interposing: This Question is in identical terms with one put on the Paper and answered yesterday; and it is contrary to the Rules of the House to put it again.

**Mr. HEALY**: I was about to explain that the Question had been put down without my knowledge or consent.

### PUBLIC MEETINGS—THE RIOT AT ASTON HALL, BIRMINGHAM.

**Mr. LEWIS** asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he will state to the House which of the original sworn papers, quoted or read by him to the House on the 30th October, are now or ever were in his possession?

**Mr. CHAMBERLAIN**: The original sworn papers quoted by me, or rather read by me, to the House *in extenso* on the 30th October, were all of them at that date in my possession. The whole of them have now been forwarded to the solicitors in Birmingham who have the conduct of the proceedings. I may add that some objections having been taken to these papers on the ground of some irregularity in them, I am informed that the whole of these statements have now been repeated in the shape of statutory declarations, and the Tory solicitors have been informed that they will be at their service if they desire to found any proceedings upon them.

### EGYPT—THE MILITARY EXPEDITION —INSTRUCTIONS TO LORD WOLSELEY.

**Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether Lord Wolseley has been instructed to proclaim the abandonment of the whole Soudan; and, if so, whether, and in view of General Gordon's statement that the policy of abandonment was the chief difficulty in his way at Khartoum, Her Majesty's Ministers will withdraw the above instruction to Lord Wolseley, and will direct him to press on with all speed to the relief of Khartoum?

MR. ONSLOW desired to know whether the Government before proposing the Vote of Credit in respect of the Egyptian Expedition would lay upon the Table copies of the instructions to Lord Wolseley defining the relative position of himself and General Gordon in the Soudan? If the Government wished it, he would give Notice of the Question.

MR. GLADSTONE: With respect to the Question of the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), there are no instructions to Lord Wolseley bearing on the subject of his Question beyond those which are printed, and they do not contain the instruction that is supposed in this Question. It is not an instruction to Lord Wolseley; but he would have authority to proceed to Khartoum if he saw occasion. As to the time and manner of any such advance, that is left in Lord Wolseley's hands.

### NAVY—STATE OF THE NAVY.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is now in a position to state on what occasion he proposes to make his promised statement with regard to any steps intended to be taken in order to secure the efficiency of the Navy and the security of our coaling stations abroad?

MR. GLADSTONE: I understand my hon. Friend to signify by this Question that the Franchise Bill ought to be postponed in order to have a discussion on the Navy. If that is his intention——

MR. LABOUCHERE: No, Sir. Perhaps I may be allowed to explain. I was in hopes that the Franchise Bill would be passed in two or three days, and I wanted to know if a statement about the Navy could be made immediately?

MR. GLADSTONE: Well, I am very glad to have called forth that explanation. I am not quite so sanguine as the hon. Member, and I may now remind him that we are really in exactly the same position, with the exception of the introduction of the Bill, that we were in on the first night of the Session. Indeed, I may say that we are in a worse position, because on the first night of the Session the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote), I think, wisely made an observation in his speech which appeared to contemplate, and which tended to bring about the close of the debate after what I might call the old fashion. I should be glad if my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) can give me any positive information as to that point. No doubt, when we see that we are going to be clear of the Franchise Bill, then I think some Question of this kind may very well be put, and I understand that right hon. Gentlemen opposite have it in view.

SIR DONALD CURRIE: I beg leave to give Notice that on the earliest available opportunity after the Franchise Bill has passed this House, I shall call attention to the state of the Navy, and the condition of our Eastern and Colonial Defences and Coaling Stations, and move a Resolution.

### EGYPT—MILITARY OPERATIONS—THE RAILWAY FROM SUAKIN TO BERBER.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in order to facilitate the return of the expedition from Khartoum, and to avoid the most serious complications in the future, Her Majesty's Government are taking any steps towards opening out a Railway from Suakin to Berber?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: This question relating to the railway from Suakin to Berber was one which was fully considered and discussed with Lord Wolseley before he left England, and had been under his consideration before. There is no intention at present of making any further preparation for the construction of that railway.

### IRELAND—THE LAND COMMISSION COURT—APPEALS—FINES FOR NON-STAMPING.

MR. HEALY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If his attention has been called to the question of the imposition of the penalty where appeals in land cases, &c. in Ireland have not been stamped; can he give a guarantee that the penalty where the fine is paid and the appeal proceeded with will not afterwards be remitted by the Stamp Office; and has this been done in any instance; and, if so, why?

Mr. COURTNEY: My attention has been called to this matter. The question of the validity of a notice of appeal, either not stamped at all or not stamped until after service, is one of law, which the Lands Commission, in its judicial capacity, must decide upon a case brought before it by the party affected. I am informed that some notices have been allowed to be stamped after service, presumably on the ground of unintentional error; but this will not be allowed in future.

Mr. HEALY: Can the hon. Gentleman say how many cases?

Mr. COURTNEY: I do not know. There has been no remission of a fine, because no fine has been exacted.

## FISHERY PIERS AND HARBOURS (IRELAND)—FISHERY PIER AT PULLENDIVA, CO. SLIGO.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If it is the fact that the new pier at Pullendiva, county Sligo, and constructed two or three years since, at a cost of over £5,000, is entirely useless to the fishermen of the district, as their boats cannot enter into it at low water, the harbour being dry, with a rocky bottom, and the boats, whenever they enter, cannot remain there without sustaining damage; whether a portion of the cost was contributed by the locality, expressly on condition that the harbour would be made available for fishing smacks at all times of tide; whether the design for the pier was made by the engineer of the Board of Works, and whether he has made any fresh design for any further works to render the pier available for its purpose; whether the Fishery Commissioners have offered any opinion as to the need of further works in connection with the pier; and, how soon the Board of Works may be expected to execute such works as are requisite to make the pier a useful structure?

Mr. COURTNEY: I do not know on what grounds the hon. Member says that a tidal harbour is useless, such harbours being not uncommon throughout the Three Kingdoms. The Pullendiva Pier is only dry at very low spring tides, and could not have been carried out to deep water without a very large expenditure. There is no evidence that any condition was attached to the small local contribution received. The Fishery Commissioners have suggested an extension, and a design for it was sent them on July 22, since which date nothing has been heard from them on the subject. The Board of Works will put the works in hand as soon as the Commissioners communicate their decision.

## ALKALI WORKS REGULATION ACT, 1881—ALLEGED DEATHS FROM NOXIOUS VAPOURS FROM SOAP AND ALKALI WORKS, RUNCORN.

Mr. WARBURTON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the death of two children from suffocation by chlorine gas, at the Soap and Alkali Works near Runcorn; whether he is aware that noxious vapours, destructive to vegetation and life, are constantly allowed to escape from these works; and, whether he will take steps to compel the owners of these works to adopt measures for the prevention of this danger in the neighbourhood in future?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: We have not received any information as to the alleged deaths from suffocation by chlorine gas from the alkali works referred to; but we will at once make inquiry on the subject.

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—KHARTOUM.

Sir FREDERICK MILNER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, considering the fact that the food supply at Khartoum must of necessity be exhausted by the time our Troops can arrive there, if not before, and owing to the probability of a great famine existing in the Country, through the failure of the Tribes to cultivate their land, Her Majesty's Government have arranged to send up sufficient supplies to provide means of subsistence for the Troops, and for the beleagured inhabitants of the town; and, whether, inasmuch as it was known at Cairo, early in August, that grave doubts existed as to whether General Gordon's ammunition would hold out, he has arranged that sufficient munitions of war should be sent with the

Expedition, for the use of the Governor of Khartoum?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Supplies in large quantities are being concentrated at Dongola, upon which Lord Wolseley will be able, in case for necessity, to draw. There is no reason to believe that supplies of the character used by the Natives are deficient in the Nile Valley owing to the failure of the tribes to cultivate their land. Ample supplies for munitions of war of all kinds have been provided from this country for the Nile Expeditionary Force, and their disposition rests entirely with the General Officer commanding.

### EGYPT—(EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON—TELEGRAMS.

BARON HENRY DE WORMS: I should like to ask the Secretary of State for War whether he has received any telegrams from Lord Wolseley as to the safety of General Gordon?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Messages have been received from Lord Wolseley to Sir Evelyn Baring. I do not think, as they have been received *en clair*, there is any reason why they should not be placed before the House; but the information they contain is not of great importance, but it tends to show that Lord Wolseley knew nothing of the unfavourable reports with reference to General Gordon. The telegrams are as follows:—

"Sir Evelyn Baring, Cairo, 10 A.M. (noon), Nov. 4, 1884.—Following from Wolseley, dated Dongola, yesterday:—Kitchener telegraphs to Wilson:—Message begins:—I saw a man named Ibrahim Wad Beel, who recently came from the Arabs some distance south. He has sent a letter to the Mudir. He said all was quiet, and when Gordon received our messengers he fired salutes and had parades. He appeared unwilling to give information. I suppose you know that both English and French Consuls were with Stewart. Greek Consul Nicola supposed to have remained behind in the boats, and to be safe.—Message ends. Kitchener again telegraphed yesterday:—Message begins: Hadji Abdullah arrived from Wady Gamr, and says that a man from Shendy reports that Hashem-el-Moos has formed a post there, and has been fighting with Jaalin. The Mahdi, with a large force, came to Omdurman, and asked Gordon to surrender. Gordon replied that he would hold Khartoum for 12 years. The Mahdi then retired without fighting to El-Goz Elmek, one day south of Khartoum and half-a-day from the river, and gave out that he would not fight for two months. Many left him. Sid-el-Hassan has sent word from Kassala to Gordon that he will soon come and help him. He is an important man. Sheikh Sala, son of Hussein Pasha Khalifa, in pay of Government at Korosko, has opened the Murad wells and sent a letter to Robatat, offering peace if they will come in. Mahomed-el-Khair is still in Berber as Emir, but the people are afraid. Road from here to Khartoum not open except by Metammah, and there the Mahdi's men come in at night.—Wolseley's telegram ends. I think that the place called El-Goz Elmek in this telegram is the same as that called Emmek on the map."

### QUEEN'S SPEECH.

*Resolved*, That any further proceedings on the Address appointed for this day or to-morrow have precedence over the Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day.—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

### ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO HER MAJESTY'S MOST GRACIOUS SPEECH.

[ADJOURNED DEBATE.] [NINTH NIGHT.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Main Question [28th October,] "That, &c."—[See page 69.]

And which Amendment was,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the word "us," the words "but humbly to represent to Her Majesty that it is essential to the public interest that the Criminal Law, more particularly with regard to the composition of juries, be impartially administered to the different classes of the people of Ireland."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

Question again proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Debate *resumed.*

### AMENDMENT (MR. SEXTON)—COMPOSITION OF JURIES (IRELAND).

MR. HEALY said, that everyone would agree, who had witnessed the exciting scene before the close of the last Sitting, that it was much more decorous to have the reply of the new Chief Secretary today. They were very anxious to know what his view was of recent occurrences in Ireland, and what policy he intended to pursue; or, if he was merely elevated to a higher position on the Treasury Bench, to have Questions fired at him as a kind of Ministerial "Aunt Sally?" The late Chief Secretary made last night a speech which he regarded as very remarkable. The House and the country must remember that it was because of their attack upon the

Government in reference to James Ellis French, that the President of the Board of Trade charged them with acting the part of savage warriors, and with making use of "poisoned wells and explosive bullets." He wished for a moment to contrast the attitude of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster last night with his attitude upon the same subject some three months previously. Last night, James Ellis French was "This wretch!" "A fellow!" "One who, if the Government had anything to do with him, would lose them the support of honest and honourable men!" Three months ago, when the Irish Members showed that so far back as September, 1883, James Ellis French committed perjury in swearing in an affidavit that he had not been suspended or removed from office, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster backed him up, had no apology or condemnation of the perjury, and said he hoped he would recover and be able to proceed with his action against the hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien). He would quote the right hon. Gentleman's words, so that the next time Irish Members brought forward charges they might be favoured with some better answer than that the Lord Lieutenant was well aware of the distinguished character of the official impugned, and would not listen to the attacks of men like the hon. Member for Mallow. A Motion was made on the 17th of June, last Session, by the hon. Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor) for a Select Committee to inquire into the conduct of the Government with regard to the criminal charges against James Ellis French, Detective Director and County Inspector, Gustavus Cornwall, Secretary to the General Post Office, Dublin, and George Bolton, Crown Solicitor. The Chief Secretary immediately rose, and how did he meet the allegations?—

> "The hon. Member for Monaghan and the hon. Member for Queen's County have had, I do not hesitate to say, false evidence laid before them, which they are not in the least to be blamed for believing; and I can very well guess whence this evidence comes, because there has been in Dublin for some time past a man of the name of Meiklejohn, who was formerly in the English Detective Force, but who was dismissed from that Force—put upon his trial—a criminal trial—for levying black mail, and sentenced to two years' imprisonment. . . . The House may imagine the terrible danger which Irish officials run when a man of this sort is in Dublin trumping up cases against them."—(3 *Hansard*, [289] 695.)

That speech was made on the eve of the Cornwall trial for the purpose of influencing the jury. It was a statement that Irish Members had employed a felon and an odious character for the purpose of trumping up charges. Then the right hon. Gentleman went on——

Mr. TREVELYAN: I beg the hon. Member's pardon. The false charge to which I referred was a charge against myself. My business was with a charge made in the House on the evidence, as I believed, of Meiklejohn.

Mr. HEALY: No charge was made from first to last against the right hon. Gentleman. It is futile for the right hon. Gentleman to say there was. What was the charge?

Mr. TREVELYAN: The hon. Member will find, if he continues to read the speech. It was a personal charge against me of having had interviews with French, which interviews I was able to state and show to the House I never had. [*Cheers from the Ministerial side below the Gangway.*].

Mr. HEALY: Do not cheer before your time.

Mr. SPEAKER: Order, order!

Mr. HEALY said, there was no such charge made by any hon. Member. Even if there were, was that a criminal charge? Would it have put the right hon. Gentleman in "a terrible position?" Why, it would not have in the least surprised them if the right hon. Gentleman had interviews with French, and had told him he must clear his character or leave. In fact, it might have been his duty to see him. Now, the right hon. Gentleman attempted to put an *ex post facto* construction on his words. The words did not bear the right hon. Gentleman's interpretation—

> "The House may imagine the terrible danger which Irish officials run when a man of this sort is in Dublin trumping up cases against them."

Where was the terrible danger to the right hon. Gentleman in saying that he had had an official interview with French? It was monstrous for the right hon. Gentleman to pretend that his words had reference to that. The right hon. Gentleman went on to say—

> "How can any Irish official be free from most horrible charges"—

Horrible charges of having seen Mr. French in an interview!—

> "when a man of this character is in Dublin, spying about to the right and left. I do not know what charges he has brought against other Irish officials; but if they are of the same value as that which he has brought against me, I must say the House must be very careful before it accepts the outcry with which these charges have been published."—[*Ibid.*]

That speech was practically a statement for the plaintiff in the libel action of "Cornwall *v.* O'Brien," which was to take place a few days later in Dublin. But in spite of that carefully-prepared statement Cornwall was practically convicted by a jury of his "chums." There were only five or six Catholics on the jury which gave a verdict for the hon. Member for Mallow, and of the others several were Cornwall's brother-Masons. Then look at the conduct of the Government in the case of their other official, French, who had since been dismissed the Service with the question of pension left open, though he was now in Kilmainham Gaol. With the full knowledge that French was then swearing perjury for the purpose of defeating the action of the hon. Member for Mallow, by denying on affidavit the allegation that he had been suspended or in any way officially interfered with, the Government deliberately kept silence; and it was only when driven by the force of public opinion, and when French could not be spurred or kicked into going on with his action, that the right hon. Gentleman admitted he had been suspended long before the date of the affidavit. If the Government had only had the common honesty to acknowledge that French had committed perjury, and to have treated him as a perjurer, some satisfaction would have been given. The Irish Party wanted to know from the new Chief Secretary, was he prepared to back up these wretches in the same way as his Predecessor had done? Would he imitate his Predecessor, and, with the knowledge that wilful perjury had been committed in the interests of the Crown to crush an opponent, would he back up those guilty officials? It was time that the hon Gentleman should speak out. It was time that they should have a distinct statement of the intentions of the Government. Would the hon. Gentleman liberate his soul on the subject? Would he state whether he was prepared to take up the *rôle* adopted by his Predecessor? Since the accession to Office by the hon. Gentleman, an announcement had been made that George Bolton had been reinstated. In his (Mr. Healy's) opinion, that augured very badly for the future career of the hon. Gentleman. Did the new Chief Secretary know that, on the certificate of an English Judge, George Bolton was declared to be guilty of the most heartless conduct in swindling his own wife of £40,000? He surely knew that an Irish Judge—Judge Walsh—in the Bankruptcy Court, also condemned his conduct in the most emphatic manner as "monstrous." He knew that in the Sligo murder case, Judge Barry commented most strongly, in words of condemnation, on Bolton's conduct in concealing a deposition of the mother of the murdered man. He knew that JudgeBarry, in the case of "Bolton *v.* O'Brien," commented afresh on Bolton's conduct. He knew that in the Maamtrasna case, when the important and vital depositions of the dying boys were withheld, George Bolton was the solicitor for the Crown, and that he also appended to the statement of Patrick Joyce in the Crown brief the statement—"Patrick Joyce survives, but his evidence is worthless." The Irish Party asked the new Chief Secretary whether, with these facts before him—with this swindler and bankrupt and keeper-back of depositions—with this record before his eyes, was it the way to ingratiate himself with the Irish people to protect and reinstate this man after his suspension? In the Sligo murder case, in which Judge Barry commented on the withholding of the important deposition, the Judge had to use the prisoners' counsel's brief to supply the absence of the document, which, as his Lordship said, "should have been in the custody of the Clerk of the Crown;" Judge Barry strongly denounced this at the time; and afterwards in Bolton's action against *United Ireland*, for its criticisms on it, the same Judge, in his address to the jury, commenting upon the proceeding, said it was—

> "One of the most remarkable episodes in his experience of criminal administration;"

and further that—

> "It was eminently unsatisfactory, and one with reference to which the feeling of a Judge could not be realized. It was a terrible thing that, in a trial involving human life, a document that should have been in Court was not forthcoming,"

The Judge also observed upon the fact

that "the original document had disappeared." Yet this was the worthy official whom the Government had reinstated after his suspension, because the bankruptcy proceedings were stopped. These bankruptcy proceedings were unduly and illegally postponed, over and over again, contrary to the Statute. And why? To give Bolton an opportunity of waiting for the result of the Belfast trials against Mr. O'Brien, when, as his affidavits declared, he hoped to reckon a verdict among his assets. The section of the Act under which the bankruptcy proceedings took place provided that, "after the granting of an order for protection, the Court shall appoint a private sitting to be held forthwith." That, however, was not done. The Act also provided that the petitioning trader, 10 days before the private sitting, should file a full account of his debts; and yet, from the 1st of May, when George Bolton filed his petition, down to September, nothing was done to give Bolton his chance of getting a verdict against the hon. Member for Mallow. He never could pay the £90,000 he owed, as he only offered his creditors a composition of a few hundreds a-year out of his salary; but, as they knew, if they made him a bankrupt, he would be dismissed, and they would get nothing, they abandoned the proceedings in the hope that they could still recover 6*d*. in the pound. It was to a transparent transaction of this kind that the new Chief Secretary thought fit to impart his patriarchal blessing. Why did the Government take this extraordinary course in reference to such a man? They made the "arrangement" with him because they were afraid of him. When he put the Question to the Solicitor General for Ireland, whether Bolton would be dismissed or not, the reply was that the matter was of such a serious character and of such importance that it should lie over until the new Chief Secretary took his seat. At that time the Government evidently had not made up their minds. But in the meanwhile a very remarkable letter from James Ellis French came to light—a letter in which he said, referring to Government officials, that if he took a certain course he would "perhaps see some of them in the dock." While the Government were considering what it would do with George Bolton, French wrote his letter from Kilmainham, not for publication, but it came to light, having been intercepted; the Maamtrasna debate took place, the Irish Members were voted down, and, of course, the Government knew that Bolton could, if he chose, put this House of Commons to shame and turn Lord Spencer out of Ireland, if he told the truth about Maamtrasna, to spite them. George Bolton had only to come forward in the position of a repentant culprit, and, of course, he had Lord Spencer in the hollow of his hand. Bolton knew too much, and therefore he was reinstated—in fact, for the past two months since his suspension he had been going about threatening what he would do if the Government dismissed him. One thing Bolton said he would do was, that he would not oblige Earl Spencer by making a bankrupt of the hon. Member for Mallow. He had been treated badly by the Government, he said. He declared he had performed jury-packing; had had men hanged by the connivance of Earl Spencer; and he would expose the Government if he was thrown over, and so the Government did not throw him over. George Bolton put a pistol to Earl Spencer's head, loaded it — he might use the metaphor—with the blood of innocent men, charged it with the knowledge of unwholesome and fatal secrets, and so the Government put back Bolton—a man branded with the guilt of the most odious crime by English and Irish Judges. This was the man with whose reappointment the new Chief Secretary opened his official career in Ireland, and on which he made his maiden announcement. Did the Chief Secretary think that such a course was a wise one? They knew, however, he was not acting on his own judgment, or acting on the dictates of his own feelings, but was just doing what Lord Spencer ordered him to do. Was it not absurd to have such officials in this House, just like puppets, the strings to be pulled from Dublin Castle or elsewhere, as the case required? When answers were read out in that House, they knew that the answers were not the answers of those who read them, but of those over whom they had no control. It was absurd to suppose that the House was carrying on a Representative Government when the Representatives of the people were confronted by officials with replies dictated by some arbitrary and tyrannical power outside the House. It was a flagrant dereliction of a representative position. When they placed gentlemen in Dublin as Viceroys, with full control over the fortunes of the people, and contented themselves by having in that House a mere whipping boy to answer Questions and receive attacks, it was a prostitution of the representation. He was surprised that, living as they did in so-called Radical days, when they were pretending to give every man a vote, and pretending that in that House should be voiced the opinions of the people, a system more akin to what was going on in Russia than what would be expected in Her Majesty's Dominions was permitted to prevail. The Irish Members showed that one of the leading instruments of the system was George Bolton, and another, James Ellis French. They asked the House, which had intrusted the Irish authorities with a Crimes Act admitted to be of the most ferocious character, whether it was the way to obtain the confidence of the people to put the administration of that Act into the hands of the most unworthy and the filthiest instruments? Let the Government pass Coercion Acts; but let them give the people coerced the satisfaction of knowing that they would be administered by honourable and impartial men. But were they to be told that when the highest men the Crown had administering the Act, finding out criminals in Ireland and packing juries, were men of tainted character, of loathsome lives, men with whom no one in decent society, or with a shred of self-respect, would be seen, and with reference to one of whom the Chief Secretary said it was a monstrous charge against him to say that he was ever seen with or had spoken to him——

MR. TREVELYAN: I rise to Order. This is certainly very strong. The hon. Gentleman refers to French, I presume. Well, French had no more to do with the packing of juries than the police constables at Scotland Yard.

MR. HEALY said, that if he was inclined to comment on that interruption, he should say that that interruption was about as irregular an interruption as ever he heard in the course of his life. As that interruption had been made, however, he would just say something on the point which it had raised—that French had nothing to do with jury packing. He would read an extract from French's letter—

> "You are not up in criminal cases, and Orr has not had practical experience in heavy cases. But I have had, and perhaps there are very few who could work up a case for the Crown or the defence more closely than I could, as John Atkinson and Peter O'Brien said to me in Mary Brosnahan's case, in which I had about 70 witnesses, that they never saw a case worked up closer to the wind than it was."

MR. O'DONNELL: Infamy!

MR. HEALY: Here was a case in which the official now in custody on a charge of beastly and abominable offences had "worked up" for the Crown, and with reference to which the learned Serjeant, Peter O'Brien, said he never saw a case "worked up closer to the wind" than it was. No wonder they who lived in Ireland should love British rule! No wonder they should be in ecstasies at the gentlemen sent over to them! No wonder they should bow down before those creatures engaged in nameless crimes in high places—men, like French, described as a filthy wretch by the right hon. Gentleman who defended him so long! But he only introduced this digression because of interruption of the ex-Chief Secretary. The Government had clearly no intention of acceding to the proposition before the House, and yet they were told that on occasions like this the conduct of the Irish Members was calculated to alienate the Radicals. Their charge was that, having had a Coercion Act passed, care was taken on the juries under it to exclude every Catholic, especially in murder cases; whilst in grave cases like that of Cornwall, which, according to the statement of Crown counsel, involved the commission of the most odious crimes that could be committed—worse than any agrarian or political crime—they challenged no juror, and connived at an acquittal. This Act gave power to the prisoners to call for a special jury; but no prisoner before Cornwall ever thought of taking that step. The special jury system was invented by the Government in order to exclude Catholics, and if any happened to be on the panel the Crown had an unlimited right of "stand by." The panel was drawn—100 from the city and 100 from the county—consisting of people of high rating. The present panel for Dublin consisted of 155 Protestants, and about 45 Catholics. One might say that

that ought to fairly satisfy them. But what did they do when they got these gentlemen into Court on heavy fines? It was admitted by the late Chief Secretary that George Bolton sent the panel a few days in advance to Mr. Welch, the secretary of the Tory Club in Dublin, and he marked off the politics and creed of every juror upon it. In the case of the county panel, the Royal Irish Constabulary did the same; and by this means the Crown made up their minds in advance as to who the persons were who would be on the jury. How did they manipulate their number? In the case of Myles Joyce they challenged 28; in the case of Francis Hynes they challenged 26; in the case of Thomas Higgins, for the Lough Mask murder, they challenged 54; in the case of Pat Higgins, 42; in the case of Pat Joyce, 39; and in the case of Joe Poole, 47. Consequently, all these men were hanged. The jurors ordered to "stand by" were almost invariably Catholics, although in some instances they were Justices of the Peace. That showed that the Crown manipulated the panel, not to get a true finding, but in order to get the type of persons they required to find the verdict they desired. Yet that was called fair play. Would such a system be tolerated for a moment in England? Take the case even of the Claimant. He ventured to say that if the Claimant had been found guilty by a jury so composed, there was not a Magna Charta Association in the land that would not, at the present moment, be alleging that the Claimant was unjustly convicted. How much more would the Irish people entertain this opinion, knowing, as they did, that the panel was unfairly juggled, and that the whole machinery of Government was against them? Contrast this challenge system with what was done by the Crown in the case of French and Cornwall. The jury in French's and Cornwall's case was a special jury. The section of the Crimes Act on that point appeared to have been drawn with a prophetic eye for the benefit of gentlemen like these. Out of a panel of 200 there were only 45 Catholics. It might, therefore, be supposed that the Crown, knowing that French and Cornwall were Freemasons of high rank, would make use of that process of elimination which they practised on other occasions to so unlimited an extent. They did nothing of the kind. At the outset no previous announcement was made from the Bench that the panel would be called over on heavy fines, as was done in every agrarian case. The consequence was that Mr. Cornwall's Freemason friends, in obedience to a whip, came into Court; and the few Catholics on the panel, knowing they would not be fined, remained away in order to avoid being present at a disgusting trial. Mr. Cornwall had the right of 20 challenges, and he was easily enabled to eliminate all the Catholics. What did the Government do? They did not challenge a single person. How admirable! They challenged 54 in the case of Thomas Higgins; 42 in the case of Pat Higgins; 47 in the case of Joe Poole; but none at all in the case of Mr. Cornwall, who was accused of a crime that they were told in Holy Writ cried to Heaven for vengeance. Oh yes, it cried to Heaven for vengeance; but it did not cry to Dublin Castle for vengeance. Were they in that House told by the Crown, as in the case of the poor peasants who were struggling to remain in the homes of their fathers, that as the existing law did not reach these blackguards, the Government would bring in a new Bill? No. Where jurors acquitted or disagreed in agrarian cases, the Irish were told they were in sympathy with crime, and that the Government would take care to provide machinery for putting the proper men into the box; but they had not a single suggestion to make in reference to the escape of these abominable offenders. It was not for him to charge the Freemasons of Dublin with sympathizing with abominable offences; but if he put the same construction upon their acquittal of Cornwall, of French, and of Dr. Fernandez, of the Guards, that the Government did upon the actions of jurors throughout the country on political trials, he would be inclined to say that the 11 Freemasons who acquitted their fellow-Mason in Dublin last week held very peculiar views on the subject of nameless crimes. The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) stated last night that "mistakes might have been made," and men might have been hanged in the wrong; but, at least, "the Government had the consolation of knowing that crime and outrage had ceased." He had not a word to say about the crimes which cried to Heaven for vengeance, He had not a single word to say in reprobation of the jury that acquitted these men. The Irish Party alleged that if in the case of French and Cornwall the Government wanted to get evidence, they could have obtained it by the Crimes Act inquisitions. The answer of the late Chief Secretary was that the Crimes Act was a method of getting at the truth, and was not passed for offences of this nature. But, if so, why was Mr. Cornwall tried under the Crimes Act? He had the benefit of a Crimes Act special jury, and he might have suffered the disadvantage of a Crimes Act inquisition into his conduct. The Government, as his hon. Friend the Member for Mallow said, bedevilled the entire case. They did not produce a single witness against Cornwall on the felony charge, except those his hon. Friend had declined to call. Was not that disgraceful? They did not bring forward a single one of the witnesses upon whose evidence his hon. Friend obtained his verdict. His hon. Friend was offered the testimony of two wretched creatures named Magrane and Clarke, who alleged that Cornwall had committed felony with them; but he honourably declined to call them, as he was determined that Cornwall should be condemned upon the testimony of men of his own class—men who went to flower shows and social parties with him. The Government did not call one of these men. They called to prove the charge of felony the two wretches Magrane and Clarke, whom nobody would pick out of the gutter except Crown officials, and upon the evidence of these men the case was sent to the jury. Of course, the jury found a verdict of not guilty. They could hardly do otherwise. No man's life would be safe if the testimony of such wretches was accepted. But why did not the Government call Malcolm Johnston, the heir of £40,000? Why did they not call M'Kiernan, the bank clerk? Why did they not call Taylor, or Johnson Little, or the others who moved in the select circles of Castle society? No; they first got him acquitted on the main charge, and having thus got him the benefit of a verdict, they indicted him for conspiracy, and only then produced the witnesses who convinced the jury on the civil action. They refused to challenge one of his friends on that jury—on which the only Catholic was a man who had to leave the Dublin Corporation, because of his refusal to vote the freedom of the City to Parnell and Dillon; but, though they brought him in not guilty, they added the stinging rider to their verdict—"Because the Crown have not brought forward sufficient evidence." What did they do in French's case? French wrote the precious letter already referred to, and the Solicitor General for Ireland made a great point that it was the Crown that produced it. Yes; but the Irish Members first got a copy of it. The gentlemen who gave them Crown briefs also enabled them to have other documents. A fortnight before this letter was produced in Court a statement as to its contents appeared in *United Ireland;* and they did not, therefore, thank the Government very much for producing it. What did the Government do in French's case? They called the same witnesses who had been disbelieved in Cornwall's case; but not a single man of the scores of policemen with whom French had had guilty practices was called. The Inspector General of Constabulary was called as a witness of character for the accused; but though the Crown knew that he had summoned two Sub-Inspectors by telegraph to find out whether French had committed felony with persons they knew, he was never asked a word about it. What fine, delicate feelings the Crown had! The sub-constable in charge of French, who was assaulted by him two days before he was arrested, and whose deposisition existed, was not called to give evidence; nor were any of the scores of cadets in the Constabulary Depôt who had been feloniously attacked by this wretch brought forward by the Crown. The English Government expected the Irish people to respect the justice so given them. What did they do in the case of Fitzgerald and others, who would be tried in a few days? In that case they kept 11 men in custody for seven months, though repeated applications had been made before the Lower and Superior Courts for their admission to bail; and after having kept them in horrible confinement all that time without trial, they suddenly allowed them out on bail of £18 each the other day, knowing that there was not a single bit of evidence against them. But they kept in a man named Fitzgerald; and on the very week that he was to be tried they had recourse to a scandalous trick to "stampede" the jury, as they would say in America. They arrested at midnight a clerk named Allen, and they produced, in the most melodramatic fashion, a number of papers and documents found in his possession—all in order to get up a panic among the special jurors who were to try Fitzgerald in a day or two. In the same way Mr. Jenkinson scattered a number of rifle cartridges in the Phœnix Park, with green strings and the words, "The impregnable Invincibles will yet have revenge," attached to them, just before the trial of the Barbavilla prisoners, who were, of course, found guilty on evidence which the informer himself now swore to be false. This little scheme of Mr. Jenkinson's operated upon the minds of the jury in the Barbavilla case, and it was hoped that the arrest of this young Methodist gentleman, Mr. Allen—delayed until the eleventh hour, and made with every show of importance at the dead of night—would have the same influence upon the jury which was to try Fitzgerald. These were the tricks and stratagems employed in political cases by the Crown in Ireland, while they winked at the crimes that cried to Heaven for vengeance. They winked at those crimes, and the Irish people respected them accordingly. Of the 1,000 men arrested by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) on suspicion, how many had they brought to trial under the Crimes Act? Not 2 per cent. What did the Radicals say to that? Of course, they did not care. They had a Government to keep in, and the old saw, *Fiat justitia,* was no longer included in the list of Radical maxims. The House was expected to believe that the Government were acting very fairly when the late Chief Secretary could also produce a letter from the solicitors of the "unspeakables" complaining of the composition of the juries. It just happened that the letter of Cornwall's solicitor was intended simply to give the Government an excuse. It was written practically for the purpose of intimidating the Crown into not challenging a single man, and to help them with the public if the Nationalists complained of their not doing so. The hon. Gentleman said—

> "Mr. Ennis, solicitor, wrote to the Government that the Government were not challenging the Nationalists."

Of course, he did. Mr. Ennis would have had the interest of his client very badly at heart if he did not take every means in his power for obtaining for him a sympathetic jury. The Government knew very well that that complaint was utterly unfounded. He stated so himself; and, of course, they could only conclude that the letter of Mr. Ennis was only a plant between himself and the Government for the purpose of an excuse of this kind being made. From the way the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster spoke of the men, it would appear that French was "a mean wretch," and that Cornwall was a respectable party. He was "Mr." Cornwall throughout all his speech. He would like to know, did this "Mr." import a pension? They had heard from the Secretary to the Treasury, in the case of the notorious Corry Connellan, that he was to be paid a pension. He did not know whether Mr. Corry Connellan had applied for this pension since the debates last Session, when it was promised that he would have to apply for it in person at the Treasury, instead of getting it through the Bank of Ireland in foreign parts; that matter would not be lost sight of—they would find out presently all matters connected with it. The excuse of the Secretary to the Treasury for continuing that pension to the infamous Connellan was that a pension was "deferred pay." But would that apply to Mr. Cornwall? The Government had kept him so tenderly and carefully and gingerly in Kilmainham, that they muddled away the evidence against him, and did not get up any themselves, but merely put before the jury the evidence that was put into their hands by the "disreputable" man Meiklejohn. Was this "Mr." Cornwall to be favoured still further with a pension out of regard for his aristocratic relations, Sir Robert Dalyell and others? That was a matter upon which they had no information. He ventured to say that, as the Government had given a pension to Mr. Corry Connellan, they would, in due time, give a pension to Mr. Cornwall. These Questions would be asked, and he trusted they would hear from the Government some better statements on the subject than they had already made. He would say, in conclusion, that, in his opinion, this letter of French looked as if the Government had made no attempt to convict him. It read very like as if the Government before the trial were opening up negotiations with him. His letter was addressed to a confidential friend. He gave it to another confidential friend to take it out of the prison; but the confidential friend handed it over to the Governor. It was never intended to see the light; and some of the expressions in it were of the most remarkable character. He first discussed the *morale* of the Government. He said—

> "The Crown will not enter a *nolle prosequi.* They dare not do it in my case. *United Ireland* and all such papers would be down on them, so that even if anxious they would not do it as a matter of policy."

How well he gauged the position and *bona fides* of the Government, having been in their employment for 30 years. "As a matter of policy they would not do it." Such was the statement of a man whom the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster last night stated was one of the best witnesses that could be produced as to the conduct of the Government. French went on to say—

> "If I take a pension I must also get £5,000 at least and expenses for anxiety of mind. If not they may keep all, and I will put them out of Ireland, and perhaps see some of them in the dock, too. If they want to make terms with me without a pension I must get £20,000."

Was Mr. James Ellis French simply liberating his soul to his confidential friend, Mr. Good, by those reflections; or, rather, was he not telling his confidential friend—"You must go to the Government, and say to the Government—'If you wish not to have my statement made you must make this settlement with me?'" Of course, they knew that the Government had entered into one portion of the compact, because French would never suffer one hour of penal servitude, or pick one ounce of oakum, if they could help it. Mr. French would get off, and, of course, they would not know what had been paid him from a Secret Service fund of £30,000 a-year. How could they tell that Lord Spencer or, some of the officials referred to by French, would not make this bargain with that distinguished official? Was there anything to prevent them? They got himself and Cornwall off the felony charge. They knew that they had got £30,000 of Secret Service money, and was it not very easy to stop their mouths? His (Mr. Healy's) interpretation would be, should he escape on the charge of misdemeanour, if French's memoir was not rapidly issued, that he had got his £20,000 as he asked for it; and he warned the Government that that would be the interpretation put upon it by the people of Ireland. The logic of the thing was plain. French must now be more or less at war with the Government. He declared himself that he would put them out of Ireland, and that he might put some of them in the dock unless he got a pension. They would see whether he would put them out of Ireland. They would see also whether he would make a revelation. If he did not make a revelation, he (Mr. Healy) ventured to say that the people of Ireland would be able to draw their own conclusions. There was a remarkable portion of his letter bearing upon the Maamtrasna case. He said—"The Maamtrasna case will be a pain in the side." This was an expression used by a gentleman who had been getting up cases, and sailed so very close to the wind, who had hanged men in the wrong practically according to his own statement. "Though," he says, "I don't know anything about it; but if Reid's letter came out"—Reid was the gentleman who had charge of the Phœnix Park cases, and who was promoted to be Resident Magistrate—"if Reid's letter came out, it would help to support the Nationalist idea about Maamtrasna." Of course, the Government said no such letter existed; but if French was allowed off, and if he was interviewed, not by a correspondent of *United Ireland,* but of what was called an impartial journal, and if the correspondent asked him what had induced him to hold his tongue, he (Mr. Healy) ventured to think that a discriminating public would be able to understand the reason if a satisfactory explanation was not forthcoming. French went on to give a list of his doings on behalf of good government in Ireland, and remarked—"Got two letters of recommendation from the Treasury for exertions in political case." The letters, mayhap, were signed "L. Courtney;" and he presumed Mr. French would get them framed and hung up in the most distinguished place in his house, if he escaped from Kilmainham. He added—

> "Employed Stephen Noonan for some months, and then discharged him on his handing all my letters to Maurice Healy, solicitor, Cork, who is brother to Tim Healy, M.P., sending him down to watch the proceedings at Mallow election, where the Attorney General and William O'Brien were candidates."

He (Mr. Healy) certainly said that these letters were handed over by Stephen Noonan; but, as he appeared to be a disreputable fellow, of course he would have nothing to say to him. He did not believe a word Noonan was saying, and he believed the letters he gave up were forgeries; but it appeared now that they were genuine, and he was sorry that at the time he did not draw the attention of the House to them. Noonan came to his brother and said that he had letters in corroboration of what he stated, that French wrote to him and told him to get up a conspiracy for the Winter Assizes at Cork in 1882-3, and to get Judge Barry attacked on the way from the Court to the Judge's lodgings. He told him to be sure to get all the Nationalists of Cork into it, and that when Judge Barry was attacked, he (French) would be there with the police, and they would save the Judge; but he added, very pleasantly, that it did not matter much whether Barry was killed or not. Of course, if he were killed, the credit of having found out the assassins would be all the greater for Mr. James Ellis French. He could quite understand his taking that view of the matter. But Stephen Noonan, he supposed, either was not supplied with sufficient money by Mr. James Ellis French, or he found that the Nationalists of Cork would have nothing whatever to do with crimes of violence, although they were continually charged with them in that House. They repudiated him, and, of course, as he could get up no plot, Noonan was no longer of use to Mr. James Ellis French. If he (Mr. Healy) had brought forward the letters at the time he could fancy what would be the splendid indignation of the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland. He would not have much difficulty in anticipating the sort of speech the right hon. Gentleman would make. He would say—"Sir, the hon. Member, on the evidence of a worthless wretch named Noonan, has brought forward the most horrible charges against a most distinguished officer of the Constabulary. I have the honour of the acquaintance of that distinguished officer. He has been in the service of the Crown now going on 33 years. His record during that time has been of the most stainless character. He has been engaged in matters of the first importance by the Crown. The most weighty and the most delicate cases have been intrusted to his hands; and I say this is simply a piece of revenge on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite in their attempt to take away the character of this meritorious official, because he has been successful in coping with disorder, outrage, and murder." He thought that was pretty like it. If he had not given a fair idea of what his speech would be, he regretted that he had sat at the right hon. Gentleman's feet so long in vain. He would pass from that, and show the accurate views Mr. James Ellis French took of English public opinion, and especially of Radical opinion. In giving instructions to his solicitor for his defence he said—

> "The attacks made on me by *United Ireland* of bolting with large sums of money, the hire of informers, spies, and setters, and others, all these, which can be easily proved by John Dawe and other Castle officials, will, to my mind, show strong and powerful motive for a conspiracy, and when proved would be taken up strongly by the respectable Press in the United Kingdom and elsewhere, and would, I believe, create a wonderful reaction in my favour outside the United Kingdom."

Then he said—

> "This line of defence would have a wonderful reaction. All the Press would take it up, and I would be a regular hero."

So he would. He would probably be knighted, like Sam Anderson. At any rate, his pension would be doubled, and the Lord Lieutenant would ask him to all his parties at the Castle. The Irish Members were attacked from time to time with having referred to Freemasons. He took Mr. French's view of Freemasons, as given in his letter. The hon. Member for Leitrim (Colonel O'Beirne)—whose testimony he was glad to have, as he was not acting with the Irish Members, but gave the Government a thick-and-thin support in and outside the House—stated last night that Freemasonry in Ireland and Freemasonry in England were two totally different things. He (Mr. Healy) was aware that in Ireland Freemasonry was nothing but an odious secret conspiracy got up by the landlords and their officials for the purpose of oppressing the people, getting themselves out of any trouble whenever they got into it, and collaring all the official swag that they could get hold of. In the concluding sentence of his letter there was a very neat commentary on the Order. It began—"The clerk here, a very nice young fellow, is a Mason." Of course he was. No clerk would be employed at Kilmainham if he were not a Mason. But how did French happen to know that he was a Mason? He continued—"The head porter told me so to-day, who is a Roman Catholic, in his presence," meaning that the Roman Catholic official knew so much about the operation and influences of Freemasonry, that he was not ashamed to tell the filthy prisoner, who was charged with the most abominable offence that could be committed, that the clerk, an official, was a Mason. "And so," he said—"we have a look at each other. I nearly think the clerk wished me to know it. The head porter is a pensioner from the Royal Irish Constabulary." He (Mr. Healy) nearly thought so too. Now, the Government had admirably succeeded. They had twice acquitted Cornwall; they had acquitted Fernandez; they would acquit French of the misdemeanour as well as they did of the felony, or get the jury to disagree and let him off. They had hanged Poff, they had hanged Barrett, they had hanged Francey Hynes, they had hanged Miles Joyce, Joe Poole, Pat Higgins, Tom Higgins, and Patrick Walsh; they had hanged all the other men whom packed juries had sent to their doom. On the one hand, they pursued with unrelenting persistence and used all the forces of the Crown against a peasant; on the other, their own officials, who knew their deadly secrets, and who were charged with the most abominable offences, were allowed to go scot-free. They were asked from time to time—and they were taunted with the fact by virtuous Liberals—why they gave no support to the excellent Government of Lord Spencer. Why should they not, it was asked, when in the Cabinet they had a number of Radicals, such as the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade, the President of the Local Government Board, and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster? They were told that they were ruled in Ireland by a Viceroy who was one of the most amiable and admirable of men—a man of the greatest attainments, a man of lofty character, of great experience—in fact, a compendium of the virtues. And yet, under this excellent Government of Lord Spencer, this beautiful system of government by archangels, or at least by angels in disguise, these horrible things occurred. On the one hand, the peasant was sent shrieking to his doom, with a cry of agony and a despairing protest of innocence upon his lips; while Government officials, such as French, Cornwall, and Connellan, who were accused of the most abominable offences, might retire to spend their pensions on the Riviera. Look upon that picture and upon this! He asked the people of Ireland, who were judge and jury in this matter, what was to be thought of a Government of this sort? In his opinion, it was a Government of hypocrisy and rottenness, and dead to all principle—a Government which, elected as a Radical Administration, had passed the Coercion Act; which, professing to be Liberal, had kept 1,000 men in prison without trial; a Government whose Head attacked Turkish atrocities in Bulgaria, yet connived at the most oppressive rule in Egypt; a Government which declared that the Press Laws of India were of such a character that no honest man in England or Scotland would venture to reimpose them, and yet which sent Mr. Harrington to a plank bed for six months, and seized his types and machinery, for the fault of an apprentice; a Government which in England talked of "an even keel," but which in Ireland showed its impartiality by acquitting Cornwall and hanging Myles Joyce; a Government composed of men of the highest character, who used tools and instruments of the most loathsome description. Such a Government as this asked for confidence and support from the Irish people; but he asserted that the Irish people would be unworthy of their seven centuries of oppression if they did not continue to offer the most persistent and long-continued resistance.

MR. O'DONNELL said, that a moral assassin had been reinstated to continue to do in the future the work of moral assassination for the Government in Ireland. In listening on the previous evening to the speech of the right hon.

Gentleman who had risen from the dirt of his Irish occupations to the dignity of the Cabinet, he was astonished to hear him say that because the House had passed the Crimes Act they must not inquire into and must not condemn the exercise of these exceptional powers. No one but an Irish official would use such an audacious argument as that. He was surprised at the silence of the Government after the most convincing exposure of the infamous character of the means which they employed for supporting their rule in Ireland. Could there be a more monstrous and horrible spectacle than upon the one side the Administration thrusting into prison the men who had come into their grasp for having adopted desperate means of getting rid of such a Government, whilst upon the other the organs of the Government in that House were excusing and shielding the infamy of their wretched agents in Ireland? Who was it but the Government who enlisted unfortunate youths in Ireland into desperate courses by their employment of persons of such an infamous character as Bolton? He had no doubt whatever that they were entering upon a new era and a new phase of increased agitation, what was known to British law as treasonable agitation, not only in Ireland, but amongst the Irish race throughout the world. The reason was because the Government, represented upon the Bench opposite by the deliveries of Bulgaria and elsewhere, had continued to invent and keep up a system of hypocrisy unsurpassed in any country in the world. He had little hope of anything until the Government which retained such men as Bolton in their service were reconstituted. He was unable to distinguish the guilt of the moral assassin from the guilt of the employer of the moral assassin. He was unable to distinguish the guilt of the responsible Government from the guilt of the responsible majority which supported the Government. Every act of this kind condoned by the House, and supported by the Ministerial majority in that House, was another of those acts which cut at the root of the Upas tree of British Government in Ireland. He did say that the rule of a direct and outspoken tyrant—call him Cromwell if they wished—would be more endurable, would be more respectable, and would appeal more to the moral sense at least of the people, than the rule of the Government of prevarication, suppression of evidence, and maintenance of rotten officials—that Government which excused and gloried in the retention of the very worst instruments of their policy. Supposing the infamous creature Bolton, who suppressed evidence in the Sligo cases, was sent down to represent the Crown in another case, even though under other circumstances there might be popular readiness to believe and accept the guilt of the accused, must it not be the impulse of every man throughout Ireland to expect foul play where George Bolton was employed? He regretted the conduct of the Government, which was hastening the grave and terrible issues which, if persisted in, would drive the Irish race to despair. If they did so, they must expect the rewards of their conduct in a growing spirit of hatred and hostility to English rule. If the Government chose to be represented in Ireland by villains and scoundrels of the Bolton and French type, upon their own heads must be the responsibility. Every American journal which recorded the carefully managed acquittals of the Castle officials, and recorded the reinstatement of others equally odious, would preach in no unintelligible language an appeal that the Irish nation should have recourse to other means than Parliamentary agitation. He believed that further opportunities would be taken for keeping the Ministerial nose at the Irish grindstone; and though he did not expect his view would be fully accepted, he felt that he had done his duty in protesting on this occasion against the policy which this most hypocritical Government was carrying out in Ireland, and he was very sorry that the Irish Party had no immediate means at hand by which it could testify its sense of the conduct of the Government.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON said, he thought it would be an abuse of the Forms of the House to enter upon the general question of trial by jury in Ireland. He could not in any way concur in the attacks which had been made from the Benches opposite on the conduct of Lord Spencer and of his right hon. Friend the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Whatever duties the Lord Lieutenant and the

Chief Secretary had had to perform had been intrusted to them by that House. He was sure no more high-minded and generous men could have been found for the discharge of their arduous duties. But, at the same time, he heard with dismay the announcement of the present Chief Secretary that the Government intended to reinstate Mr. Bolton. He would not go into the recent proceedings; but there were already facts ascertained in connection with Mr. Bolton which made it highly improper that he should be employed in a position of such delicacy and responsibility in Ireland. Animadversions had been made upon his character by an English Judge which rendered it improper that he should occupy a Government office. The execution of an Act like the Crimes Act, which he had felt it his duty to support in its passage through that House, ought at least to be placed in the hands of men who were absolutely above reproach. Those Members on his side of the House who supported the Government in the passing of that measure could not shirk the responsibility of their individual action; and if the Crimes Act, in the administration of justice in Ireland, was to be maintained in its present form, it must be carried out, he would not say in accordance with popular opinion, for that was of a somewhat unknown quantity, and certainly, in Ireland, of a very shifty character, but, at least, in such a manner as to command respect, and so long as Mr. Bolton held the office of Crown Solicitor, and had the handling of the Crimes Act, fair and impartial people who were by no means in favour of the extreme National views expressed by hon. Members opposite, felt that there was a very serious ground for complaint. He hoped that when the question of Mr. Bolton's salary came on, it would be challenged by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and he believed they would receive a considerable amount of support from Members on his side of the House. He trusted that even at the eleventh hour the Government would discover some way of removing Mr. Bolton from the office of Crown Solicitor.

MR. COMMINS hoped the wise word spoken by the noble Viscount would be the beginning of wiser counsels among those with whom his Lordship usually voted. Nearly every one of the broad facts adduced in support of the Amendment were now admitted. In supporting the Amendment, he did not pledge himself to maintain the accuracy of every statement made by the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), but there were certain broad facts which nobody seemed to dispute. In face of the facts relating to the Maamtrasna and the other trials, it would be futile to deny that juries had been systematically packed by omission on the one side and by commission on the other. The jury-packing system took away all confidence in the administration of law in Ireland. For years and years it had been regularly brought before the House, and it was a significant fact that none of the speakers who defended the Government attempted to deny for one moment that the practice prevailed. The arguments of the Solicitor General were in reality the strongest condemnatlon of their policy, for if, as he asserted, the Catholics were incapable of doing a prisoner an injustice, how came it that the Government ordered them from time to time to stand down? It had been admitted that 11 members of a jury of 12 selected to try a Freemason were themselves Freemasons. The hon. and learned Gentleman thought it was a remarkable thing to suggest that a jury of Freemasons would try a Freemason as impartially as an ordinary jury, and he was surprised that a gentleman of his experience and abilities should have made such an assertion. He was no Freemason; but the fact was, it was an open secret that Freemasons were a body sworn to defend and support one another, and that, therefore, a Freemason would stand a far better chance when tried by his brethren than when tried by an ordinary jury. The information on which a large number of the "suspects" were committed to prison was derived from French, and, therefore, according to the admission of the late Chief Secretary, it came from a foul and corrupted source. He was afraid that the latest reappointment of the Government hardly gave very much earnest of their intention to change the existing system. He denied that there had been any necessity for the exercise of the power conferred by the Prevention of Crime Act of changing the venue and striking special juries. Why had not the Government used the other machinery which was at their disposal, and tried some cases before three Judges? Personally, he should prefer three Judges—with Mr. Justice Lawson and Mr. Justice O'Brien among them—to a special jury manipulated by the Government's agents. He hoped the House would clearly understand that the Irish Members had no sympathy whatever with genuine crime, but they did sincerely sympathize with the poor who were oppressed by infamously unjust criminal charges.

MR. W. J. CORBET said, the law as administered in Ireland was used against the people and in favour of those who took sides against them. The charge was a sweeping one, but it was supported by the unanimous voice of the people of Ireland, who were naturally indignant at the system of jury-packing by which Roman Catholics were ordered to stand aside. In proof of this he would remind the House that the late Chief Secretary, in refusing to produce a Memorial sent to him on this subject from the town of Wicklow, said that it "belongs to a class of communications of which they receive many hundreds in the year."

MR. O'KELLY thought that any impartial person who had listened to the course of this debate must come to the conclusion that the Government had no good defence to offer. He congratulated the noble Viscount (Viscount Lymington), who was the only man on the other side of the House whose conscience had been touched to the extent that he protested at least against the reappointment of Mr. Bolton. He thought that reappointment, in view of the evidence lately produced against his character in that House, was the strongest condemnation that could be offered of the character of the Government and of their methods of carrying out the law in Ireland. The defence made of jury-packing seemed to him at once shifty and hypocritical. In the trials of Cornwall and French, the Government took care that there were in the box 11 men who were open to the suspicion of sympathizing with the prisoners. That was called "fair" trial. Suppose Mr. French or Mr. Cornwall had been Fenians or Ribbonmen, would that House have selected 11 Fenians to try them? If not, how then could the Government claim to have done substantial justice in choosing men to try French and Cornwall, who, he would not say sympathized with the crimes for which they were charged, but were, from their social and political relations with the prisoners before the bar, open to the gravest suspicion of having that sympathy which would try to shield the men from punishment, because they felt that any punishment inflicted on those men would involve a loss of indignity and ascendancy to the class which they all represented. The juries were packed with Protestants, and, therefore, anti-Nationalists, and these men were set to try prisoners belonging to a different religion and to a different class—a class they regarded with feelings of hostility. But this was not all; in agrarian and political cases the Crown Solicitors, not content with striking a panel on which nearly all the jurors were Protestants, sifted this list still further, and ordered all Catholics and Liberal Protestants to stand aside. When people saw this contrast in the administration of justice, could it be wondered at that they were obliged to call constantly the attention of the people of England to the subject? This system of jury-packing was one of the most infamous signs and accompaniments of the Government in Ireland. It was one of the attendant consequences of the English Government, which made it most determinedly hated by the Irish race everywhere. It was one of the things the Irish people could never forgive England for. The masses of the people of Ireland were Catholic, and they were reminded every day when they went into court that they were foreigners in their own land. They had the old Penal Code thrown in their faces every day when the Crown counsel told them to stand aside in their own country, and refused to permit them to go into the jury-box to try cases on the virtue of their oaths. The Government played in the Courts of Justice with loaded dice; they selected an Orange jury to convict their enemies or acquit their friends. In the opinion of the people of Ireland many of the death sentences inflicted had been little better than assassination by law, and that opinion he himself shared. As long as the system under which they went to trial continued, the carrying on of English law would always be open to the grave suspicion that they were juggling with justice. This was a very serious charge; but it was one, he thought, that no honourable man who would impartially examine the evidence which had been brought before the House would even affect to disbelieve. This House by its majority might support the Government in the course which it had been pursuing. All he had to say was, so much the worse for this House and so much the worse for this Government. Their large majorities would not settle this question; and if the Irish people could not get justice, they would find a method of making it very uncomfortable for England in the government of her own country and in the government of Ireland. They should certainly protest in the strongest possible way, and bring the opinion of Europe to bear upon it, and the opinion of every honest man to bear upon the system, which was as infamous as any that had existed in any country. Worse even than jury-packing was the organization of crime by the Government. The special Crimes Act constable was a spy of the old Rody the Rover type. With regard to Freemasonry, it was used more or less for political purposes in all countries where it existed, and in Ireland it was notorious that it was synonymous with Orangeism. Another point to which he would refer was the organization of crime by the spies of the Government under the Prevention of Crime Act. Then with regard to the change of venue, which they had been told was necessary in the cases against poor peasants, why had it not been resorted to in the case of French and Cornwall? Why had not their trial been removed out of the influence of the social and political circle with which they were connected? With regard to the case of Mr. George Bolton, there was but one conclusion in the minds of the people of Ireland—that the Government were afraid of Mr. Bolton. They dared not dismiss him. He knew too much about them. He might put some of them in the dock. They had reinstated him in order that he might not be put to the trouble, probably feeling that it might be difficult for some of them to plead. If the Irish Members had the manipulation of the jury to try the Government in the same way that the Government had manipulated the juries to try Irishmen, they could, indeed, make it pretty warm for the Irish Government

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he thought that the question of the administration of justice in Ireland had been treated too much from the point of view of two or three isolated cases of crime, instead of being treated generally. With regard to the condition of things in Ireland, it was not true, as hon. Members opposite suggested, that nothing had been done in that country except during the last four years. Gentlemen of the Party sitting on that side of the House had for the last 60 years been struggling to procure relief for the wrongs of Ireland. He (Sir Patrick O'Brien) had been thrown into official connection with Mr. Cornwall; further than that he knew but little of that gentleman. [Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!] He knew absolutely nothing of Mr. French, and was unacquainted with Captain Kirwan, though he did know his father, who was a high-minded, honourable gentleman. He had been accused of being a place hunter. ["No, no!"] Well, not, perhaps, within the memory of the hon. Gentleman opposite, who the other day, in the King's County, did him the honour of comparing him to Shakespeare's "Yorick." He (Sir Patrick O'Brien) should have been happy to return him the compliment, and call him "Young Hamlet," were it not that the application of the name might be attributed to his knowledge of the hon. Member's eccentricities. The extreme purism of hon. Gentlemen opposite might condemn him, when he avowed that he concurred in the universal practice of the Irish Law Room in Dublin, to his knowledge for over 30 years past, of hunting out of the country, under the threat of instant prosecution, those few—he was happy to say—atrocious ruffians who were discovered as having committed unnameable offences, thus preserving the purity of Ireland from being offended by acquaintance with abominable practices. The question was, whether Cornwall, French, and other persons who had been mentioned, had received a fair trial? The hon. Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) admitted that they had; but the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) attacked the jury-packing system in regard to these trials. Why did not the hon. Member for Sligo pull down the hon. Member for Mallow, and tell him that he had forgotted his mandate when he said the trials had been fair? His idea was that if Ireland was the Ireland of 10 years ago, and if the people were left free to express their opinions, it would be a disgrace to any Government to refuse, on the grounds of either religion or politics, any respectable man duly qualified to act as a juror. [Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!] He believed that in his time—to use a well-known Irish phrase—he had "got more fellows out of the jug" than all the hon. Members of the Irish Party put together. But he did not do it for himself while they did it for a bit of business.

MR. SPEAKER: I must remind the hon. Baronet that he is not dealing with the administration of the Criminal Law in Ireland.

SIR PATRICK O'BRIEN said, he submitted at once to the Chairman's ruling, and he hoped that hon. Gentlemen opposite would submit as readily when called to Order.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR said, he had recently read a book having reference to military tactics and operations, and he found that resort was had, in some cases, when iron, steel, and stone failed, to sandbags. A sandbag was described as solid, impenetrable, or irresponsible; and if he were to describe the present Chief Secretary, he would apply just such a description to him. Member after Member had got up and had arraigned the conduct of the Government, yet no Member of the Government appeared to have a word to say. Last night he was induced to make a statement, certainly not under the impression that they would get no defence from the Government. They would have allowed the debate to close after the unanswerable speech of the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), or almost immediately after, if there had been something like an attempt made to meet the case; but that had not been done, and the policy of obstinate silence had been resorted to. He now wished to call the attention of the House to a matter that had come to his knowledge. He heard the President of the Board of Trade speak with considerable bitterness of the attempt made by his foes to injure him as a political opponent; and he (Mr. O'Connor) wished to draw attention to the efforts made against the Members of the Party to which he belonged. One hon. Member received a card with the name of a lady, who, it was stated, was waiting outside the House to see him. He went to her, and found her seated in a carriage, attended by servants and every sign of wealth. The lady requested his hon. Friend to take her to the Strangers' Gallery, and subsequently came again, wrote him letters, invited him to her house, and ultimately made to him a most odious suggestion. That lady turned out to be an agent of the present Ministry. He was very glad that the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan) had just come in to hear what he was saying. That lady was a spy, employed by the Ministry of which the Prime Minister was the Head, and the Chief Secretary for Ireland a chief official. That woman was a police spy, employed by the Irish Government to entrap Irish Members. Were these proper tactics for Members of the Government to resort to in dealing with their political opponents? ["Hear hear!"] The House might well be astonished at hearing such a statement made from those Benches; but he challenged the Government to contradict him, or to deny that they had made use of women spies against hon. Members of that House. He was not sure that he ought not to call upon the right hon. Gentleman in the Chair to say whether such conduct on the part of the Ministers of the Crown was compatible with the honour and dignity of Members of that House; and whether it was befitting that the halls and corridors of that House should be infested with women police spies? This lady had employed towards the hon. Member in question all the provocative arts which used to distinguish the latter part of the Reign of Napoleon III., and she had endeavoured to incite him into the commission of odious and detestable crimes. She, however, failed in her object, and those upon whom she was exerting her fascinations fooled her to the top of her bent, and she was allowed to subscribe £15 towards the Dynamite Fund, and that £15 was the money of the English Government. The right hon. Gentleman the late Chief Secretary for Ireland had reminded hon. Members that, if he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, he was also an English gentleman. Was this the conduct of an English gentleman to allow money to be spent in this manner for the purpose of provoking the worst of criminal offences? He did not propose to go over the ground which had already been gone over by others, but would leave the Ministry to answer that point.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, that the hon Member who had just sat down had complained that the Members of the Government had not spoken sufficiently in this debate; but it was perfectly obvious that it was only those Members of the Ministry who had actually been engaged in the administration of Ireland who could answer the charges that had been brought against the Irish Executive. Those charges had been fully met by his right hon. Friend the late Chief Secretary for Ireland and by the Solicitor General for Ireland; and it would be worse than useless for other Members of the Ministry to pretend to enter into the details of the Government defence, and to repeat in a weaker form the arguments which had already been laid before the House. The hon. Member also said that when he and his Friends promised last night not to abuse the adjournment of the debate, it was on the assumption that the Government was to speak. He (Sir William Harcourt) derived an entirely different impression from the demand that was made—namely, that the adjournment was in order to allow the principal speakers of the Irish Party an opportunity to reply to the speech of the Solicitor General for Ireland. The hon. Member had called his right hon Friend the new Chief Secretary a stolid sandbag. [Mr. BIGGAR: Hear, hear!] That was a cheerful way for a man to be received on entering upon a new Office; but he knew of no man less likely than his right hon. Friend to be affected by epithets of that description, or who was more likely to show his quality of a "sand bag" in receiving the barbs of the hon. Member. Was it reasonable, or sensible, that his right hon Friend, who had just entered upon his Department, should be asked to answer to an indictment of the past administration, of which he could only have an imperfect, or, at all events, a second-hand acquaintance? For his own part, he knew just as much on the subject as his right hon. Friend did. Charges had been made against the Government of jury-packing; was it meant by that that the Crown had carried their power of challenge to an unlimited point? [*Irish cheers.*] Well, he had heard no facts adduced in support of that charge. Even if that were the charge, only those responsible for the administration of Ireland could answer matters of that description. Another thing which surprised him was the charge that Freemasons could not possibly be faithful jurors if the prisoner charged with crime were himself a Freemason. Nothing could be more absurd. He did not, however, intend to go into the details of the indictment which had been brought by the Irish Members. People against whom charges were made must be the best judges of their own defence. The Government had made their defence, and they were satisfied to allow it to remain there. If it were inadequate, hon. Members would profit by it. He had listened with almost thrilling interest to the romantic history given by the hon. Member of a mysterious lady. They were all aware of the literary faculty of the hon. Member; but he did not think the hon. Member had ever displayed it to more advantage than on the present occasion. The picture of the confiding gentleman, who was summoned to go downstairs, and meet a lady outside with every display of wealth, and then with that confidence which "is a stranger to aged bosoms" immediately offered his arm to this unknown fair one, and conducted her to the Strangers' Gallery, was a picture of innocence which he could hardly believe existed, even on the opposite Benches. All he could say was, neither the late Chief Secretary nor himself had ever heard of this mysterious person.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I asked the right hon. Gentleman a Question on the subject last Session.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: The hon. Gentleman says that he asked me a Question on the matter; but this is the first I have heard of it.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: I did not ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman himself, but the late Chief Secretary.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: My right hon. Friend tells me that he seems to have been almost more fortunate than the hon. Member who conducted the lady to the Strangers' Gallery, because my right hon. Friend received £15 anonymously in an envelope.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Perhaps the right hon. and learned Gentleman will allow me to explain. This lady sent £15 to some gentlemen in Dublin, whom she supposed to be connected with a dynamite conspiracy. Those gentlemen were not going to keep the money, and they therefore remitted it to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary, returnit, as they supposed, to the fountain head.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he could assure the House that his right hon. Friend never heard anything about the transaction beyond receiving this £15. Did hon. Members opposite really think that his right hon. Friend or anybody else connected with the Irish Government had been engaged in such a transaction? If they did, all he could say was that hon. Members would believe anything. It was rather too much to be called upon to disavow such a transaction; but, if necessary, it was disavowed. They had listened patiently to what had fallen from hon. Members below the Gangway—to the charges which they had preferred—sometimes in rather strong language—against the Government; and having made their defence through the mouths of their Colleagues, who were responsible for the Government of Ireland, they were prepared to stand by it before the country.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he was a little surprised to hear from the Home Secretary that the Government had now closed their Irish case. The whole of the Irish policy of the Government was now submitted to the House, and he did not know that the Irish Members had any reason to be displeased at the announcement. They understood now that Ministers had nothing to say in defence of the reappointment of Mr. George Bolton. The Government had not said one single word in vindication of their policy in reappointing that man—a man who had been branded by an English Judge in language sufficient to drive him out of the society of decent individuals. They had made no reply to many of the charges brought against them by the Irish Members, and they had not cleared up several points in French's letter. That document reminded him of a passage in *Romeo and Juliet*—

> "The letter was not nice, but full of charge,
> Of dear import; and the neglecting it
> May do much danger."

This letter was not nice, and was full of charge and of deep import to Her Majesty's Government.

Notice taken, that 40 Members were not present; House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

*Mr. T. P. O' Connor*

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, resuming, said, that an entirely novel statement had been made in the course of the debate, of which he thought some notice should have been taken by the Government. Mr. French stated in his letter that he had employed a man named Stephen Noonan, and then discharged him because of his handing all his letters to Mr. Maurice Healy, a brother of Mr. T. Healy, M.P. That did not seem in itself a very important matter; but a new light was thrown on it by the hon. Member for Monaghan, who said that at the time referred to certain letters were shown to him by a person named Noonan as written by French, but that they disclosed so abominable a plot that he did not think French could have written them, and believing Noonan to be a man of infamous character, he thought them beneath contempt, and did not call attention to them even by a Question in that House. Now, however, that French acknowledged the letters, the case was different. The hon. Member for Monaghan stated that the letters contained proposals to get up a sham plot for the assassination of one of the Irish Judges, and during the attempt French's emissaries were to come forward and make an heroic rescue of the Judge. The letter said something to the effect that if in the course of the attempt Mr. Justice Barry got shot, it would not matter in the least. Had the Government nothing to say with regard to that? Did they consider it a matter of such insignificance that they would not put up some of their number to state whether they believed the story or not? He supposed that the Government would say that their views with regard to certain Castle officials were not in the least affected, notwithstanding those letters. The Home Secretary thought that he had disposed of another statement with regard to the employment of a lady stated to have exercised a subtle influence over certain Members of that House. As a professional romancist, he was, perhaps, more familiar with stories of that sort than many other Members; but they all knew that the employment of female spies was at one time common in Ireland. At all events, the story was believed by a great many intelligent Members of that House, who said that they had the best reasons for believing it. He was quite convinced that the Home Secretary never had anything to do with such a plot. He did not suppose that any man in high Office had anything to do with such things; they were always left to the lower class of officials. But now that the charge had been brought forward, he would not have been surprised if the new Chief Secretary had said that he would make inquiry, and that if such things were going on, he was not the man to endure their continuance. Such a declaration would have tended to smooth the serious task now before the right hon. Gentleman. The Home Secretary had asked—Was not the Crown to exercise its right of challenge? That would depend on the conditions of the case. The right hon. and learned Gentleman said—"If you do not like the law, you must get it changed." He would like to know how Irish Members in that House were to get the law changed? The right hon. Gentleman knew that there were certain privileges given to the Crown on condition that it did not abuse them; but if in every case, agrarian or political, Roman Catholics were to be excluded, that was jury-packing of as disgraceful a sort as if it had been done under Jeffreys or Scroggs. Then as to the charge with respect to Freemasons. There was no question of politics being joined with Freemasonry in England; but in Ireland it was different. One of the supporters of the Ministry—he might say one of its most servile supporters—the hon. and gallant Member for Leitrim (Colonel O'Beirne), told the House from his own experience that Freemasonry in Ireland was regarded everywhere as mixed up with politics, and as opposed to the doctrines of the Catholic Church. When, therefore, a Freemason was to be tried in Ireland, to manipulate the Jury List so as to give him a jury of Freemasons, was jury-packing of the worst order known to them. Then, as to another point, he never before heard that it was anything extraordinary to ask a Minister newly come into power for some general expression of his policy. When the late Chief Secretary came into Office, he was subjected to something that in the Border Burghs would be called "a heckling;" and he remembered warning the right hon. Gentleman not to be led away by the counsels or practices of his more experienced Predecessor. He would like now to warn the new Chief Secretary not to be led away by the policy of those who had gone before him. His great anxiety was that this debate should be kept up to allow the right hon. Gentleman a chance of speaking, in the vain hope that he might show some disposition to deal with Irishmen more fairly—he was going to say more honestly—than some of those who had gone before him; but the right hon. Gentleman's only place in that debate was to act the part of a mute at the funeral of his Predecessor's career.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR rose to Order. The only Members of the Government present were the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Under Secretary of State for India (Mr. Evelyn Ashley and Mr. J. K. Cross), and therefore he would draw attention to the fact that there were not 40 Members present.

House counted, and, 40 Members being found present,

MR. JOHN REDMOND contended that the charges which the Irish Members had brought against the Government had not been met by the speech of the Home Secretary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman denounced them because, in his opinion, they dealt in their speeches with vague generalities; but the fact remained that the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy) that evening had given specific cases. As to the Freemasons, he would never have objected to their presence on the juries if the Government had not been the first to attach a stigma to a particular class in Ireland. With regard to jury-packing, he wished to point out that, although a prisoner had a right to make 20 challenges, the right to challenge on the part of the Crown was unlimited. The Government, therefore, had the power of packing juries, and that power was exercised by men like Mr. Bolton. Reference had been made to a female detective, and he quite believed that the Home Secretary and the late Chief Secretary for Ireland had no knowledge of the woman. These things were done by underlings in Ireland; and he appealed to the Chief Secretary to make a searching inquiry into the employment of this spy, and to announce to the House the result of his inquiries. That was a very moderate demand; but the right hon. Gentleman would not venture to reply before consulting his masters at Dublin Castle. Doubtless the right hon. Gentleman had brought an open mind to the consideration of Irish affairs; but, unfortunately, he would only go to the permanent officials, and not to the Representatives of the Irish people, for instruction. The debate was a popular protest against the reappointment of Mr. George Bolton, who was one of the most characteristic instruments of the law in Ireland under which the people groaned. He assured the Government that their action in the administration of justice in Ireland, and their reappointment of the one man who was the embodiment to the Irish people of everything unfair, underhand, and infamous in the system of rule, could have no other effect but that of multiplying the difficulties of the new Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. The first to denounce Mr. Bolton was an English Judge, who designated him a swindler and a scoundrel, and reported him to the Irish Lord Chancellor. Therefore, it was not true to say that the Irish Members denounced him for doing his duty. His conduct in the discharge of his duty in Ireland had been infamous. In the Boyd murder case he took three girls to Dublin and lodged them in an informer's den. In vain did Members of the House urge their release, which was effected only by legal process, when it came out what means he had resorted to in order to extort evidence from them. The Home Secretary openly admitted that his information on Irish affairs was imperfect and second-hand, and the general body of the English and Scotch Members did not trouble themselves to do more than vote the way the Chief Secretary told them. On one occasion an English Member of Parliament was convinced by himself that the Irish Party were in the right, and that English Member promised to vote with them and against the Government; but, to his astonishment, he saw that Member, in spite of his pledge, vote with the Government. This was an illustration of the difficulties of Irish Members in obtaining fair and independent judgment from Members who rushed into the House, on the ringing of the Division Bell, in order to support their Party, without reference to the merits of the grievance which had been brought forward. The government of Ireland by Parliament was based upon culpable ignorance and mistaken Party loyalty, under which hon. Members evaded their responsibility. The conduct of the scandal trials in Dublin had led to a strong public opinion that justice was not done. The ringleaders were allowed to escape; but their moral guilt was unquestioned. The verdict of the jury in the Cornwall case —that the Government had not brought forward sufficient evidence, was alone enough to cause the gravest dissatisfaction in the minds of the Irish people.

Mr. WARTON said, that he had spoken last night in favour of the prolongation of the debate, because he was of opinion that complaints of that character ought to have a patient hearing, and that Ministers ought to be present while they were being made. Moreover, though Ministers complained of the undue extension of debate on the Address, that extension was mainly due to their persistence in avoiding discussions on the questions so raised on every other occasion. He regretted, however, to note a certain want of generosity in the references made by a certain section of the House to the new Chief Secretary. That Gentleman had, in the Office he previously filled, displayed the utmost courtesy in answering Questions; he had been up to his business; had stated his facts carefully and impartially, and had never tried to hide or conceal anything. That being so, he thought they ought to trust him for the future, and not make attacks on him immediately he assumed a position of considerable difficulty and trial. But it would have been more graceful on the part of the Government if the announcement of Mr. Bolton's reappointment had been left to some other Member of the Government, or had been made by the Prime Minister himself. It was scarcely kind to leave the odium of that announcement to the newly-appointed Minister. He wished also to protest against the constant calculations made with respect to the constitution of juries. It was fallacious reasoning to argue that the composition of the jury panel in the matter of religious belief should exactly correspond with the proportion existing between the Catholic and the Protestant populations. He was sure that, when once the jury was constituted, every member of it did his duty without regard to the religious convictions of his colleagues. Such considerations should, in all cases, be studiously ignored.

MR. CALLAN, referring to the denial by the Home Secretary of jury-packing in Ireland, said, that he distinctly remembered several cases in which there was an obvious resort to the practice. Two of those cases occurred at the April Assize at Dublin. One was at the trial of an Orangeman for the murder of a Catholic in County Cavan, in which not a single Protestant was ordered to stand by, and the jury, composed exclusively of Protestants, acquitted the prisoner. In the other, which was a trial for conspiracy to murder, heard by the same Judge, and coming before the same Commission, including a magistrate, 32 Catholics were ordered to stand by, and not a single Protestant; and the jury contained only three Catholics, although the prisoners were Catholics. He had seen the jury panels of Dublin manipulated by the Whig Government officials for 20 years, and the feeling among the Catholic population in Ireland was that trial by jury under the present system was, to use the words of Lord Denman in reference to the trial of O'Connell, "a mockery, a delusion, and a snare."

MR. PARNELL: Some considerable disinclination was evinced last night to give us permission to carry on this debate during a portion of another evening, and it was suggested that affairs of weighty importance were for consideration, of greater importance than those which we had to discuss tonight. Well, of course, that may be altogether a matter of opinion; but my own opinion is very clear and defined on this question, and it is, that the right of the Irish peasant to live in his own land, free from the constant dread of penal proceedings, of imprisonment, of penal servitude, nay, even of death itself, as the result of the hired testimony of informers, as the result of that judicial system which you have erected into law by the Act of 1882, under which you have established a system—a so-called system—of trial by jury, and of secret examinations, and of public and private terrorism such as has never been equalled, I believe, in any country for its infamy—I say I consider that the right of the Irish peasant to live free from this constant terror and constant dread is a more important and a higher one to him and to us than that pretended extension of a sham Constitutional right to a section of the people of Ireland. Certain charges have been made in this discussion, and on the present occasion the Government have not pursued the course which they adopted on the Maamtrasna Amendment. They then felt the force of what was said so much that they took the case out of the hands of the ordinary defenders of the proceedings of the Irish Executive. It was felt that the matter could not be allowed to go to a vote while it rested solely on the defence of the Solicitor General for Ireland and the late Chief Secretary, and accordingly we had, in addition, the advantage of hearing the Prime Minister, the Home Secretary, the Attorney General for England, and, I believe, another Cabinet Minister, all of whom devoted their enormous power and influence with the House to secure that the Irish Executive should not be condemned as a consequence of the Amendment on the Maamtrasna question. On the present occasion, however, the Irish Government have sought refuge almost in silence, and we have had to contend with that great difficulty in all debates where, trusting to the insurmountable prejudice which seems to exist on every Irish subject, the Government leaves the Irish Members to carry on the debate, and have, practically speaking, made no defence against the very serious accusations which have been adduced. That may be a very satisfactory result to the Government, but it certainly is not satisfactory to the Members from Ireland, and I doubt whether it will be satisfactory to the Irish people. The charge is that juries have been packed in Ireland by the selection almost exclusively of Protestants, who constitute a small minority—one-sixth—of the whole population. I do not think any previous Government have in so barefaced a manner selected Protestant jurors for the trial of cases of a political or semi-political character. It is one of the gravest charges which historians have to make against your dealings with Ireland in times past that you tried persons in Ireland and took away their lives by means of trial by jury—juries selected from the Protestant garrison of Ireland, and your historians do not pretend now to defend that course. On the contrary, in debates on Irish questions it is the habit with English statesmen to turn up their eyes with holy horror at the actions of their Predecessors in times long gone by, and to point to the weighty debt of gratitude which is due to the statesmen of to-day as a recompense for the misdeeds of those who went before them. Yet when fresh from the consideration of the iniquity of their Predecessors they go and do exactly the same things themselves. I believe I speak with historical accuracy when I say that no injustice which ever has been committed in the name of England in Ireland has sunk more deeply in the minds of the Irish people, and has produced worse or more rankling recollections of this period, than the treatment of persons belonging to the Catholic majority of the country, the original inhabitants of the country—if you like, the natives of the country—by members of the Protestant community, whom you sent there some few hundred years ago to act as the garrison of Ireland. Well, that course has been repeated by the present Irish Executive in such a way as I could never have believed to be possible if it had not fallen to my lot to live during the past two years. Trials have been held in Ireland in which, from the constitution of the juries and the proceedings, I am sorry to say, of the Judges in many cases themselves, and the nature of the political excitement of the time, it was absolutely certain that it was utterly impossible that the accused persons could get that fair and impartial trial which your laws and your Constitution require for the people of England, and which has never been admitted to the people of Ireland. We have repeatedly brought forward instances of this. It is a matter which cannot be denied that the juries which tried the prisoners who were accused of agrarian crimes during the last two years were almost entirely composed of Protestants, who were placed on a special panel struck under the Coercion Act of 1882. Those special jurors belong to a class almost exclusively Protestant. Unhappily, owing to the long continuance of the Penal Laws, one can in Ireland draw a line between persons above and below a certain valuation, and those above it will be found to be almost all Protestants. That is just the line that the Government have taken, and the special jurors belong to the Protestant landlord class. It has been thought that the Government obtained that power of striking a special panel, in order that they might avoid the obnoxious task of selecting the juries by ordering persons to stand by. But that is by no means so. The jury-packing goes on as much as ever. In several instances, no fewer than 47, and, I think, in one case 49, persons were directed to stand aside out of a panel of 200 taken from this special class; and in every case the Government did not scruple unblushingly to select persons from this panel of 200 whom they might rely upon for a conviction. It may be that the Executive considered at that time that everybody who was brought to trial before these selected juries was guilty, and that no harm would result; but I deny that it is possible for the Irish Executive to think so now. The result of recent disclosures has been to show that many miscarriages of justice have taken place; that there are many persons in penal servitude now who are as innocent as hon. Members sitting opposite of the crimes of which they were accused; and that more than one unfortunate person has been hurried into the presence of his Maker by the cruel death of the gallows for the commission of no crime whatever. That indicates the terrible danger of reversing the judicial principle that it is better that 99 guilty persons should escape than that one innocent man should be convicted. The Government have reversed that, and they cannot deny it. They cannot deny that among some of their subordinate crime-hunters in Ireland, the wish does not exist that somebody should be executed as soon as possible after the manufacture of the new-fangled Coercion Act two years ago, even if guilt was not proved. The risk and peril to many persons in Ireland is very great, owing to the fact that by the operation of the law, and by the course pursued often by the Executive officers of the Crown in Ireland, juries are empannelled for the purpose of trying persons accused of crimes arising out of the late semi-political and semi-agrarian movement, juries chosen entirely from the class which suffered in pocket by the movement—suffered not only in pocket, but in *prestige*—and who bring with them into the jury-box bitter animosities against the rest of the Irish people, chosen from a class which never wished well to the Irish people. They will admit it to you. They will say it is a great mistake that Ireland should be peopled by any other persons than those of their own persuasion; that it is better fitted for the rearing of sheep and bullocks than for rearing men and women. Now, I say, without hesitation, that if I were accused of a crime of which I was innocent, I would very much prefer to be tried by a tribunal of three Judges, which the Prevention of Crime Act authorizes the Government to institute, than by the excited partizans who would be herded into the jury-box for my condemnation. We have now stated what the foundation of our complaint is—that no person accused of crime in Ireland can feel any assurance that they would have anything but the most foul trial by jury in Ireland if they should be brought before the tribunals of the country. We have had very important evidence to bring before the House in support of our contention. We have had the history of Mr. Bolton, who has been restored to his bank-books, as a sop, I suppose, to Earl Spencer. We have had the history of Chief Detective French, whom the late Chief Secretary for Ireland sheltered so long. The trials were conducted in such a way that it was absolutely certain that they could not be convicted. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) admitted as much in his speech last night. Cornwall and French were charged with felony; but if they had been charged with conspiracy, the evidence of seven persons would have been forthcoming against them. What steps, I would like to know, were taken by the Crown to hunt up evidence? Last year we called attention to the conduct of the Government for the way in which they met the Orange riots. Large counter-meetings were summoned for the purpose of opposing and breaking up by violence meetings of Nationalists in the North, and when this was pointed out to the Government they made the plea that they had no power to stop them. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster had asked for large forces of military and armed police for the purpose of quelling disorder, and stated that it was necessary to proclaim both meetings. The right of public meeting was, therefore, taken away from the Nationalists of the North. When we asked why the Prevention of Crime Act was not put in force, we were informed that the Act had not been passed for that purpose. Yet finally it was, after repeated representations by us, put in force against the Orangemen, and their opposition immediately melted away. Ever since meetings have neen held free and unmolested. In the conspiracy in Dublin it was perfectly obvious that they had a much higher reason for putting the Act in force; but, again, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster stated that the Act had not been framed for that purpose. Why was it that the resources of the Prevention of Crime Act were not pat in force for the purpose of stemming the conspiracy, the ramifications of which had acted like a cancer—I will not say upon the people of Dublin, for it has not affected them much, but upon certain officials in Dublin Castle? We have never heard of its being employed for the production of evidence in that conspiracy; on the contrary, it was left to my hon. Friend the Member for Mallow (Mr. O'Brien) at vast expense and almost ruin to himself, to save himself from an action which the Government had hounded on Mr. Cornwall to take. It was left to my hon. Friend to discover all the evidence that has been used against Cornwall and French. I should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the Act of Edward III., under which he imprisoned the hon. Member for Monaghan (Mr. Healy), was passed for that purpose? In the days of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), the Prevention of Crime Act was used against ladies on account of their political acts. I am not, however, going back to that time; I am now only referring to the misdeeds of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; and I will ask him whether he recollects certain proceedings that were instituted, not against the hon. Member for Westmeath (Mr. Harrington) himself, but against his printing press, against his means of living? There is a section in the Prevention of Crime Act that empowers the Government to seize implements which it may be suspected are to be used for illegal purposes; and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary, in defending that Act in this House, explained that that meant machinery for murder—daggers, revolvers, and so forth. But it was under this section that the printing press of the hon. Member for Westmeath was seized. Did Parliament have any idea when it passed the Act that this section was going to be used for the purpose of allowing the Irish Executive to steal other people's printing presses? That disposes of the assertion of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster that he was unable to use the Prevention of Crime Act in the detection of a conspiracy that has sapped the foundations of a considerable section of Castle society, because it was not passed for the purpose of dealing with such an offence. In following out the contention which we have been endeavouring to establish—namely, that persons in Ireland are in danger of their lives owing to the infamous system that has been pursued, at all events by the underlings who are charged with the detection of crime—I wish to call the attention of the House to a letter from French, that has recently come to light. In that letter he threatened the Irish Government that—

> "If they did not come to terms with him he would make them very uncomfortable. He would expose them as much as he possibly could. If he got a pension he must get £5,000 at least expenses for anxiety of mind. If they did not he would get the Government put out, and perhaps some of their Members put in the dock. Fitzgerald was there, and would be tried at the Commission, and he would see what evidence would come out. If the Maamtrasna case and Reid's letter came out, it would be serious for the Government."

Well, we asked for Reid's letter, and were first of all told that it did not exist, and again that it had no reference to the case. I should be very glad if Reid's letter could be placed upon the Table, and it will form another portion of the suppressed evidence. As well as the allusion to the Maamtrasna case there is an allusion to a man of the name of M'Dermott. That allusion requires some explanation, which I am now able to give. M'Dermott was a secret agent of the police in Ireland employed by French. He had come over from America to get up a dynamite conspiracy among a few misguided men in Cork, and he had taught them to manufacture a sort of sawdust powder, the composition of which is best known to the Home Secretary. When this dynamite had been manufactured it was packed in a box and sent over to Liverpool by two young men. On the arrival of these two men, Fitzgerald had had men ready for them; they were arrested, and after being tried were sentenced to penal servitude for life, while M'Dermott was tried and acquitted in the same way as Cornwall. The Irish Members have evidence of that, and they believe that this man M'Dermott is at present in the keeping and pay of the authorities. It is known that in carrying out this Government concocted plot, French actually threatened seven persons in Court with assassination because they refused to have anything to do with him, and he was only saved from being handed over to the police at the time because he was discovered to be an agent of the Government. That will explain the allusion in the letter to M'Dermott. He says—"There is M'Dermott and many others," showing that this hellish work has been going on in the cases of many people. Not satisfied with the unexampled facility which the Prevention of Crime Act gave you for the detection of Crime, you set secret agents to work to manufacture and to get up other crime. He alludes to Connell, the informer, who he says had a revolver to shoot him once. Connell, the informer, was a notorious murderer in the county of Cork, whose evidence was accepted by the Government against persons whom they charged with very much lesser offences than murder; and upon that evidence they were convicted, although the Government knew at the time that he had been guilty of the brutal murder of a young man named Leary. He got up, he says, all the Royal Irish Constabulary for the State Trials. He had 200 policemen from different parts of the country as witnesses against my Friends and myself; but, fortunately, the Government did not possess the Prevention of Crime Act in those days, and they were unable to convict us—

> "I employed (he says) Stephen Noonan for some months, and then discharged him, as he was handing all my letters to Maurice Healy, brother of Tim Healy, M.P. I sent him to watch the proceedings at the Mallow election."

Nothing was too high for this Detective Director of the Royal Irish Constabulary, so he has a shy at politics occasionally—I suppose for diversion. We know, Sir, more about Stephen Noonan. We have letters in our possession from French to

Noonan, and from French's orderly, "John;" and Noonan asserted to us long ago, before French's letter, that he was employed by French to get up outrages in the county and city of Cork, and to endeavour to implicate leading Nationalists of Cork, and that he received money for this purpose. The letters mention remittances of money. He specifies one particular outrage and plot which he was engaged in, and the men whom it was intended to implicate. Noonan attempted to get up during the Commission at Cork an attack upon Judge Barry, for the purpose of assassinating that eminent and clear-minded Judge. His directions were that he was to endeavour to implicate Mr. John O'Connor, of Cork. The attempt, of course, was to be an abortive one; but it would have had its result. John O'Connor, of Cork, is known as one of my prominent supporters, and the prospect of implicating such a person was very present to the mind of Detective Director French. Of course, all these things are to be hidden. No inquiry would be given in the Maamtrasna case. Will you give us an inquiry into this case? Noonan is in Ireland. His evidence is to be had. Now, I have a word to say to the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. That right hon. Gentleman I consider to have a heavier responsibility to bear than ever had his Predecessor. The right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) went to Ireland at a most difficult time. He was not provided with a Prevention of Crime Act for the purpose of stemming the semi-revolutionary movement which was going on in that country at the time. He had a real movement to contend with; and it is not to the discredit of that right hon. Gentleman, as a man of ability, and as a statesman, that that movement swept him off his legs. But the position of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was entirely different. He went to Ireland when that movement was practically over, when as the result of the passing of the Land Act the natural reaction had set in after a lengthened period of excitement and exertion, and with the provisions of a Prevention of Crime Act, his path and his task were very easy. Well, I say that this blame is to be attributed to the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, from the English point of view, not from our point of view—that instead of using the Prevention of Crime Act in such a way as to insure that at its termination at the end of three years it might be possible for the English Government in Ireland to resume the government of the country under the Constitution, he used it in such a way—and continued to use it, and it is being used to this day—as to insure and make it absolutely necessary that you should renew that Act, and indefinitely postpone the time when it will be possible to govern Ireland by Constitutional means. That is my charge against the right hon. Gentleman. I do not know whether he or Earl Spencer were tempted by the desire to pose as great men—that they wished to impress onlookers with the notion that they had to contend with a great crisis. That was the impression they spread by their public utterances, and by the way in which the exceptional powers placed at their disposal by this House were used. I took very great risk, personal and otherwise, for the purpose of preventing the passing of the Coercion Act of 1882. There is a section of men in Ireland who think that the more coercion Ireland gets the better. That was the opinion of the late John Mitchel, a man whose name is reverenced by the Irish people, whatever part of the world they may be found in, as a pure and single-hearted man, who honestly desired the advantage of his country, and sacrificed his prospects, his liberty, and we must also think his life, to attain that end. The action of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster was the very thing to meet the views of men who think like the late John Mitchel. However, I did not think at that time it would have been for the advantage of either England or Ireland that that Coercion Act should be passed. It was passed; but even then it might have been possible for the Irish Executive to have used it in such a way as to have rendered its subsequent enactment unnecessary; but that does not appear to have been their wish. Of course, such powers are very tempting to retain; but I do not pretend to guess motives. I can only deal with the facts as they stand; and I ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he does not think now he would be a greater man in his own estimation, and in the estimation of history, if, instead of being compelled to lay down his Office before two-thirds of that Act had expired, he had been in a position at the end of that Coercion Act to come to the House and say—"I have governed Ireland so that coercive legislation is no longer necessary?" But from the peeps we have been able to make behind the curtain, that is not the view of the right hon. Gentleman, or of Earl Spencer; and we are threatened with the prospect of the re-enactment of the Act of 1882, in all its barbarity and severity. I do not pretend to say that we have formed any opinion yet as to how we are to meet this position. It is a very serious position for Ireland, undoubtedly; and I think, Sir, in all probability the result will show that it will be a still more serious position for this country. Can you say you have succeeded in your mission in Ireland, so long as from your point of view such an enactment is necessary in order to save yourselves from being driven into the sea? You have now governed Ireland for the space of 84 years, under the United Parliament, and can you honestly say that you are any nearer the end than you were at the beginning? Is there any greater recorded failure in history? You are much cleverer, of course, than Irishmen are. You have a greater capacity for government. Therefore, you must govern the Irish, because they are not able to govern themselves. But I say—and I think the vast majority of the Irish people will say with me—that if, after seven centuries, you have failed in the first elements of government; if your greatest statesmen sent to Ireland, one after another, come back and hold out no hope for that country, except a continuance of these stern and drastic measures, I say, in the words of Wendell Phillips—

> "For seven centuries you have failed in your task of governing Ireland—you had better give it up."

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 34; Noes 140: Majority 106.—(Div. List, No. 5.)

Main Question again proposed.

### AMENDMENT (MR. GORST)—SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND.

MR. GORST, in rising to move the Amendment of which he had given Notice, said: Sir, I wish I could feel quite certain that I should not incur the

Prime Minister's displeasure in bringing forward this subject on the present occasion. I know that it would be useless to plead the importance of the question, because the Prime Minister would probably say that the importance of the subject is no excuse for bringing it forward in the form of an Amendment to the Address. But my real excuse, in asking the attention of the House to the question to-night, is not only that the question is important, but that it is extremely urgent. I hope I shall be able to convince the Prime Minister that nothing but a very strong sense of public duty has induced me to brave the accusations which will be made against me of impeding the progress of Public Business by raising a question of this kind. The story to which I have to direct the attention of the House is a very shameful one, but a very short one. It comprises two periods. The first is a period of three months, during which Montsioa enjoyed the formal protection of the British Government. It began by a visit paid to him by the Commissioner sent to Bechuanaland, and ended with his defeat and entire subjugation by the freebooters of the Transvaal. With reference to this period, the charge made in the Amendment which I am about to propose against the policy of the Government is that they have been guilty of a want of precaution in not taking effectual measures to protect Montsioa against these freebooters. Of course, that is not an urgent matter. It is important; but it is a matter which may, no doubt, wait. The second period, about which I shall have a story to tell, is a period of two months which have elapsed since the entire subjugation of Montsioa became known to Her Majesty's Government. The charge in reference to that period is that Her Majesty's Government have delayed declaring to the Government of the Transvaal, and to the marauders who have taken possession of Montsioa's territory, their intention of using force, if necessary, to turn them out of that territory. That is a matter that is urgent, because every day that elapses without that declaration of intention from Her Majesty's Government not only prolongs the dishonour of this country, but increases the difficulty of any ultimate settlement. These marauders have now been upwards of two months in occupation of Montsioa's territory. They are establishing farms there; they are creating new interests; and in a short time vested rights will have grown up in this country—just as they grew up in Stellaland—which the Government will find it very difficult to interfere with, and the restitution of the territory which has been seized will become impossible. That, I think, is a justification for asking for an immediate declaration, at this moment, of the intentions of the Government. But there is another reason which might be urged in favour of a discussion in this House, and even in favour of passing some Resolution by the House—namely, that if the Envoys of the Transvaal have formed a correct estimate of the Earl of Derby, he is a Nobleman extremely disposed to make himself pleasant to the acting Powers. He has no desire to interfere with their requests; he does not wish to coerce and control them in any way whatever, and they have told their fellow-countrymen that it is only the mischievous results of public opinion in England which prevents this amiable Nobleman from doing everything they desire. If this is to be the case, it might be well to bring the pressure of a little of this wholesome public opinion to bear upon the Earl of Derby, and induce him to prefer the interests and honour of his own country to the desire to make himself agreeable to foreigners. I do not intend to trouble the House with any of the history contained in the Blue Book so recently laid upon the Table of the House, and I shall, therefore, not travel back to the early history of Bechuanaland; but I think it right to remind those Members of the House who are not so familiar with the history of the question that there were debates on the subject of Montsioa's territory running on during the whole of the year 1883. At that time this same Chief was undergoing an attack from freebooters, who issued from the territory of the Transvaal, and who are said to be, and who are believed to be, encouraged by the Transvaal Government. Those debates were never brought to a conclusion. I believe they were adjourned down to the very end of the Session of 1883; but in the course of those debates the Government were compelled, by information which turned up from time to time, to make several admissions of which I wish to remind the House. They were obliged to admit that Her Majesty's Government were under obligations to Montsioa; in consequence of his fidelity to British interests in time of trouble; they were obliged to admit that the Transvaal Government had broken the Convention of 1881; and they were obliged to admit that the British Government was bound to protect Montsioa against the incursions of these Transvaal maurauders. They promised the House of Commons that they would fulfil their obligations, and the particular mode by which they chose to fulfil them was by entering into the Convention of 1884—a Convention made at the beginning of this year with the Government of the Transvaal. In that Convention they stated that their only direct interest, as far as the Convention related to Bechuanaland, was that involved in the protection of Montsioa and Mankoroane, so that the desire of protecting those two Chiefs was the sole motive which had induced the Government to enter into that Convention so far as it related to Bechuanaland; and the Transvaal Government undertook, on their side, strictly to maintain the boundary and to guard against trespasses and irregularities. Now, having said that, I should like to ask the Government whether past experience has induced them to place implicit reliance with any Convention entered into with the Transvaal Government? It seems to me that they were bound to take adequate steps for the protection of these Chiefs, whom they admit they were under obligations to protect, and if they chose to rely exclusively and solely upon a Convention with the Boers, they must be liable to censure if the result of that Convention was not to afford the protection they were bound to give. They had no right to pay their obligations to those two Chiefs by a draft on a Government so bankrupt of all honour and credit as the Transvaal Government. I come now to the story of the result of this effort of Her Majesty's Government to protect Montsioa. He was visited on the 20th of May in the present year by the British Commissioner. There was a formal British Protectorate announced. A Treaty was made, and a cession of jurisdiction from Montsioa was accepted. The country at that date was clear from any freebooters. Montsioa himself had driven them out, and they were living under a man called Gey, at a place called Rooi-Grond, which was within the Transvaal territory. These men were informed by the Commissioner of the establishment of a British Protectorate, and they wey warned of the necessity of respecting it. So far well. Perhaps I ought to mention that from that date down to the time when Montsioa was entirely subjugated, he had a British officer living in his place; not only Mr. Bethell, about whose appointment as an English officer there may be some question, but a Deputy Commissioner constantly living with him, and there is the testimony of that British officer that no aggression ever took place on the part of Montsioa, and that he never broke the peace. But hardly was the back of the British Commissioner turned when, on the 13th of June, the people from Rooi-Grond robbed Montsioa's garden and fired on his people. A week later, on the 20th of June, they attacked a reaping party—persons engaged in industrial pursuits. These Natives were attacked by two parties—the one fired upon them outside the Transvaal territory, while the other fired a cannon 100 yards inside the British boundary. They killed a number of these peaceful people, and afterwards rode over the ground despatching the wounded and all those who had concealed themselves. On the 24th of June, the man Gey published a proclamation in *The Volksraad*, a newspaper issued in Pretoria, in which he declared war against Montsioa, although Montsioa was under British protection, and called for volunteers to enlist at Pretoria, offering them a share of the booty, and inviting their co-operation. On the 25th of June, the day after this proclamation, the freebooters attacked a party about three-quarters of an hour from Montsioa's place—Mafeking—and murdered one of his men. On the 1st of July, about a week later, four waggons were sent out for wood with eight people in charge of them. When they were about a mile distant from Montsoia's place, they were attacked by Rooi-Gronders. Six were killed, some of whom were boys. A little boy of seven had his leg shattered by an explosive bullet. One man only was lucky enough to escape. This story is not told by Native evidence, but it is given on the evidence of the British officer officially appointed. On the 8th of July the Rooi-Gronders seized 60 cattle, and killed 11 men and one woman, who were in charge of the cattle. A little child of eight years, who had got bewildered by the firing, ran from a garden towards the Boers, and was deliberately murdered. This little child under eight years of age was deliberately murdered by these freebooters. On the 17th of July, emboldened by the outrages they had already committed, they attacked Montsioa's place at Mafeking, in force, and attempted to take it, but failed. On the 28th they took 3,000 cattle and 400 sheep; and on the 31st they paraded the cattle in front of Montsoia's place for the purpose of tempting his people to recapture them. They succeeded in their design and killed 100 men—Mr. Bethell, our officer, being among the slain. I will not enter into the question of his murder now, because that subject formed part of the debate last Wednesday, and it is my desire to keep clear of anything that was stated on Wednesday, and to confine myself, as far as possible, to the new information which has now been laid before the House. It must be remembered that I am not giving one-half of the atrocities which are reported in the official Papers. If any hon. Member wishes to see a more complete list of these atrocities than I have given, if he will turn to page 123 of the Papers he will find a list given there by our Assistant Commissioner, who not only gives an account of the atrocities, but the evidence by which they are supported—many of the cases having come under his own personal knowledge. On the 2nd of August the Transvaal Government itself came upon the scene. A most remarkable deputation was sent out. A Mr. Snyman, who called himself, and who was, a Native Commissioner of the Transvaal Republic, and therefore a Government officer, came with six others as a deputation from the South African Republic. He produced a letter signed "Paul Krüger," in which the Commissioners were instructed to do their utmost to stop the fighting. But a certain field cornet named Theumissen, who was with him, as one of the deputation, said he had received verbal instructions from the Transvaal Government to get Montsioa's consent to the annexation of the Baralong territory to the Transvaal. This Mr. Snyman refused to address Montsioa in the presence of the British Commissioner, and the British Commissioner had to go away, leaving Montsioa and Mr. Snyman by themselves. Mr. Snyman then made an address which will remind the House of the address of Rabshakeh, when he was sent by the Assyrian King to stop Hezekiah and the beleaguered subjects of Jerusalem, for he used the same arguments and spoke in the most scornful way of England and the British Government. He said—

> "Don't trust England. She has no soldiers, and she will never fight for you against the Transvaal. Paul Krüger has entered into an alliance with 10 European Powers, among whom are France and Germany, by which the independence of the Transvaal is secured, and English interference prevented. Look," said he, "at Mankoraane. England promised to extend her protection to him, and the result is that he has nothing now; all his land has been taken from him."

Snyman also said that he had power to withdraw "the Volunteers," as he called the freebooters, and he took an oath to that effect. Montsioa replied that he had always recognized the Transvaal as making war upon him; but he added that since the country had been proclaimed British territory they had been making war not on him alone, but on the British Government, and he could not withdraw his word which he had given to Her Majesty's Government. Perhaps the House may suppose that these people—Snyman and Field Cornet Theumissen—were enthusiasts, who were not acting in the name of the Transvaal Government in this mission of theirs; but what took place was communicated to the Transvaal Government not only by our Resident at Pretoria, but by Sir Hercules Robinson himself, and they did not repudiate Snyman, nor say that he had not acted in their name. It was, therefore, concluded that his mission was genuine, and that he had really been sent to deliver the scoffing message he had delivered to Montsioa. In the meantime, while Snyman was scoffing at Her Majesty, poor Bethell's body was lying unburied in Rooi-Grond, exposed to the indignity of being kicked by the freebooters. Then they sent a flag of truce to ask that men and waggons might be sent to take the body away; and when they were sent they confiscated them, and seized the persons who were sent with them. They next sent a second flag of truce, and Mr. Wright, the Assistant Commissioner, went out to speak to the freebooters himself. Although under a flag of truce, they treacherously made our officer a prisoner, carried him off to Rooi-Grond, threatened to put him in irons, and kept him a prisoner there until he succeeded in making his escape. It may be supposed that when these facts were communicated to the present Government, some regret was expressed; but when the Transvaal Government were made aware that a Queen's officer had been thus treacherously seized under a flag of truce and kept a prisoner in their territory, they did not express a single word of regret for the outrage which had been committed. A despatch from the Secretary of State at Pretoria to the High Commissioner would be found at page 82 of the Blue Book, in which he said—

> "Through the hon. Mr. R. Rutherfoord, temporarily acting as Consular official of England at Pretoria, this Government has been informed that the Volunteers of Rooi-Grond, under cover of a flag of truce, have taken prisoner Mr. Wright, Assistant British Commissioner in Bechuanaland. While taking cognizance of this, I have the honour to acquaint Your Excellency that this Government has no doubt that both the Special Commissioners who have been sent off will know how to adjust this matter also."

They took cognizance of the fact, but simply intimated that their Commissioner, M. Joubert, would, no doubt, adjust the matter with the British Commissioner; but there is not a single word of regret for the atrocious outrage committed on a British Commissioner. Of course, they were promptly informed by our officials of the events which had taken place; and their only remark was that they considered it only possible to put an end to the troubles in Rooi-Grond by going to work in a peaceable manner and not employing force. That was the course taken by a Government which had promised England, in a Convention concluded only a few months before, that it would strictly maintain the boundaries and guard against trespass and irregularity. On the 25th of August, about three months after Montsioa had been received under the protection of the British Government, Mr. Rhodes, our Commissioner, visited Rooi-Grond for the purpose of meeting M. Joubert, who had been sent for by the present Government in order to put a stop to these troubles. It was a very remarkable thing that when Mr. Rhodes wished to go to Rooi-Grond, he found he could not go through British territory, but that he was obliged, by a circuitous route, to make a detour through the Transvaal. The territory under the protection of Her Majesty was absolutely closed to our officer who was acting on behalf of Her Majesty's High Commissioner. The night he arrived at Rooi-Grond, a desperate attempt was made by the freebooters to capture Montsioa's place at Mafeking. Firing was heard going on all night, and Mr. Rhodes was so indignant that he refused to enter into negotiations unless 14 days' armistice were at once entered into. They refused to make an armistice unless Montsioa would sign the terms of a Convention practically surrendering at discretion, and giving up the whole of his territory to the freebooters. Mr. Rhodes accordingly left; and M. Joubert remained behind, to what was called, "mediate," and the result of his mediation was the unconditional surrender of Montsioa to the freebooters. His fortifications were to be broken down in eight days, and he was stripped of the whole of his land with the exception of 10 farms which were left to him. Before that Treaty was made, and while Mr. Rhodes was at Rooi-Grond, he found that he was not able to visit Montsioa or to see him, so beleaguered was he by the freebooters. But Montsioa managed to send a messenger to him—like General Gordon at Khartoum—and that was the last that had been heard of Montsioa. This message expressed to Mr. Rhodes the unswerving fidelity of Montsioa, and warned the Commissioner that although Montsioa was in the hands of his enemies, and might be made to sign Treaties and make declarations, no importance was to be attached to them, because they were wrung from him by superior force. That ends the history of the three months during which Montsioa enjoyed British protection. I think I am not exaggerating, or using language too strong, when I say that a more disgraceful story was never put before a British House of Commons. Just notice the points of the story. First, a formal protection was announced to this unhappy man; this formal protection was immediately followed by most atrocious attacks—most cruel and barbarous atrocities committed on his people—a British officer stationed with him was murdered; another British officer was captured under a flag of truce; and the Transvaal Government gave their open sanction to the proceedings. Perhaps some people may say that I am using language too strong when I say "open sanction." That, however, is not my language, but the Earl of Derby's. In one of his despatches the noble Earl is betrayed into the expression—

> "The Transvaal Government have openly sanctioned this conduct towards Montsioa."

The result of our protection, then, is that this unhappy man has been completely subjugated, his land has been seized with the exception of 10 farms, and all his fortifications and means of further resistance are destroyed. I now close the first period and begin the second. What did the British Government do? It was on the 6th of September that the Earl of Derby received a telegram announcing that the Transvaal Government had taken Montsioa under their protection, and that all his rights would be respected. It was not a telegram which dropped upon him like a thunderclap from a clear sky, for, on the 3rd of September, or three days before, he got a telegram from the High Commissioner, Sir Hercules Robinson, giving him a full account of the atrocities I have related to the House—giving a full account of the peaceable conduct of Montsioa since our protection was accorded him, together with a full account of Snyman's mission to scoff at British protection, of its being communicated to the Transvaal Government, and of its not being disavowed by them. All this the Earl of Derby knew on the 3rd of September. I do not know if he ought to have taken immediate steps in the matter or not. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade told the House on Wednesday last that there had been no delay, and the Papers not being then before Parliament, the right hon. Gentleman could not be contradicted. Since then the Papers have been produced, and I should like to hear the President of the Board of Trade venture to tell the House a second time that there has been no delay.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I beg the hon. and learned Gentleman's pardon, I did not say there had been no delay.

Mr. GORST: In that case, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman to justify the delay now that the facts of the case are happily known to the House of Commons. Let me ask the House once for all to contrast the pusillanimity and delay of the Colonial Office in Downing Street with the energy and courage of the High Commissioner in Cape Town throughout the whole of these proceedings. On the 8th of September, the Earl of Derby, having got this telegram on the 6th, after two days, sends a telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson, asking for his observations. He gives those observations on the 11th, by informing the Earl of Derby of the result of Mr. Rhode's visit to Rooi-Grond, and all the remainder of the information I have laid before the House in full. In that telegram on the 11th of September, Sir Hercules Robinson counsels delay pending the arrival of Mr. Rhodes at Cape Town, and I have no doubt that the Earl of Derby most thankfully accepted that advice. But on the 15th of September there was another telegram received from Sir Hercules Robinson, which the Colonial Office has not thought fit to print in these Papers. It is a common practice, I am sorry to say, in the preparation of Government Papers, that the most important documents are frequently left out; but there is secondary evidence of the contents of this telegram, because at page 79 there is printed a despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson, dated September 24; there is no date as to when it was received at Downing Street, but it contains secondary evidence of the missing telegram of the 15th. On the 11th, a telegram was sent from Sir Hercules Robinson, giving a full history of the case and counselling delay. On the 15th, a telegram was sent which is not printed, but the substance of which I am able to give to the House, because Sir Hercules Robinson says in the despatch of the 24th—

> "I had the honour, on the 15th, to despatch a telegram to your Lordship."

I should like to ask the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies where the text of that telegram is which is mentioned in the despatch of the 24th? I find a subsequent reference to the telegram on the 17th; perhaps that may be the one. The despatch says—

> "At Rooi-Grond, the position is calling for immediate consideration, as the freebooters have invaded the Protectorate, and have taken possession of Montsioa's country, and there is only the choice of turning the freebooters out by force, or abandoning Bechuanaland."

Mr. Rhodes and Captain Bower reported that the Rooi-Grond, and Zululand movements are said to be believed to have been instigated by Transvaal officials. I ought to have mentioned to the House that the reason for delay counselled on the 11th was that Mr. Rhodes and Captain Bower were expected to arrive immediately, and therefore that telegram was despatched. The despatch further states—

> "That Mr. Rhodes was of opinion that if it were only known that Her Majesty's Government were determined to maintain the Protectorate by force of arms,"—

the old story all over the world—

> "it might be possible, even then, to make an arrangement which would clear Montsioa's country without fighting."

Sir Hercules Robinson concluded by saying that if Her Majesty's Government should decide to enforce the Protectorate, he would recommend that Mr. Rhodes should be authorized, on his return to Bechuanaland, to announce that decision, and to avail himself of any opening for a possible settlement. Sir Hercules Robinson said—

> "The case was one calling for immediate decision, before the Rooi-Gronders established themselves at their farms."

That was the despatch forming the telegram of the 15th of September. On the 17th, there was another telegram giving the full details of all the attacks made on Montsioa and of Snyman's mission, and adding that the accounts had not been disavowed; and there was a telegram on the same day from the State Secretary of the Transvaal, stating that—

> "Being implored by Montsioa, the Transvaal Government had taken him under their protection."

A statement which the Earl of Derby, from information already in his hands, knew to be a deliberate misstatement of the fact. After that, will the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade say anything about excusable delay? We have now reached the 17th of September. On the 21st, the Earl of Derby is still most attentively considering all these telegrams; and he telegraphs to Sir Hercules Robinson to know the extent of the co-operation which would be given by the Cape Colony if active steps were taken. [An hon. MEMBER: Hear, hear!] Some hon. Member seems to think that that was a very fair telegram. So it was, but it might have been sent with a little less delay. On the 23rd he gets an answer to his telegram stating that no assistance was to be expected from the Cape Colony except in the event of annexation, and referring him to a despatch in which it was stated most distinctly that it was only proposed to recommend the annexation of Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony on certain conditions, one of which was that the British Government should pay every 6*d.* of expense incurred up to the day of annexation, and from that declaration the Cape Government have never for a single moment swerved; so that on the 23rd the Earl of Derby knew very well that the Cape Government would give no pecuniary assistance, and no assistance of any kind to the operation of turning the freebooters out of the Montsioas Territory, although, when they were turned out, the Cape Government were perfectly willing to annex the territory. Sir Hercules Robinson became evidently anxious at the delay which the President of the Board of Trade says did no harm, because on the 24th, the next day, he telegraphed again to the Earl of Derby respecting the telegram of the 17th, which is also not printed, and which cannot be the same telegram as that mentioned as of the 11th.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: These despatches take the place of telegrams. When there is a formal despatch it is not the custom to print the telegram, the two being word for word the same.

MR. GORST: This is a despatch, then, confirming the previous telegram?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes.

MR. GORST: Very well. A despatch was sent on the 17th, and would be received on the same day. In the despatch of the 24th, Sir Hercules Robinson points out that the steps taken by the Transvaal Government in placing Montsioa under the protection of the Republic, was an open and defiant violation of the Convention. He says—

> "I pointed out that this was simply the annexation by the Transvaal of about one-half of the British Protectorate, and was an open and defiant violation of the Convention. It appeared to me clear that the choice of Her Majesty's Government lay between the abandonment of the Protectorate and the Convention, or an announcement that existing engagements would be insisted on, if necessary, by force of arms."

The first telegram arrived on the 6th of September, and on the 17th you find Sir Hercules Robinson laying down, in the most distinct way, that the only choice was between the abandonment of the Protectorate and the immediate announcement that existing engagements would be insisted on, if necessary, by the force of arms; and yet the President of the Board of Trade says there was no unjustifiable delay. The delay did not stop there. The Earl of Derby still sat doing nothing. On the 1st of October, the Transvaal Government became impatient. They reminded him that they had sent telegrams, and they seem to have had some misgiving lest the wicked organs of public opinion might produce some undue effect on the pliant and gentle mind of the Earl of Derby, because they commence their telegram by saying—

> "I trust this matter will not succeed in disturbing friendly relations."

Well, the Earl of Derby does nothing; but "justifiable delay" still goes on, and on the 6th of October his officer at the Cape endeavours further to stir him up. Sir Hercules Robinson telegraphs on October 6th, to say that greater delay will greatly increase the difficulties of any settlement, and it was not until the receipt of that telegram that the Earl of Derby took any action at all. On the 7th of October he did take action, and the action he took was to send a telegram to the High Commissioner, not making the heroic announcement which the High Commissioner desired, and which he said was the only alternative to the abandonment of the Protectorate, but saying—

> "I informed you by telegraph yesterday that Her Majesty's Government desired you, on receiving the concurrence of your Ministers,"—

To do what? To turn the freebooters out of Montsioa's territory? No; but—

> "to call upon the Government of the South African Republic to annul the recent acts by which it acquired jurisdiction over the Chief Montsioa, as a violation of the Convention of 1884."

So that, after whole months of delay,

being pressed by his officer to come to some decision of some kind, he at last screws himself up, on the 7th of October, to desire the South African Republic to annul its recent acts. But the High Commissioner, on the 11th of October, in informing the Earl of Derby that the Government of the Transvaal had annulled its recent acts, goes on thus—

> "Practically, this withdrawal leaves matters unchanged in Montsioa's country, which is in possession of the freebooters calling themselves the Government of Goshen, who are parcelling out the land among themselves. I have asked Ministers what part they will be prepared to take, and as soon as I receive an answer will advise fully as to the measures I consider necessary for expelling marauders."

Sir Hercules Robinson, two days after, on the 13th of October, sent a full and perfect sketch of the measures he considered necessary, and on the same date he informed the Earl of Derby again that the Cape would do nothing except what was indicated in the Memorandum of July 6th, that being the answer they had given on the 23rd of September, and the answer from which they had never swerved. Sir Hercules Robinson does not seem to have had faith in his official superior, because, on the 14th of October, he again telegraphs to the Earl of Derby, and in his last telegram he says—

> "I think, the Proclamation having been withdrawn, the Government of the South African Republic should now be informed that Her Majesty's Government are determined to expel the freebooters from Montsioa's country, if necessary by force of arms; and that Her Majesty's Government expect the Government of the South African Republic to carry out in good faith the Convention of 1884."

With that last attempt to stir up the mind of the Earl of Derby the telegraphic correspondence ends, and what further despatches may have passed since the 4th of October we do not know. But we know one thing, and that is, that the Earl of Derby, from the 6th of September down to the present time, has never yet made that announcement which the High Commissioner at the Cape says is the only alternative to the abandonment of our Protectorate of Bechuanaland—an announcement to the Transvaal Government and the freebooters, that the latter will, if necessary, be expelled by force from Montsioa's territory. The Earl of Derby has known all these things. I suppose now, after what has been stated by the President of the Board of Trade, he will defend the course which has been taken, and say that there has been no unnecessary delay; but I should like to hear the argument by which he justifies it. The position of the Transvaal was known to the Earl of Derby on the 6th of September. After more delay up to October 11th, he knew that the Proclamation was withdrawn; but he knew that matters remained just as they were, and he has been pressed three or four times, as I have shown, in telegrams from Sir Hercules Robinson, to make the announcement which would pledge the British Government to the restitution of the land taken by the freebooters, and that announcement he has never yet made. One thing is perfectly clear, and that is, that the views of the Cape Government and the views of the British Government are directly opposed in this matter. The Cape Government have now gone upon a sort of Roving Commission to Rooi-Grond for the purpose of making terms with the freebooters—of settling matters with them as they settled with the freebooters of Stellaland, and of leaving them in the same way to remain in possession of a portion of Montsioa's territory, persuading Montsioa to agree to allow the matter to be patched up in some sort of way or other. The policy of the High Commissioner is to declare to the freebooters and to the whole world that, *coûte qui coûte*, the British Government will turn these men out of Montsioa's territory, and restore him to his possessions. I have said enough to show the House that this is an important matter and an urgent matter. It is very important and urgent as regards Montsioa. His three months' enjoyment of our protection, and his two months in the hands of his enemies in absolute subjugation to them, must make him, at all events, somewhat impatient at the decision of the dilatory Earl of Derby. But important as this question is in regard to Montsioa, I think it is ten-fold more important as regards our own position in reference to South Africa. The Earl of Derby, before the deputation which waited upon him yesterday, made use of some very brave words; but they were very general words, and did not pledge him to any particular or specific line of policy. But I do not think that our position in South Africa can be maintained now by mere brave words. The incidents which I have described to the House show that our authority and our protection have been scoffed at and trampled upon, not only by the South African Republic, but even by the little Republic of Goshen. Our allies, immediately after our protection has been accorded them, have been slaughtered and subjugated. Our protection has proved utterly futile, and our promises to these Native Chiefs have been ignominiously broken. Under these circumstances, Mr. Speaker, I think I am justified in asking the House, for the sake of the preservation of the honour and interests of Great Britain, to address Her Majesty in the words of which I have given Notice.

Amendment proposed,

To insert in the ninth paragraph, after the words "us," the words "humbly to express our regret that Her Majesty's Government should have assumed a formal protectorate over Bechuanaland without taking effectual precautions to prevent Montsioa from being conquered by freebooters domiciled and organised in the Transvaal under the sanction of its Government:

"And, further, to express our regret that, after Her Majesty's Government had received full information of the forcible appropriation of Montsioa's land by the Rooi-Grond freebooters, delay, greatly increasing the difficulties of any settlement, has been permitted to take place in announcing the intention of Her Majesty's Government to turn out the freebooters, by force if necessary, from the territory under Her Majesty's protection."—(*Mr. Gorst.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The hon. and learned Member was certainly right in saying that the matter is one which contains important points, and my answer is that Her Majesty's Government have already dealt with all those important points, and that it is not necessary to enter at any length into the other matters referred to by the hon. and learned Gentleman. I shall therefore answer the hon. and learned Gentleman very shortly. The first part of the hon. and learned Member's speech was devoted to what he called the first three months of the period over which these Papers extend, and he worked upon the feelings of the House, and no doubt would succeed in working upon the feelings of people outside, by reading a harrowing account of what these freebooters have done during that period. I am not here at this Table to say that those accounts are not harrowing; I am not here to say that the Transvaal Government have done all that they ought to have done; but what I am here to say, and what I do say, is that Her Majesty's Government are not to blame for what has taken place during those three months. The position assumed by Her Majesty's Government was that they, having concluded a Convention with the Transvaal Government, which they had every reason and every right to look upon as a Convention that would be observed, proposed to declare a Protectorate over the territory, and to provide the force necessary for maintaining the police required to keep order in that territory. The position we assumed, with the full consent of this House, related only to matters of police. In conjunction and consultation with Sir Hercules Robinson, we selected Mr. Mackenzie to go out as Deputy Commissioner, and in concert with Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie, it was settled before they left England what was the force which, in their opinion, was required to maintain order on the border of the territory. Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie went out to that country armed with full power to raise the force which had been settled as being the necessary force, and Her Majesty's Government have refused no demand made by the High Commissioner for the means of carrying out the arrangement thus entered into. It is, no doubt, quite true, as the hon. and learned Member says, that this force was not ready and fully organized until the end of June or the 1st of July; but Her Majesty's Government were not responsible for that. They could not undertake to order about a police force in local districts thousands of miles away. They left it in the hands of men on the spot, who knew the local requirements, and were acquainted with the local circumstances, to arrange the working of the force. In justice to Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie, I have laid on the Table of the House to-day a copy of the telegrams with respect to the raising of the Bechuanaland police force, so as to show the difficulties they had to contend with in raising that force. There were difficulties both in regard to horses, accoutrements, and the raising of the men, and this Correspondence had been omitted from the other Papers; but when I saw the question was going to be raised, I thought it was right that the telegrams which had passed between Her Majesty's Government and Mr. Mackenzie should be published, so as to show the difficulties which had to be contended with in getting the force together. Mr. Mackenzie went up to Montsioa's territory, and, as the hon. and learned Member says, up to the time of his arrival comparative peace had existed there. From the moment of his arrival the attacks on Montsioa began, and there was no police force there to protect him. Mr. Mackenzie knows the country far better than we do, and he had complete discretion to go as far as he liked to go, and to proclaim a Protectorate whenever he thought it would be most useful to proclaim that Protectorate. If Mr. Mackenzie thought it better not to wait for the presence of an organized police force, but to proclaim the Protectorate and to go up himself to Montsioa's house without a police force, I am not going to criticize his acts. These are the circumstances which have occurred, and it is very easy to be wise after the event. As far as Her Majesty's Government are concerned, they undertook to provide that force which the Deputy Commissioner and the High Commissioner considered indispensable. Every facility was given by Her Majesty's Government for the raising of the force, and Her Majesty's Government regretted the circumstances that prevented the force from being raised as rapidly as they expected. It appeared that it would take two or three months to organize that force, and if Mr. Mackenzie had stood by, and had delayed proclaiming a Protectorate until the police force was ready, I think the hon. and learned Member would have had much more serious fault to find than he does now. It was then, as the hon. and learned Member says, that the Transvaal Government came upon the scene. The hon. and learned Member has condemned the Colonial Office for having, when it came to the conclusion that force must be used—a forcible demand made upon the Transvaal Government to withdraw their Proclamation—the hon. and learned Member complains that we did not send direct to the freebooters, but sent direct to the Transvaal Government. Was it not natural that Her Majesty's Government should communicate with the Government of the Sovereign State, and not with mere individuals? I have yet to learn that when the Sovereign State comes forward, acting as a State, that we are to pass by an act of a Sovereign Power, and to address ourselves to certain individuals who may be acting under the control of that Sovereign Power. It seems to me that Her Majesty's Government were bound, when they had these facts brought before them, to take immediate notice of them, and to call upon the Transvaal Government to withdraw from the attitude it had assumed. As soon as that Government had withdrawn from the position it assumed, Her Majesty's Government proceeded to announce their intentions in reference to the freebooters. The hon. and learned Member says that Her Majesty's Government have never yet announced their intentions. I am perfectly astonished at that statement. It seems to me that Her Majesty's Government have been doing nothing for the last fortnight or three weeks except announcing their intentions by their acts. They have already announced in this House that Sir Charles Warren is going out as Commissionner, and I have read the telegram announcing that he is going out. Let me take this Blue Book. What is there on page 139? I find there a telegraphic despatch from the Earl of Derby to Sir Hercules Robinson, dated October 18, in which he says—

> "I have the honour to acquaint you that I have had before me your despatch of the 17th of September, transmitting a communication from the State Secretary of the South African Republic respecting the action of the State with regard to the marauders in Montsioa's territory. I fail to see in the arguments in this despatch, or in the action taken by the Government of the Republic, anything which can alter the view which Her Majesty's Government have taken, that the Republic should be held responsible for any expenses which may be incurred in expelling and punishing these marauders."

The fact is, that if hon. Members expect to have every Paper laid on the Table the day it is sent away, I can only say that that would be a very novel thing. This Blue Book is really brought up to the 23rd of October. On the 22nd of October the Earl of Derby sent a telegram to Sir Hercules Robinson, the last paragraph of which referred to the telegram from Sir Hercules Robinson to the effect that an intimation should be conveyed to the South African Republic that steps would be taken against the freebooters. The hon. and learned Member has complained that that telegram has not been answered.

Mr. GORST: Upon what date was it received?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: It was received, I think, about the second week in October.

Mr. GORST: On the 17th?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: Yes; I think it was. The reply forwarded on the 22nd states—

> "Referring to your telegram, I approve of the suggested communication with the Government of the South African Republic."

That was the instruction sent to Sir Hercules Robinson to communicate to the Transvaal Government. On the 29th of October we telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson saying that Sir Charles Warren had been selected as Special Commissioner of Bechuanaland, and giving directions as to what steps should be taken. Therefore, I am at a loss to follow what the hon. and learned Gentleman means by saying that Her Majesty's Government have made no announcement or declaration of their intention to use force if necessary. The hon. and learned Member, when the next Blue Book comes out, which I expect will be very shortly, will see all that we have done; but I can assure him that there has been no delay in sending out information as to the intentions of Her Majesty's Government. With regard to the delay which the hon. and learned Member has mentioned between the first receipt of the news of the action of the Transvaal Government and the final telegram of the 7th of October, in which Her Majesty's Government called upon the South African Republic to withdraw from the position they had assumed, I may shortly say that the question was a very delicate and a very critical one. Her Majesty's Government were making up their minds to a step which might lead to very serious consequences in South Africa, and which required to be very deliberately considered, and, first of all, they were anxious to ascertain from the High Commissioner what the circumstances of the Cape Government were. Considering the gravity of the step which Her Majesty's Government have taken, nobody can fairly say that three or four weeks was a long time to take in the settlement of a matter of this kind. It is now quite clear what steps Her Majesty's Government intend to take. The hon. and learned Gentleman must remember that this is not a Departmental matter, but a matter which must be settled and considered by the Ministry as a Cabinet. I do not think it necessary to detain the House any longer on these questions. As to the first part, we say that we did all we could be expected to do; and as to the second part, we say that there has been no greater delay than was necessary under the gravity of the circumstances.

Sir MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) has, I think, notwithstanding the debate which took place the other day, done good service in calling the attention of the House and the country to the new light thrown upon this question by the Blue Book recently published. I cannot agree with the defence which the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down has made—namely, that a great deal of the speech of my hon. and learned Friend was a matter of past narrative, and that it is easy to be wise after the event. We have heard that before in reference to South African affairs; and although we do not wish to renew the debate of Wednesday last, or to repeat the arguments I and many others addressed to the House in support of the view which has again been presented this evening on fuller information by my hon. and learned Friend, yet I think the opinion of the country, after reading the debate of to-night, in addition to the debate which took place last Wednesday, will be diametrically opposed to that expressed by the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. We do complain, not only on this side, but on all sides of the House, that during the last few months the sufferings of Montsioa have been mainly due to the delay of Her Majesty's Government in making the Protectorate a reality. Her Majesty's Government are absolutely responsible for the failure to make it a reality, because they cannot throw upon Sir Hercules Robinson, or Mr. Mackenzie, the responsibility of the delay in the organization of the police force which the hon. Gentleman has alluded to again this evening. They cannot, by casting the responsibility of this delay upon their subordinates, relieve themselves from the charge of having failed to carry out their own promises to Parliament. My object in addressing the House this evening is rather to call attention to the future than to the past. I do not know whether my hon. and learned Friend intends to divide the House upon his Amendment; but I apprehend that he has proposed it with the idea of calling attention to the subject rather than with any wish to divide. It does seem to me that the Papers contained in the Blue Book last presented justify us in viewing the future in a graver light than before, because they appear to hold out much less hope of a peaceful settlement than that put forward by the Earl of Derby speaking on behalf of the Government. Now, I think my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) very properly remarked that every day which passes makes the settlement of this question more and more difficult. This delay, which is not the delay of one month, as the hon. Gentleman has just stated, but of something like two months, in taking active measures, has already enabled these freebooters practically to possess themselves of the territory of this unfortunate Chief. Every day makes that possession more secure, and gives time for them to be strengthened by the addition of other persons of the same character. Sir Hercules Robinson has stated what in his opinion is necessary for their removal by force—namely, 1,200 troops; but it is highly probable that if there is further delay that force will have to be materially increased. We have not yet received any definite statement from Her Majesty's Government as to the precise measures that are to be taken. I thought just now that the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies was going to tell us. He alluded to a telegram which had been sent on the 29th of October, informing Sir Hercules Robinson of the appointment of Sir Charles Warren as Special Commissioner to Bechuanaland, and giving directions as to what steps should be taken. He did not read that telegram, or we might have been informed what steps were to be taken. So far, the only step before us is that Her Majesty's Government have decided on giving permission to the Cape Government to attempt to settle the matter by peaceful negotiations, and we have seen in the newspapers this morning a statement that two of the most prominent Ministers of the Cape Ministry are about to set out for Bechuanaland in order to make that attempt. What I am anxious to call the attention of the House to particularly is the opinion which has been expressed in these Papers by Sir Hercules Robinson, whose authority everyone will admit, on the probable success or failure of such an attempt as this. First of all, let us remember what the view of Her Majesty's Government is as to the result which should be aimed at. I take it that I shall be justified in saying, from the opinions they have expressed on this matter, that they have made up their minds—first, that those persons among the freebooters who can be found guilty of such crimes as are detailed in the Blue Books shall be duly punished; and, in the second place, that the freebooters shall be removed from the lands they have improperly taken possession of, and Montsioa and his tribe shall be restored in full possession of those lands of which they were in possession at the time the British Protectorate was proclaimed. That, however, is not at all the view of the Cape Ministry, so far as I can judge of their view by this Correspondence, as to what should be effected by these peaceful negotiations. Their idea is the possibility of the annexation of this territory of Bechuanaland to the Cape Colony. I find them, on the 13th of October, proposing that one of them should proceed to Bechuanaland for the purpose of communicating with its inhabitants, and endeavouring to restore order and effect a peaceful settlement without the intervention of armed force. And then, again, on the 17th of October, they say—

> "They thought the expulsion of the marauders by force from Montsioa's country would entail great responsibility on Her Majesty's Government, and render annexation difficult, if not impossible."

They further stated their opinion—

> "That the consent of the Goshenites is absolutely necessary to render the proposed annexation possible."

How is it likely that those people who are to be removed will consent to their removal from the very territory which they have wrongly appropriated in defiance of Her Majesty's Government? What does Sir Hercules Robinson say upon this point? I think his observations are well worthy the consideration of the House, and that they deserve greater attention than they appear to have received from Her Majesty's Government. Sir Hercules Robinson says—

> "It appears to me this (the proposal of the Cape Government) is, in effect, that Her Majesty's Government should suspend all operations and withdraw the Imperial authority from the Protectorate while the Cape Ministers proceed without any responsibility on a tour of inspection and inquiry. I do not think, in the absence of any evidence of force, Ministers would have the slightest chance of effecting an arrangement which, as regards Montsioa's country, would be satisfactory to Her Majesty's Government. The result would be that three valuable months would be lost, the Goshenites would become settled in the possession of Montsioa's country, and the Protectorate would revert to Her Majesty's Government in a worse position than it is at present."

He goes on to say—

> "Again, it appears to me necessary for the vindication of British honour and authority that the marauders be removed from the lands which were in possession of Montsioa when he was formally taken under British protection. This, I feel convinced, can now only be effected by force."

Well, Sir, that is the opinion of Sir Hercules Robinson; but, Sir, the Earl of Derby appears to have declined to accept that opinion, and to have preferred that of the Cape Government. I think that the Earl of Derby must have sent some telegram to the Cape Government requesting their mediation in the matter. [Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: No.] Well, but wait a moment. On the first day of the meeting of Parliament, the Earl of Derby said—

> "The Cape has offered to negotiate with the Boers, and believe that they can obtain a peaceable departure from that country. We have telegraphed that they are free to carry out their negotiations."

That telegram does not appear in these Papers, and I should very much like to know the terms of that telegram and the precise instructions the Earl of Derby gave on the point. Sir Hercules Robinson suggested—

> "That the Cape Ministers should be told that no arrangements will be satisfactory which do not secure for Montsioa and his tribe the lands which were in their use and occupation in May last when they were formally taken under British protection."

That is the view which I understand to be accepted, and which I am convinced will be the opinion of Parliament and of the whole country. But do the Cape Ministry understand that this is the arrangement they are to endeavour to secure, and that Her Majesty's Government will be satisfied with nothing less? Because, if they do, I confess I am surprised at the views they have themselves expressed in regard to the undertaking of these negotiations. The Cape Ministry can hardly expect to be able to remove the freebooters from Bechuanaland without force after what they have stated on the subject. If, on the other hand, the Cape Government are under the impression that they can make some kind of arrangement for the annexation of this territory which should not safeguard the interests of those Natives who have been directly taken under the British Protectorate, and who are, therefore, in an exceptional position, then they must intend to make some arrangement which will not secure that the views stated in this House by Her Majesty's Government shall be carried out. If this is in contemplation, it would be a surrender of the whole Protectorate, and the most fatal act that the Government could be guilty of towards the Natives of South Africa. I hope we shall have some statement on this point from the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade which will assure us whether the intentions of Her Majesty's Government are thoroughly accepted and understood by the Cape Ministry, and whether it is the resolution of Her Majesty's Government to carry out the punishment of the criminals, to remove the freebooters, and not to lose a moment in making the necessary military preparations for the use of such force as may be required. I am convinced that if this is not clearly laid down, the time is much nearer than we think, when, notwithstanding the words of the Earl of Derby, we shall have to encounter a most serious struggle in South Africa, if we are to maintain British authority in that country.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: Sir, in the remarks which the right hon. Gentleman has just addressed to the House he stated that he was unable to acquit Her Majesty's Government of blame in this matter, and that the House had a right to complain that during the past three months there had been great delay on their part in coming to the rescue of

Montsioa. But if I may venture to make a complaint, it would be that the Gentlemen who have addressed the House on this question—the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) and the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down—have seemed to ignore the real difficulties of the situation. Now, the right hon. Gentleman has had so great experience in reference to South African questions, that I am sure he knows it is not the easy business which it would appear to the House to be, if we had to take account of nothing else than has been referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. If it were merely a question of punishing a few hundreds of marauders and border ruffians who had committed grave outrages, even in a distant territory, then there would have been, I admit, no excuse for the delay which has taken place, and the matter would have been one which the power of the Government ought long ago to have set right. But I appeal to the right hon. Gentleman—he knows that behind this difficulty of the marauders there are great and serious Imperial questions which even a great Power like this cannot contemplate raising without the gravest deliberation. Behind these border ruffians there may be, unless the greatest caution is exhibited in dealing with them, the whole feeling and power of the Transvaal State and the Free State, and behind them the whole power of the Dutch population of South Africa. If we were to be set face to face with these, although I do not say we might not come victoriously out of the tremendous struggle that might result in that distant and difficult country, yet we should have embroiled the two races in South Africa, and disordered for an indefinite period the prosperity and welfare of that Colony. Well, Sir, these are serious questions which each Government in their turn have had to keep in mind. The late Government went with rather a light heart into South Africa, and they came out of it, I think, sadder and wiser men; and they ought not to blame us if, in the view of possible events, we are deliberately long-suffering and patient, and do all in our power to prevent the contingencies I have alluded to. Now, the policy of the Government is this—that we are determined, at all hazards, to use our whole strength if necessary to maintain the obligations we have entered into. In doing that we are determined, if we can, to proceed with the assent of our Colonial fellow-subjects generally—not of the British population of South Africa alone, but with the majority of the Dutch population also. We have endeavoured by all possible and reasonable means to conciliate the Dutch population, and to carry them with us in the extreme measures which it may be necessary for us to take. Well, Sir, that is my justification of this delay. When I was speaking on this subject a few days ago, I had only a few minutes in which to explain myself, and it was then impossible for me to make my meaning as clear to the House as I wished it to be. But I repeat that, step by step, we have endeavoured to carry with us the Dutch population, and up to this time I am able to say that we have been to a large extent successful. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite says that the views of the British Government and the Cape Government are diametrically opposed. [Sir Michael Hicks-Beach: No, no.] Well, then, as that is putting it too strongly, I will say that even now there are differences between the British Government and the Cape Government. The Cape Government is at the present time a Dutch Government; it represents principally Dutch opinion in the Colony; and, no doubt, they are prepared to make larger concessions to those who are of the same race as themselves, than we might be inclined to do. But we have so far secured their assent to our proceedings, that they have agreed to take over this territory as part of the Cape Colony as soon as the freebooters have been removed from the land which they have invaded, and to make such arrangements as will in future preserve order in the territory; and in the meantime they do not resist the measures which the Imperial Government may think it necessary to take. We have been asked as to the details of the mission intrusted to Sir Charles Warren. That it is a Military Mission I will say, and it will be for the War Office to state what details can be published; but I am sure that it will not be for the interest of the State to make public the details of the orders given to Sir Charles Warren. The Government having announced their intention of sending Sir Charles Warren with a military force to maintain our obligations generally, in the first instance, the Cape Government made an offer to endeavour to negotiate and arrange, if possible, for an amicable settlement. That proposal related only to the time during which the military preparations are going on, and, of course, some period would elapse before Sir Charles Warren, with the force at his disposal, would be ready to act. Her Majesty's Government have, therefore, accepted the proposal of the Cape Government, subject to these conditions—that the military preparations shall go on; that active military operations shall not be delayed by the action of the Cape Government; that any arrangements which the Cape Government may be able to make shall be subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government, and those arrangements shall of necessity comprise such conditions as will practically restore Montsioa to the position which he occupied when the British Protectorate was announced. These are the conditions under which alone the Cape Government will negotiate, and under which alone Her Majesty's Government have given their approval to the proposal of the Cape Government. If the Cape Government should be unsuccessful—and I am bound to say that I rather share the fears of hon. Gentlemen opposite, that not very much will come from these peaceful negotiations—then Sir Charles Warren has distinct instructions to remove the freebooters from the land which they have unlawfully occupied, and replace Montsioa in the position in which he was when the British Protectorate was announced. Sir, I hope I have made perfectly clear what is the position taken up by Her Majesty's Government. Although we are aware of the difficulty and the danger that will have to be faced, Her Majesty's Government feel that the obligations they have undertaken are so sacred that there is no alternative but to carry them out with all the force which the country may place at their disposal.

**Mr. GORST**: I should like, if the House will allow me, to withdraw my Amendment after the statement of the right hon. Gentleman, which is quite satisfactory.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

*Mr. Chamberlain*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Committee *appointed*, to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution: — Mr. STAFFORD HOWARD, Mr. SUMMERS, Mr. GLADSTONE, The Marquess of HARTINGTON, Secretary Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT, Sir CHARLES DILKE, Mr. CHAMBERLAIN, The LORD ADVOCATE, Mr. HIBBERT, Mr. CROSS, Lord RICHARD GROSVENOR, and Lord KENSINGTON: Five to be the quorum:—To withdraw immediately: — Queen's Speech *referred.*

### THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH—REPORT.

Report of Address *brought up*, and read.

Address read a second time.

Further Proceeding thereon *deferred* till *To-morrow.*

### MUNICIPAL FRANCHISE (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. MOLLOY, Bill to assimilate the Municipal Franchise in Ireland to that of England, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. MOLLOY, Mr. PARNELL, Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, and Mr. RICHARD POWER.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 27.]

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Wednesday, 5th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*Second Reading* —Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) [9], *debate adjourned.*

## *MOTION.*

### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: I rise, Sir, to move the Motion which stands in my name—

> "That the several stages of any Bill relating to the Representation of the People have precedence of all Orders of the Day, except any further proceedings on the Address and Notices of Motion, on every day for which they may be set down by the Government."

I think it might be a matter of convenience if it were disposed of now; but, at the same time, I should not wish to press it if there were objections taken to it; but I observe that the two Gentlemen who have given Notice of Amendments to my Motion are both in their places; and I observe, also, that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition is now present. With respect to the Motion itself, I think that it will be regarded by the House in general as almost involved, certainly implied, in the announcement made—namely, that we have advised Her Majesty to summon the House together, in order that the House should give its consideration without any avoidable loss of time to the question of the Representation of the People—the Franchise Bill. The loss of time would be enormous to the House if that were only to be done upon the days at the disposal of the Government. I desire, therefore, to propose that, whenever the Franchise Bill, or anything relating to the representation of the people, is set down by the Government, it should take precedence. The method pursued in 1831 and 1832, I am bound to say, was not this method. At that time there was no pressure of Public Business upon the House, and the formal Motions were allowed to pass formally, and the method then pursued was to postpone the Orders of the Day from day to day. Practically the result was the same as it would be in this case. But, as a general rule, the Reform Bill, and nothing but the Reform Bill, was taken. It would not have been possible then to have adopted a Motion of this kind, because the transactions relating to the Reform Bill were such that it was known that their discussion, with its enormous details, would last over a long, a very long, period. I am far from saying that if, through any unhappy combination of circumstances, the discussion of this subject should be greatly prolonged, a Motion of this kind should still remain in force. Then, I think, it would undoubtedly be necessary to modify it. What I am thinking of as the purpose of this Motion is really, in the main, the passing of the Franchise Bill. It is greatly for the convenience of all persons concerned, and so greatly for the convenience, I think, of the other House of Parliament, that no time should be lost in again bringing that Bill under their notice. If that be so, Sir, I do not think that the first Amendment on the Paper, for example, is an Amendment that should be adopted. I do not see any reason why the work of Wednesdays should receive preferential favour at the present time, because the Wednesdays in the autumn are not days on which private Members could count. The House is not called together for the purpose of transacting Business of that kind; and, at any rate, until we make a certain progress with the subject of Parliamentary Reform, I should strongly deprecate making such an exception as the Amendment proposes. If I may presume to represent to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) and to the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Warton), who have given Notice of Amendments, I should say that, in all probability, the sort of exception more likely to arise would be that which might be deemed urgent by a large portion of the House—something, perhaps, relating to foreign affairs, and in that case a desire being expressed that the Bill should not be set down for any day—that, of course, would be a matter for consideration. But I do not see any other way for giving the requisite despatch to the stages of the Franchise Bill than that suggested in the terms of this Motion. It is evident that to make the Motion from day to day would be practically inviting the waste of a great deal of the time of the House. Then, Sir, with respect to the second Amendment, I can hardly think that any practical necessity is likely to arise on a matter of that kind. But if it should arise, I can assure the hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Warton) that if any important case should occur in which any legal difficulty were to arise in regard to the operation of an Act of Parliament, that would be undoubtedly a matter which ought to be considered when the time arrived. That is the general ground on which I think that the House will feel that a Motion of this kind is reasonable. But I beg that it may be fully understood that I am not at present too sanguine in expressing any confident hope that these proceedings may be likely to be the beginning of a long-continued consideration of parts of the question of Reform other than the Franchise Bill. If that were done, I fully admit it would be quite impossible for us to ask the House to pass over the whole Business of the House, as is implied in this Motion. I hope that these intimations may be considered satisfactory. The subject is one which we should desire to have considered in an impartial spirit, and entirely with a view to the convenience of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That the several stages of any Bill relating to the Representation of the People have precedence of all Orders of the Day, except any further proceedings on the Address, and Notices of Motions, on every day for which they may be set down by the Government."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

SIR JOHN HAY, who had on the Notice Paper the following Amendment:—Line 2, after "precedence," insert "except on Wednesdays," said, that he had to ask the House kindly to consider his Amendment in the light of the statement which had just been made by the Prime Minister, and with reference to the Motion itself. On that day week it had been his good fortune to be able to set down for discussion a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats—a Bill of the nature and character for the consideration of which Parliament had been assembled at that time of the year. He might state that the Wednesday Sittings were usually devoted to private Members' Bills, and discussions took place upon them without a Division being necessarily taken. On account of the early closing Rule, Business of an urgent nature was not usually set down for discussion, because it might lead to no practical result. The Bill in which he was interested, and which stood for that day week, was on a subject which related to the representation of the people, for the cousideration of which Parliament had been assembled, and he would have been glad to hear from the right hon. Gentleman that they could have had an opportunity of having a discussion upon the Bill on a Wednesday afternoon, without giving the House the trouble of going to a Division on the question. It was a fair question—the redistribution of seats—to introduce to the House; it was a question which intererested the country generally, and was one which he hoped the House would give him an opportunity of discussing at the right time. Under these circumstances, he felt himself compelled to move his Amendment.

MR. STORER, in seconding the Amendment, said, that having on the Paper a Bill in which great interest was felt in the country, he thought it was hardly fair that the Government should monopolize the whole time of the House. They were brought together in the autumn, at great inconvenience to themselves; and it was but reasonable that one day in the week, at least, should be set aside for the consideration of those matters in which the people took a deep interest. The country, from one end to the other, was sensible of the necessity of something being done with reference to the present state of trade and agriculture. He assured the Prime Minister that, though he might think there was only one subject which was agitating the country, amongst the classes whom he (Mr. Storer) was well acquainted, and who were supposed to be most benefited by the passing of the measure, there was not the slightest feeling on the question. Those classes, however, did consider it of the greatest importance that questions which greatly affected their social welfare should be occasionally discussed in the House. They were, for instance, deeply interested in the questions relating to trade and agriculture, which were in a fearful state, and those questions would be shelved, and hon. Members would have no opportunity of bringing them before the House, if the Motion of the Prime Minister should be agreed to.

Amendment proposed, after the word "precedence," to insert the words "except on Wednesdays." — (*Admiral Sir John Hay.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I quite understand that there is great force in the arguments of my right hon. and gallant Friend behind me (Sir John Hay), that the Government should not ask the House for the whole of its time; but I am bound to say that I do not think that Wednesday is, of all others, the day which should be considered as a private Members' day. Friday has much more of that character, having always been the day on which questions might be raised on going into Committee of Supply. At the same time, I quite recognize the desire of the Government—and I think, also, it will be for the convenience of the House—that we should proceed rapidly with the Franchise Bill. But if we pass the Resolution in the form which the Prime Minister now proposes, it may give the Government unlimited power over the

Business of the House, and for a very considerable time. Assuming—I only take it as a possibility—that the House should not be prorogued, but should adjourn before Christmas, and should proceed with Business again in February, this Resolution standing before us would give the Government power with regard to any Bill relating to the Representation of the People——

MR. GLADSTONE: Sir, will you allow me? I feel the force of that objection. The Motion has been drawn with the object of meeting the exigencies of a particular time; and I should not in the least oppose the insertion of a limitation of the time of its operation—say "before Christmas." That, indeed, would be the best way.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I was going myself to suggest that there should be a limitation of time; but when the right hon. Gentleman says "before Christmas," he is still making a large demand. We must consider that there are matters of great importance which the House may very reasonably desire to discuss; and if the Government should obtain priority up to Christmas there will be no opportunity of bringing forward these subjects. I must point out to the right hon. Gentleman and others who complain of the amount of time spent in discussing the Address, that many things have been brought forward on the Address because there would have been no other opportunity; and the best way to obviate such a difficulty is to treat the House with reasonable indulgence and fairness, and to give us opportunities of bringing forward questions of importance. I do not know whether there is any truth in the report which I heard yesterday; but I was told that, with regard to the question of the Royal Commission on Merchant Shipping, it was likely there would be a debate. I see the subject stands for discussion on the Report of the Address. If the Motion of the right hon. Gentleman passes, hon. Members anxious to raise a debate on the composition of the Commission will be obliged to do so on the Report of the Address, or abandon the hope of having such an opportunity before Christmas, without the consent of the Government. I suggest, therefore, that the priority asked for should be given for a fortnight.

MR. GLADSTONE: Say a month; the end of November.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: That I consider a fair compromise. I fully admit with my right hon. and gallant Friend that the question is one of importance; but, under the circumstances, I hope he will not proceed with his Amendment.

SIR JOHN HAY: I propose to withdraw it.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Amendment proposed, after the word "precedence," to insert the words "during the month of November."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. STORER expressed a hope that the Prime Minister would afford hon. Members, whose Notices of Motion were shelved by this Resolution, an early opportunity of discussing the various questions to which they related.

SIR JOHN HAY: I understand that the right hon. Gentleman would state to-day on what day the promised statement would be made with regard to the Navy.

MR. GLADSTONE: No; I said I could not be in a condition to make any arrangement until we saw our way through the stages of the Franchise Bill.

LORD HENRY LENNOX said, he was thankful to see that the attention of the Government had at last been awakened with respect to the condition of the first arm of our defence. The Prime Minister would, perhaps, pardon him for touching upon the matter, as there was a very strong feeling in the country at the present moment that something should be done, and done at once, to put their Navy and their coaling stations into a proper state of defence. He trusted that, under these circumstances, the Government would not allow the matter to pass from their minds, or to be entirely swamped and swallowed up by the discussions on the Franchise Bill. It was true that when the subject was last discussed on the Navy Estimates there were only nine Members present. That, however, was all changed now. Many journals of great importance had taken up the matter very warmly, and only last night he had noted the conversion of the hon. Members for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) and Perthshire (Sir Donald Currie). That had been very gratifying to him, as it showed that the efforts he had made for the last seven or eight years were at last beginning to bear fruit in the House of Commons.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Mr. WARTON moved the following Amendment to the Motion:—

Line 3, after "Motions," insert "except Notices of Motion relating to schemes under the provisions of 'The Endowed Schools Act, 1869,' and amending Acts."

The hon. and learned Gentleman pointed out that this question was one of great general interest, and had found supporters in the hon. Member for Edinburgh (Mr. Buchanan) and the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), with whom he rarely agreed on any subject. The Charity Commissioners often acted in a most arbitrary manner; and although their proposed schemes were laid upon the Table of the House, very great delay occurred in printing them, and, as no formal Notice of them was given in the House, it was only by great trouble and diligence that hon. Members were enabled to ascertain their existence at all. These schemes were often of a very arbitrary character, and quite opposed to the intention of the founder; and therefore he trusted the Prime Minister would give him some facilities for noticing them as they were framed.

Amendment proposed,

After the word "Motions," to insert the words "except Notices of Motion relating to schemes under the provisions of 'The Endowed Schools Act, 1869,' and amending Acts."—(*Mr. Warton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GLADSTONE, in reply, said, the request of the hon. and learned Member would break up the regularity of their proceedings. But the fact was, there would be no impediment whatever, if he wished to bring forward Motions on the subject to which he alluded, to his doing so on any day he pleased.

Mr. J. LOWTHER: After 3 o'clock in the morning?

Mr. GLADSTONE said, he did not think they were likely to adopt a rule to sit until 3 o'clock in the morning on the Franchise Bill. What he meant was that as the Half-past 12 Rule did not apply to Motions of this kind, the hon. and learned Gentleman would have the opportunity of bringing them forward. Almost everything that came before the House was of importance, including the subject of patent medicines; and he did not think they should make a special rule with respect to Motions, which could be discussed on any night in the week.

Mr. J. LOWTHER said, he was glad to hear the comforting assurance that their labours were not likely to be protracted until the small hours of the morning. He should like that some steps should be taken, either by a short unopposed Act or some measure, to prevent those who were interested in schemes of the kind alluded to by his hon. and learned Friend being prejudiced by the concession of time which the House was now invited to give to the Government; because he thought the Prime Minister would admit that the end of a long day's Sitting was hardly a legitimate opportunity of discussion under the Rules of the House. He was in hopes that the right hon. Gentleman would avail himself of this opportunity to state what was the intention of the draughtsman of his Motion in inserting the words—"any Bill for the Representation of the People." The right hon. Gentleman, in his observations that day, only dealt with one Bill.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Main Question, as amended, put.

*Ordered,* That the several stages of any Bill relating to the Representation of the People have precedence, during the month of November, of all Orders of the Day, except any further proceedings on the Address, and Notices of Motions, on every day on which they may be set down by the Government.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY.

## THE ADDRESS IN ANSWER TO THE QUEEN'S SPEECH.—REPORT.

Further Proceeding on Report of Address *resumed.*

### GOVERNMENT AT KHARTOUM.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT, in rising to move the following Amendment:—

"Humbly to pray Her Majesty to direct Her Ministers, in the interests of freedom and commerce, and for the security of Egypt, to efficiently support General Gordon in establishing a stable and civilized Government at Khartoum,"

said: The debate on the Address has already occupied 10 days, and of this time not two clear days have been given to the consideration of Imperial questions. Five and a-half have been taken up with debate on the administration of Criminal Law in Ireland, against which consumption of time the Government have made no serious protest. [Mr. GLADSTONE: Oh!] It was only the night before last, on the fifth evening, that the Prime Minister objected to the prolongation of the debate; but that objection was a very perfunctory one. The fact is, the Government are too fearful of the Irish Party to oppose any serious resistance to them. One night has been given to the consideration of the all-important subject of trade, and this the President of the Board of Trade actually described as "a waste of time." One night was taken up by a debate upon the revolutionary incitements of the same Minister. Moreover, the Government now propose to monopolize every day, and thus render it necessary to debate Imperial questions upon the Address. With this explanation I hope no Radical organ will have the audacity or the unfairness to blame me for bringing forward the subject of this Amendment. The House was considerably surprised, and not a little amused, at the references of the Prime Minister on the first night of the Session to the Egyptian policy of the Government. Had our information been limited to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, we might well have concluded that little or nothing unsatisfactory had taken place in that country; that General Gordon and the Ministry were lost in admiration of each other; and that the costly Expedition of Relief which is now toiling its weary way towards Khartoum had been despatched at the right moment, with the utmost forethought, and without a day's hesitation or delay. What are the facts with regard to Her Majesty's present Ministers in Egypt? Their conduct of affairs in two years and a-quarter has cost Egypt and England 50,000 human lives. It has caused an expenditure to Egypt and to the British Empire of close on £10,000,000 a-piece. That enormous sum of £20,000,000 might just as well have been thrown into the deep sea for any benefit that any people, creature, or interest has derived from it. Neither England, nor Egypt, nor Europe, neither Fellaheen, nor Soudanese, nor British are any the better for this deplorable waste of resources and of human life. General Gordon has been cruelly deserted and left to the chance of fate during six perilous months. Our old ally of Constantinople has been alienated by the injustice and persecution of the present Government. Germany and Austria have been driven from us by the affronts and blunders of our Ministry. France, their boasted friend, for whom they sacrificed everything, has been turned into bitter hostility towards us. And, most remarkable Nemesis of all, the inventor of the Concert of Europe, now sees the nearest approach to that European combination directed against himself. Continental Europe has united in an act of vigorous protest against the financial repudiation which the advice of the British Cabinet has lately forced upon the Khedive. That protest has right on its side. For the first time in English history the name of this country has been associated with an act of public dishonesty. The Khedive has, by the advice of the Ministers of England, violated a solemn and International Treaty. The puppet of the British Cabinet has broken its formal and binding engagements with the Bondholders and with the States of Europe in order to find the means to meet the liabilities in which the blind and blundering policy of the same British Cabinet has involved Egypt. The £8,000,000 or more of extra Debt, which that country has incurred since July, 1882, are due to the mistakes of Her Majesty's present Ministers, and to them alone. £4,000,000 are owing to the Alexandria indemnities. That liability was incurred because the British Government neglected the dictates of common sense, and the warnings of those who knew Egypt, and refused to provide a landing force when Alexandria was bombarded. A little foresight and courage would have preserved the city, and ended the war then and there. The remaining £4,000,000 are due to the half-hearted and ever-shifting policy our Ministers have pursued with regard to the Soudan. The horrible sacrifice of human life, the 40,000 and 50,000 human souls that have been there untimely slain, the millions that have been sunk in that abyss might, for the greater part, have been saved, had the Indian Brigade been, as Sir Charles Wilson advised, sent to Khartoum after Tel-el-Kebir. All Europe knows these facts. Every Government, every organ of public opinion among the nations, has been crying shame upon the British Cabinet for the black scene of carnage and ruin that has overwhelmed Egyptian territory since their blasting touch fell upon that unfortunate country. When, in addition to the disastrous mismanagement in Egypt and the Soudan, the Khedive was directed to break his pledges, and violate the International compacts to which England also was a party, in order to pay for the losses that British policy had inflicted upon Egypt, there came a general and unanimous protest. Other Governments still deem the pledge of nations as sacred as the word of a gentleman, though Her Majesty's present Ministers hold the pledges of England at a very different estimate. But the details of the Prime Minister's statement are even more extraordinary than its general purport. The Government were long "silent with regard to General Gordon, because they had nothing to say." They had nothing to say because they were willing to do nothing; because, from the beginning of March to the end of August, they had not the courage to make up their minds to take any step in support or to relieve their gallant agent. According to the right hon. Gentleman, General Gordon is deeply grateful to the Cabinet for the aid they have given him. Was there ever such an astonishing perversion of the facts? Not on April 8, as the Prime Minister said, but on March 11, or barely three weeks after his arrival at Khartoum, before he had received an answer to his suggestions and advice, it was that General Gordon sent a formal message of thanks to Sir Evelyn Baring and Her Majesty's Ministers. There his gratitude abruptly stopped. Nor did he after that message of March 11, change his policy and recommend Zebehr, as the Prime Minister asserts. Seven weeks before April 8, the right hon. Gentleman's date, and three weeks before March 11, had General Gordon advised the despatch of Zebehr. From the 11th of March to this day the Prime Minister and his Colleagues have received from General Gordon nothing but indignant contempt and most richly-deserved reproaches for their shuffling, their desertion, and their unworthy suggestions that he should meanly abandon those whom he was sent out to save. On the 16th of April, General Gordon told the Government that henceforth he would act for himself—

> "I leave to you," he added, "the indelible disgrace of abandoning the garrisons, with the certainty that you will eventually be forced to smash up the Mahdi under greater difficulties."

That certainly every man of sense has long foreseen; and it is now at hand. In August once more, the veil that for five months concealed from our knowledge those most heroic struggles and the perils and sufferings of that terrible siege was lifted. For a moment the story of the terrible dangers, the daily assaults, the marvellous resources of that great spirit was unshrouded. Another message from Khartoum reached the Government. Again the biting words of truth come from the Christian hero, whom you have sent out unprotected to cope with—

> "The tremendous dangers that affected the whole of Egypt, and countries beyond,"

and whose every warning you have treated with contempt.

> "You are the cause of all the evils that have befallen Egypt;"

and—

> "If the rebels kill the Egyptians their blood will be upon your heads."

The Conservative Party maintained, during the debates in April and May, that General Gordon was shut in by the Mahdi's hordes, and unable to leave Khartoum. It was, indeed, clear from all the intelligence that came from the Soudan, and especially from Mr. Power, that, owing to the neglect of the Ministry to notice any of General Gordon's warnings, the storm he predicted on March 1 had burst upon him, and that he was completely beleaguered in Khartoum. The Prime Minister deliberately took a contrary view in face of the clearest evidence. Thus he stated on April 3—

> "General Gordon is under no constraint and under no order to remain in the Soudan. Neither is he under any inability to leave the Soudan at this moment."

A British officer sent out to rescue 60,000 human beings, under no constraint of honour or duty not to stand by those he went out to save! Now, we have in the latest Blue Books the fullest evidence that the Prime Minister was absolutely wrong, and that he had no evidence whatever in support of his statements. Thus, on July 31, Gordon writes emphatically—

> "Reading over your telegram of the 5th May, 1884, you ask me to state cause and intention in staying at Khartoum, knowing Government means to abandon Soudan, and in answer I say I stay at Khartoum because Arabs have shut us up and will not let us out. I also add that even if the road were opened the people would not let me go unless I gave them some Government or took them with me, which I could not do. No one would leave more willingly than I would if it were possible."

With reference to the incredibly mean suggestion of the Government, that he should desert those whom he was sent out to save, repeatedly made by Ministers in April and May, he says—

> "I shall not leave Khartoum till I can put someone in. I will not leave these people after all they have gone through."

And to stamp his sense of the shabby parsimony of the Government which denied him all the support he asked for, though it is now involving the expenditure of millions in a Relief Expedition, Gordon says—

> "The only reinforcements the Soudan has received since the 27th November, 1883, date when Hicks' defeat was known at Cairo, is seven persons, including myself, and we have sent down over 600 soldiers and 2,000 people. The people here and Arabs laugh over it. Not one pound of money you gave me got here. It was captured at Berber."

And, after telling the Government that he is making some decorations to distribute among his faithful soldiers in honour of the defence of Khartoum, he adds these stinging words—

> "You will not be asked to pay for them."

The House will remember the efforts that were made by some Members on this side to induce Her Majesty's Ministers to send relief to Berber before it was too late. The appealing telegrams that came from the Governor and the residents of that unfortunate place during April last are well known. I will only quote one out of a dozen. Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed a message on April 23 from Berber—

> "We are in great danger. . . . . We have only 60 cases of ammunition. Pray send ammunition and troops. If Berber falls there is no longer any hope for Soudan."

The Prime Minister was then able, in face of the strongest evidence to the contrary, to state that there was no risk of Berber sharing the fate of Sinkat, and, moreover, that—

> "The fall of Berber would make no essential change in the position of Khartoum."

All help was cruelly refused, and within six weeks Berber fell. General Gordon tells the result in these words—

> "According to all accounts, 5,000 were massacred at Berber;"

and he says—

> "Had not Berber fallen the route from Wady Halfa along the Nile would have been a picnic."

Thousands of women and children were carried off into slavery by the Arabs. What have the Government done to rescue these helpless victims of their *laches* and delay? Like the wives and families of the brave garrison of Sinkat, they have been abandoned to a most atrocious servitude. At last the decision was taken, late in August, to make tardy preparations to do that which should have been done in March and April. How Ministers were able to make up their minds, even in August, Heaven only knows! But I shrewdly suspect that pressure from Foreign States had much to do with it. Other Governments did not regard the devastating invasions of the barbarous fanatics and slave-hunters from the Soudan as the efforts of "peoples rightly struggling to be free." What has this delay cost England? Last March, Gordon asked for the mere prestige of 200 British soldiers at Wady Halfa. Then the fate of great districts was trembling in the balance. With his vast and intimate knowledge of the Soudanese, Gordon said the prestige of those 200 men at Wady Halfa, and five officers, would cause the swelling revolt to collapse. This request, and every other suggestion General Gordon made, was treated with indifference and scorn. The five officers were not sent, the 200 bayonets at Wady Halfa were refused him. His urgent representations, those of Colonel Stewart and of Sir Evelyn Baring, as to Zebehr, were rejected. The £200,000 and the 2,000 Turkish troops, with which he offered to restore order in the Soudan, were also denied him. No Indian troops were sent to Berber. General Graham's gallant Army was not allowed to open the Berber road in March. That bloody and wanton Expedition was hurried back from Suakin to Cairo without any results except the fruitless slaughter of 6,000 Arabs. For six months Gordon was deserted, abandoned, and betrayed. Alone in that remote and desolate region—left to face treachery within and the furious hordes without, with no resources but those of his own heroic soul, and his sublime confidence in the Almighty. And now, at the twelfth hour, not 200 British soldiers, but 6,000 bayonets, are on their way to Khartoum. Not the £200,000, for which Gordon asked in March, are being spent, but over £2,000,000 are the outcome of five months of shirking and delay. The Prime Minister stated that no disparaging or questioning word as to General Gordon had passed from the mouth of any Member of the Government. I remember how that cruel and heartless despatch of April 23, which conveyed from the Cabinet their message of abandonment to General Gordon, imparted to him a change of purpose, and a deliberate perversion of his mission—

> "Tell Gordon we do not propose to supply him with Turkish or other forces for the purpose of undertaking military expeditions, such being at variance with the pacific policy which was the object of his mission."

That was the message sent to a man who the Ministry knew to be in deadly peril, who was surrounded by savage foes, who had nothing but worthless and beaten troops at his back, whose chief lieutenants had proved faithless to him, who was cut off from all communications with the outside world, who had warned Ministers repeatedly and in vain of the coming storm, whose advice and requests they had constantly rejected. Gordon's last message in March through a faithful and trusted companion was—

> "We are daily expecting British troops; we cannot bring ourselves to believe that we are abandoned by the British Government. Our existence depends upon England."

Notwithstanding this, and the full knowledge of his dire peril, the Cabinet sarcastically asked for more information, and told him that no support would be sent to enable him to meet "the tremendous danger that affected Egypt." There has been no change, no inconsistency on Gordon's part. You sent him out on a definite mission. That included the withdrawal of the 22,000 Egyptian soldiers and the 40,000 civilians in the Soudan. Besides, he was to establish an organized Government if possible. He exhausted pacific means. He even told you it was necessary to recognize slavery. He sent a message to the Mahdi. His overtures were repulsed with insult. Then he warned you of what was coming—not once, but 20 times. On February 29, General Gordon said—

> "There is not much chance of improving, and every chance of getting worse."

He told you that the

> "Peaceful two-thirds of the population were terrorized over by the Communist, one-third incited by the Mahdi."

And he asked for the prestige of 200 British troops at Wady Halfa. Sir Evelyn Baring strongly emphasized this on the 16th and 24th of March—that is, just after Graham's victories at Teb and Tamasi had made it easy to open the Berber road. I have given these hurried quotations—and many more could be given—to show how consistent Gordon was; how constantly and sensibly he warned you of his position, and how, after refusing to do one single thing that he advised, you left him alone to face the storm which burst as he predicted, and which has been surging and raging around him and his gallant companions ever since. The most cruel and reckless act of all was the withdrawal of General Graham's force just when it might have been of use. That was done in defiance of the direct advice of Gordon, of General Graham, and, I believe, of the highest military authorities at home. Yet with all this information as to Gordon's perils, need, and request for help, and with his last indignant message of indelible reproach in his pocket, the Prime Minister was able to tell Parliament on the 24th of April that there was "no military or other danger threatening Khartoum." He is still, with light heart, able to forget all that has happened since March 11—the long betrayal, the indignant reproaches of Gordon; and he dwelt upon the fact that Gordon, with premature gratitude, thanked the Ministry eight months ago for support they never gave him. Ask General Gordon now his deliberate opinion of your conduct, and then publish it if you dare. Further, the Prime Minister affirms that the policy of the Government has not changed with regard to Khartoum. If that means anything, it means that Khartoum is to be abandoned to a fanatical and aggressive barbarian. It means that a great commercial emporium and military position of the first importance for Egypt and the countries beyond, is to be given up to the Mahdi's hordes and to ruin. It means that the great trading interests of Egypt in the Soudan, the prospect of opening up and civilizing the vast regions between the Red Sea and the Nyanza Lakes, is to be abandoned. It means that for the first time in our history, under the blighting influence of a craven English Ministry, civilization and order are to recede before anarchy and barbarism; that millions of suffering people are to be given over to black superstition, and to the cruellest form of slavery. Give up Khartoum to the False Prophet and to anarchy, and you will be forced to send expeditions up the Nile every few years in order to defend Egypt. Early in this Session I ventured to submit to this House a Resolution protesting against this cowardly and disastrous abandonment of so commanding and valuable a position. The policy of the Government has directly encouraged slavery, for the abandonment of the Soudan means the development of slavery. General Gordon warned the Ministry last February of what must happen, when he said, on February 21—

> "I answered (questions regarding the liberation of slaves) that the Treaty of 1877 would not be enforced in 1889 by me, which, considering the determination of Her Majesty's Government respecting the Soudan, was a self-evident fact."

Sir Evelyn Baring also writes on the same date to Earl Granville—

> "It was obvious from the first that a revival of slavery in the Soudan would result from the policy of abandonment. Knowing that he is powerless to stop slavery in the future, General Gordon evidently intends using it as a concession to the people, which will strengthen his position in other ways."

So that in addition to all the other human misery which the Government policy has caused, "a revival of slavery" is its clear and proclaimed result. What could be more distinct than these statements. As in South Africa so in Egyptian territory you have developed slavery. Have the Ministry ever considered that it is in the ability of a Power established at Khartoum to absolutely ruin Egypt? I have it on the authority of Sir Samuel Baker, who knows the country better than anyone else, except General Gordon. Sir Samuel Baker states that any Government could dam the Nile at Khartoum, divert its channel, and thereby make Egypt absolutely sterile. Egypt is the Nile. All its fertility and its resources depend upon that great river. What could be done if the course of the Nile was diverted for six months, and its fertilizing flood turned away? Khartoum is a great commercial position. The trade with the Soudan amounts to many millions. A deputation of Egyptian merchants waited on the British and French Consuls not long ago, and this is what they said—

> "Is there any example in history of a civilized nation retiring before savage tribes? . . . To abandon the Soudan would be to give it up to barbarism. . . . Importation in the Soudan Provinces, represents a value of nearly £2,000,000. There are in the Soudan more than 3,000 Egyptian commercial establishments, and more than 1,000 Europeans. There is at present in Cairo £500,000 worth of goods destined for the Soudan. Is all this to be lost?"

A civilized Government at Khartoum could really maintain order and repress slavery in the vast regions east of the White and Blue Niles, and between Abyssinia and Khartoum. Armed steamers on the Niles would effectually prevent any large force from crossing from Kordofan, and could cut off the slave caravans. If the traffic with the North and East is destroyed, the Slave Trade must die out. If you abandon Khartoum to these marauding hordes, whom the Prime Minister exalted into the character of "peoples rightly struggling to be free," slavery must prevail throughout the Soudan. There never was such a figment of the imagination as the idea that this fanatical slave-dealer, who kills and enslaves his prisoners and who offers his victims the choice of the Koran and the Sword, is the leader of "peoples rightly struggling to be free." We were told on the first day of this debate by the Prime Minister that General Gordon's heroic struggles against the Mahdi had averted—

> "Tremendous danger from Egypt and the neighbouring countries."

A very different story were we given all last Session. Then the Mahdi was an innocent patriot. "This movement was overrated," the danger was slight. Now, the Prime Minister had forgotten all his old statements. Naturally, even his marvellous memory cannot carry itself through all the evolutions and variations of his policy. He now affirms that the Mahdi is and has been a

> "Tremendous danger to Egypt and the neighbouring countries."

What a commentary this confession is upon the long inaction of the Government and their six months' desertion of General Gordon. As to the starting of the Expedition, the Prime Minister would have us believe that there has been no delay, and that a delicate consideration for the health of the troops has prevented them from moving earlier. Would he venture to call the Commander-in-Chief in support of such an assertion? Is it not a fact that the preparations were undertaken six weeks, if not two months, later than they ought to have been; that the most precious season of the year for ascending the Nile was lost owing to this decision of the Ministry, and that the Nile transport alone has cost an extra £100,000 in consequence of the delay? Had we not information that Khartoum was only provisioned up to the end of September, and that but for a miracle its gallant defenders must have been starved out months before the arrival of this costly Expedition? So much for the Egyptian policy of the Government. Once more I ask, whom has it benefited? No one knows when this bloody and costly farce will be ended. I say "farce," for what has it accomplished? What benefit has the action of the British Government in Egypt been to any people, interest, or creature in this wide world? Are we more respected among the nations? Are our interests more secure? Has our trade been increased? Is our military, administrative, or political repute higher. Are the British people better off? Are the Fellaheen of Egypt more prosperous or contented? Have the divers races of the Soudan derived any advantage from the policy of the British Ministry? Will even the Mahdi in the long run be the better for it? I trow not. The British Cabinet, their policy and their blunders, are by turns the laughing-stock and the cause of bitter indignation throughout Europe. Every Government is protesting against the act of financial dishonesty that the English Government has forced upon the Khedive, and is crying shame upon the black scene of carnage and ruin that marks our occupation of Egyptian territory. So far from preserving the precious waterway to the East for our trade and forces—the Canal in which our interests are greater than those of all the rest of the world together—the Prime Minister has actually offered it to any and every Power that would accept the gift. He has proposed to neutralize Egypt and the Suez Canal in favour of our rivals and our foes, and has put it in the power of any hostile and unscrupulous enemies to block or to destroy the shortest route by which our ships and our reinforcements go to India. We have lost the trade with the Soudan, and our traffic with Egypt has been injuriously affected by the disturbance and disaster of the last two years. Is Egypt better off? Egypt owes at least £8,000,000 more than it owed in 1882, and has just committed, under the Northbrook-Tewfik Decree, an act of financial repudiation. The resources of the country have been diminished. The valuable trade with the Soudan has been cut off. The Fellaheen are burdened with debts, and the so-called reforms in the administration have, owing to their half-and-half and hesitating character, been more vexatious than beneficial. A thorough British supervision of the whole Administration might have been easily established in 1882, directly after Tel-el-Kebir. Had this been done, Egypt long since would have had a truly beneficent Government, and we should have now the blessings, instead of the curses, of her long-suffering people. But the British Cabinet had not the courage or statesmanship to accept the responsibility which their own acts threw upon them. The result is now evident in the waste of millions of treasure and the slaughter of scores of thousands. As for the pandemonium in the Soudan, the cruel and needless butchery, the vacillating and imbecile incapacity to grasp or to let alone, the cowardly desertion, the chances thrown away, the tardy and costly Expedition of Relief, the perils, the heroism, the indelible reproaches of the chivalrous Gordon—who could think of all this hideous congeries of pusillanimity and woe without indignant disgust? It is like a horrid nightmare; yet it is all too real for the wretched victims of British ineptitude, and for the fame of this ancient land. Arabi was turned into a national hero because the Ministry shut their ears to the warnings of all who knew Egypt. Alexandria was ruined, and £4,000,000 of indemnities incurred, and Tel-el-Kebir rendered necessary, because the British Cabinet would not, in July, 1882, send 2,000 bayonets to act with the Fleet. The Soudan was given over to the Mahdi, and 40,000 lives sacrificed, because the Ministry shirked responsibility, and would not despatch the Indian Brigade to Khartoum in October, 1882. General Hicks and his 13,000 men were sent to their doom, because the British Government, that had smashed the Egyptian Army to pieces, had too little courage to telegraph six words of direction, or even advice, to Cairo. Baker's 2,500 conscripts were hurried to a like butchery for the self-same reason. Tewfik Bey and his brave garrison were left to perish within gun-sound of the British Squadron, because the same shuffling Ministers could not make up their minds a fortnight sooner to send out General Graham. That brave officer and his efficient little Army were allowed to slay 6,000 Arabs without rhyme or reason, or result, and then recalled in hot haste back to Cairo, just when their bloody victories promised good fruit. The Berber road might have easily been opened by General Graham in March, and Khartoum then relieved. But the chance, like a hundred others was thrown away, in deference to a feeble little splutter of Radical agitation at home. Berber itself was left to fall, and 3,500 human souls allowed to perish, because the Government could not in April last decide to risk one-tenth of what they are now, at the twelfth hour, doing. That delay is costing the country Lord Wolseley's costly Expedition. For the Government now to throw away all the results and fruits of the efforts of our soldiers and the heroic struggles of General Gordon would be an act of impolicy, of surrender, of moral cowardice so pernicious and so discreditable to this country that it is impossible for Parliament and the country to protest against it sufficiently.

MR. GORST seconded the Amendment.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the seventh paragraph, after the word "provision," to insert the words "Humbly to pray Her Majesty to direct Her Ministers, in the interests of freedom and commerce, and for the security of Egypt, to efficiently support General Gordon in establishing a stable and civilised Government at Khartoum."—(*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, that the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) had thought it necessary to explain why he interrupted the course of Business on the present occasion with a speech on Egyptian affairs. That explanation was due not so much to Members on the Liberal side as to Members on the opposite side, because it was a matter which was notorious to everybody that the general feeling of the House, quite irrespective of Party, had been and still was that whatever discussion might take place on Egyptian affairs had very much better take place at a later stage when the House had those proposals before it for the grant of money alluded to in the Queen's Speech. Hon. Members had, therefore, cause to complain of the course pursued by the hon. Member for Eye, who had thought fit to interpose between the House and very important Bnsiness. In the few observations which he should make in reply to the hon. Member he should not follow him over the extensive ground, which *more suo*, he had covered. The hon. Member had alluded to almost every subject under the sun—for example, to the evacuation of Candahar, the Bulgarian atrocities, and the war in the Transvaal, and to many other subjects not connected with the Question before the House. In fact, the hon. Member had made a speech which was really only distantly connected with the Amendment before the House. The Amendment contained a clear proposal, and why the hon. Member should have considered it necessary to introduce other matters, some of them of detail with which the House was frequently occupied last Session, rather puzzled him. He regrettted that the hon. Member had not followed the example set by the hon. Member for Brighton (Mr. Marriott), who had placed an Amendment upon the Paper, but had refrained from proceeding with it out of deference to the feelings of Members on both sides of the House. The hon. Member for

Brighton during the Recess travelled from Brighton to Alexandria and back again, and embodied the results of his observations in a pamphlet, copies of which he had sent to all the Members of that House. He regretted that the hon. Member for Eye had not followed that example, and embodied the result of his study of the Egyptian Question in a pamphlet, and distributed it amongst Members, so as to allow the House to proceed to the consideration of the Franchise Bill. But, though he had gone over a great deal of ground, the hon. Member had not taken the trouble to quote the most recent information which had been before the House. If he had read the last Blue Book he would have seen that there was important information upon the subject in the instructions to Lord Wolseley. One might imagine, from the hon. Member's speech, that the Government had never intended to try to establish, either in communication with General Gordon or without such communication, a stable and civilized Government in Khartoum and the Eastern Soudan. Now, it was notorious that in the original instructions to General Gordon the desirability of establishing some form of stable Government at Khartoum was strongly pressed upon him. The hon. Member would recollect that in the Blue Book, Egypt, No. 2, there were instructions to General Gordon, and in a subsequent Blue Book, No. 7, there was a memorandum of General Gordon, a portion of which partially reproduced those instructions in which the desirability of not leaving those countries in a condition of anarchy was pressed upon him by the Government. And in the instructions to Lord Wolseley a most striking and important passage at page 113 appeared to have escaped the hon. Member's attention. [Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No.] If it had not escaped his attention, why did not the hon. Member allude to it? He supposed it was because such an allusion would not have chimed in with the indictment the hon. Member had made against the Government. He was, however, astonished that the hon. Member, knowing those Papers were in the hands of everyone, should have passed the matter by altogether. The passage in question was this—

> "As regards the future government of the Soudan, and especially of Khartoum, Her Majesty's Government would be glad to see a Government at Khartoum, which, so far as all matters connected with the internal administration of the country are concerned, would be wholly independent of Egypt. The Egyptian Government would be prepared to pay a reasonable subsidy to any Chief or number of Chiefs who would be sufficiently powerful to maintain order along the Valley of the Nile from Wady Halfa to Khartoum, and who would agree to the following conditions:—1. To remain at peace with Egypt, and to repress any raids on Egyptian territory. 2. To encourage trade with Egypt. 3. To prevent and discourage by all possible means any expeditions for the sale of and capture of slaves. You are authorized to conclude any arrangements which fulfil these general conditions. The main difficulty will consist in the selection of an individual or of a number of individuals having sufficient authority to maintain order."

With regard to the details of the plan, Her Majesty's Government relied very much upon the information they might receive from Lord Wolseley, who was on the spot; and he was in a position to say, from recent letters received from Lord Wolseley, that this matter was occupying his attention. Beyond that he was not at present disposed to go, and the House would feel that to give premature information on the subject was not desirable. But he must protest against the fundamental error which ran through the hon. Member's speech that Her Majesty's Government, neither at this nor at any other time, attached any importance to establishing a stable and efficient Government at Khartoum, but simply desired to withdraw as rapidly as possible, regardless of consequences. One word more upon a certain portion of the hon. Member's speech. The hon. Member alluded to the Slave Trade, and one would imagine from what he said that Her Majesty's Government did not at all realize the importance of that matter. It would be easy for him (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), if he choose to dive into Blue Books, to weary the House with one quotation after another, showing that this question of Slavery and the Slave Trade had never been absent from the mind of Her Majesty's Government. But those very instructions to Lord Wolseley contained a prominent mention of the Slave Trade. He had just read one of them, which was—

> "To prevent and discourage by all possible means any expeditions for the sale of and capture of slaves."

He was quite aware that the questions of domestic slavery and the Slave Trade, though closely connected, were in some respects distinct. It struck more at the roots of the habits and custome of the people to do away with domestic slavery than if any number of Firmans were issued to-morrow abolishing the Slave Trade. He was sure the House would recognize that Her Majesty's Government had not neglected these questions, and that they would believe that everything possible would be done, though the Government had not attempted to deceive the House as to the real difficulties of the task they had undertaken. He had thought it right to address these few observations to the House; but he did not believe it was the desire of hon. Members opposite themselves that he should attempt to follow the hon. Member for Eye over all the ground which he had travelled. The hon. Member had argued in every direction; and if he were to attempt to follow the hon. Member, he should have to detain the House at very great length. The condition of the Benches opposite was a proof that he was right in believing that it was not the intention of the House to-day to enter upon a debate on Egyptian affairs. He had, nevertheless, thought it his duty to protest against the attack of the hon. Member; and he had now only to thank the House for the attention with which they had listened to him, especially as he was labouring under a physical difficulty in addressing the House.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I do not think it necessary to detain the House at any great length; but, after the observations of the noble Lord, it may be desirable to say a few words in justification of the course taken by my hon. Friend. The noble Lord has made it a matter of complaint that my hon. Friend has, in the course of his speech, dealt with a considerable number of topics, and taken a wide view of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government not only in Egypt, but in South Africa, Afghanistan, and the Soudan, and the noble Lord implied that that was rather wandering from the subject. But the case, as it presents itself to the mind of my hon. Friend and of a large number of persons in this House, and in the country, is that the conduct of Her Majesty's Government in these matters must be taken as a whole, and as throwing light upon each portion of their action; and when the question is raised as to whether any steps ought to be taken for facilitating the establishment of a stable and civilized Government at Khartoum, it is reasonable for anyone raising the question to point to the conclusion that, from the experience we have had of the course pursued by Her Majesty's Government, we have no reason to think that they have any intention to do anything at all. Therefore, my hon. Friend is right, and is perfectly consistent with himself, in drawing attention to these matters. The noble Lord said just now, with regard to the establishment of stable government at Khartoum and in the neighbourhood, that if my hon. Friend had quoted the despatches in the last Blue Book, it would be seen that instructions to do so had been issued. But these instructions were of the loosest character, and we require something more in order to see whether there is substance or consistency in them. There is one portion of the despatch which impresses on the Commander of the Expedition that he is not to go to Khartoum if he could possibly avoid it, and another in which permission is given him to assist, or to give encouragement, in the establishment of any Government, whatever it may turn out to be, which will present some appearance of stability, and will enter into some agreements with regard to the Slave Trade and other matters. That is really, after all, very little more than that pretence of doing a thing which has been so severely commented upon in the Scriptures—"Go in peace; be ye warmed, be ye filled," without doing anything to assist the needy. My hon. Friend the Member for Brighton, as the noble Lord truly remarked, put down a Notice of Amendment which raises in a broader and larger form the question of our Egyptian policy as a whole, and has not thought it expedient to bring it forward. My hon. Friend thought it would be better that a serious debate of that character should take place when we have full information, which we shall get when the Government bring forward their Estimates, and explain what the cost of their policy may be. But we do not know when that may be done. We know, as we have just heard, that the Franchise Bill is to have precedence of everything; and we do not know when we shall have an opportunity of discussing those Egyptian matters. In the meantime, my hon. Friend observes that since the first night of the Session, when there was some conversation on the subject, new Papers have been laid before us; and very naturally, considering the amount of information he possesses on the subject, he has claimed the right of calling attention to the matter, and has expressed very clearly and with great ability his views of what has been done with regard to Khartoum. I agree with the noble Lord that for a full discussion of the subject the time will come best when we have before us the Vote which the Government are going to propose, and which must be accompanied by a full explanation of their policy. Looking at the fact that every day is of importance in these matters, and that the Government may from day to day commit the country to something which we should be sorry to see it committed to, I do not think it all unnatural or to be regretted that my hon. Friend should, before parting with the Address, have taken the opportunity of making some observations upon this very important subject.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he agreed that this was not a fitting occasion on which to debate the Egyptian Question. The greater part of the speech of the hon. Member for Eye was devoted to a glorification of General Gordon at the expense of Her Majesty's Government. Against General Gordon's motives and intentions he (Sir George Campbell) had not a word to say; but he thought it was patent on the face of the Blue Book that General Gordon's conduct was a mass of contradictions and inconsistencies, and the Government were quite justified in taking notice of these inconsistencies and contradictions when General Gordon urged upon them particular courses, and reproached them for not complying with his wishes. He was thoroughly convinced that the garrison of Khartoum would have been very much better without Gordon, and that they might have made their own terms with the rebels. There was no reason to suppose they would have been massacred, as there was no instance of the massacre of those who submitted to the Mahdi. General Gordon said he dare not leave Khartoum, because he was afraid the garrison would follow their natural bent and join the Mahdi. If that were their natural bent, there was no reason why they should not follow it. His belief was that it had been an unmitigated misfortune that General Gordon was ever sent to Khartoum at all; but being there, the Government were bound to do their best to get him away. He principally rose to declare his individual opinion that the instructions issued to Lord Wolseley were the best that could have been issued under the circumstances. The Government accepted the obligation to get General Gordon out of the scrape he had got into, and incidentally to do the best they could to enable the Egyptians shut up at Khartoum to get away. Looking to the career of Lord Wolseley, we might have confidence that he would not, for the sake of any glory to be got by fighting, carry the Expedition one step further than was necessary, and that he would bring it back as quickly and cheaply as he could, and with as little loss of blood as possible. The question of the administration of Khartoum was one of the impossibilities of the situation that we had brought upon ourselves by going to Egypt at all. We were not bound to spend blood and treasure for the purpose of holding territory which did not belong to it. If we could set up a decent Government there, we might do it; but, if we could not do that, we could not help it. The tone in which the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice) spoke of slavery indicated a sense of the difficulty of doing anything to diminish it, rather than a zeal for the mitigation of slavery. By the Law of August, 1884, slavery was made illegal in Egypt Proper, and severe penalties were attached to the infraction of the law. It might surely have been said that something had been done to give effect to the law, and to insure that it did not remain a dead letter.

Captain AYLMER said, he considered the instructions given to Lord Wolseley were such as had never been given to a General before. It was a most extraordinary thing that Lord Wolseley's instructions should have been, in part, drafted by himself. The form in which they were drawn up implied that General Gordon would retire from Khartoum to meet Lord Wolseley, and leave his garrison behind to be butchered by the Mahdi. That was an imputation which ought not to be cast upon General Gordon, and ought not to have appeared in the instructions. We knew that Gordon would not come away and leave those who had stood by him to be butchered. He knew from the character of General Gordon that he would remain at Khartoum to the bitter end. It was said that further instructions were to be sent through the Consul General at Cairo, and if such instructions had been sent, he desired to know how they had been worded? He felt convinced that Wolseley must go to Khartoum, because Gordon would not leave the garrison. If steps were to be taken to insure the safe retreat of the soldiers, the civil *employés*, and the women and children, who had been estimated to number from 8,000 to 15,000, had the Government thoroughly weighed all that was implied in such a retreat? That of Moses and the Israelites would be nothing to it, surrounded as the fugitives would be by the forces of the Mahdi. They could advance only at the rate of fives or six miles a-day, and the furnishing of water and supplies would be a great difficulty. General Gordon could succeed only by remaining at Khartoum; by facing the Mahdi, beating him off, and scouring the country for miles round. Therefore, the orders that were given to Lord Wolseley required him to do a thing that was almost impossible. It was quite possible that General Gordon might be sent down to the Equator as a prisoner, unless the Government looked ahead. Unless a definite course was adopted and carried out by the Government, he much feared that before long we should hear of a great catastrophe.

MR. FINCH-HATTON said, he had no inclination to protract the debate unnecessarily; but the subject introduced by the Amendment had such urgent, pressing claims on the attention of the nation, that it must be considered of a most important character. If anything were wanted to justify the Motion made by the hon. Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), it would be found in the speech from the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice); and, listening to that speech, a curious effect must have been produced on the minds of hon. Members who remembered an answer given by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) last Session. The only two Members of the Government present during the speech of the hon. Member for Eye distinctly contradicted each other on a simple matter of fact—namely, the instructions to General Gordon to establish a settled Government at Khartoum. The words used by the noble Marquess opposite, on the 5th of August, were—

> "It is probable that General Gordon, before retiring from Khartoum, might desire to establish a settled form of Government. That, in the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, would be exceeding his instructions. His mission, and his primary object, were to evacuate the Soudan. Certainly, no instructions were ever given to General Gordon to establish a settled form of Government." — (3 *Hansard*, [291] 1787.)

Then what said the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in his speech, in which he disclaimed any intention to reply to the hon. Member for Eye? He said the fundamental error of the hon. Member was that he ignored the fact that Her Majesty's Government had said they would establish a Government in Khartoum. Diametrically opposed to this was the statement of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, which was that no such instructions had been given.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I quoted the instructions given to General Gordon from the Blue Book, Egypt, (No. 2).

MR. FINCH-HATTON said, he would accept the explanation, or admission, of the noble Lord. The hon. Member for Greenwich (Baron Henry de Worms), when the noble Marquess made the statement in August last, quoted the following from the instructions given to General Gordon—

> "We trust Your Excellency will take most effective measures to establish an organized Government in the different Provinces of the Soudan, for the maintenance of order, and the suppression of the incitement to revolt."

On the face of it, therefore, he (Mr. Finch-Hatton) was rather inclined to the opinion of the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; but the fact that there was this very divergence of opinion between two Members of the Government, amply justified the Amendment which had been brought forward. The noble Lord had accused the hon. Member of travelling over a very wide field of discussion; and, no doubt, he did so, and it must become more wide as they considered the manner in which the Government had dealt with difficulties in different parts of the world. He (Mr. Finch-Hatton) would not attempt to follow the hon. Member; because, so far as he was aware, no apologist had successfully defended the course pursued by the Government, and, until that was done, it was not worth while to attack where there was no defence. There was no necessity to slay the slain. But it should be noted that the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State diverged equally wide of the Amendment, when he brought in the inevitable question of the Franchise Bill again as a block to proceeding further in this matter. Now, he (Mr. Finch-Hatton) failed to see what the Franchise Bill had to do with the policy of the Government at Khartoum, or the establishment of one in the Soudan. The noble Lord had, however, followed an illustrious example when he interposed this screen of the Franchise Bill. The Prime Minister in that speech, which would long remain memorable, when he spoke of the obstruction of the Opposition, reminded the House that there had been 17 nights of Egyptian debate, and expressed his astonishment, saying the question of Egypt was not one of pressing vital importance, but that one would have thought from the protraction of the debates that "Khartoum was in Yorkshire, and the Soudan in Caithness." Well, if that were the case, perhaps General Gordon might come within the sympathies of the right hon. Gentleman under the new centrifugal theory—"bringing people at a distance within the range of your sympathies;" or, perhaps, that theory was not for general application, but only to be applied when it was required to secure a disloyal Irish vote; but he considered this was a question of instant importance, for there was no knowing when it would have to be decided—perhaps, by telegraphic instructions—and there was no knowing, especially after the suppression of the debate promised towards the close of the Session, when the House might have the opportunity of discussing it. Therefore, there should be placed before the country the opinion of the House; and, if it could be obtained from Her Majesty's Government, a statement of their views whether or not, on leaving Khartoum, they intended to establish a stable, settled Government there. With regard to leaving Khartoum, so far as its continued occupation by British troops was concerned, hon. Members on both sides had made up their minds; but if General Gordon was not remaining there in order to provide for the establishment of such a Government, then what, in Heaven's name, was he waiting there for, and why did he go to Khartoum at all? The Government might reply, in the words of General Gordon, that he was waiting to get out; but if that was the case, why did he ever get in? Would it not have been much better to have kept him in this country than to have sent him to Khartoum, in order that after a certain time he might be got out again? If that was the case, we had wasted money with no object. Should it be said, in a couplet similar to that used about a King of France—

"The British Chief, with many thousand men,
Went up the Nile and then came down again?"

It was surprising that the noble Lord the Under Secretary of State did not accept the Amendment, if the facts were as he stated them. The noble Lord laid stress upon the instructions given to Lord Wolseley; but, summed up in a word, they were all you "may" and not you "must." There were no instructions for the settlement of a Government in Khartoum. Her Majesty's Government, it was said, would be glad to see a settled Government there; and, no doubt, it would be a relief from several embarrassing questions. They were told that the main difficulty would consist in the selection of an individual, or a number of individuals, having sufficient authority to maintain order. What did the abandonment of Khartoum without the establishment of a settled Government there mean? It meant the loss of the whole of the money and lives which had been sacrificed ever since General Gordon set out from these shores. It meant the loss of millions of money to this country without a single counterbalancing result of any kind whatever; and, further, it meant the undoing of the work of the last 30 years carried out by such men as General Gordon in the interest of freedom and civilization. The only people who would benefit by the abandonment would be the slave-dealers, who would be free to follow their infamous trade. There must be many Egyptians, and perhaps Europeans, in the different garrisons to the south of Khartoum who were looking to England for help, but who, if Khartoum were abandoned, would be the first to be sacrificed. Let not the House or the country forget that if Khartoum and the Soudan were abandoned without a stable Government, they would abandon a country which had been for some years under a civilized form of government. He would ask whether history recalled a single instance of anything of the kind being done by a Power which claimed to be in the position of England; and whether, if it did recall such an instance, the perpetrators ranked among the benefactors of mankind? But there was another aspect of the case well worthy of the serious consideration of the House. Egypt at that moment was indebted to the amount of £8,000,000, and we should be expected either to find the money or the security. If we abandoned Khartoum without a settled form of Government, any Power which chose to take possession of it would be absolutely master of the Nile, able to divert its waters into the surrounding desert, and by so doing to turn the fruitful fields of Egypt into a barren wilderness in less than a month. If that were done, what would become of the security for our money? From a military point of view, Khartoum must always exercise very great effect upon the destinies of Egypt; and from a commercial point of view, it was the great emporium of the trade between Egypt and the Soudan; in fact, no one could go through the bazaars of Cairo without finding that the name of Khartoum was in every mouth. He wished that the House would give very careful attention to this Amendment, and that all hon. Members would think it their duty, on that occasion at least, to prefer the interests of their country and Empire to those of their Party. He trusted the House would think, with the hon. Member for Eye—to whom he (Mr. Finch-Hatton) thought the thanks of the House were due for having brought the subject forward—and many others, that, at any rate, the country ought to have a decided and definite statement from the Government whether or not they meant to establish a responsible Government in Khartoum when the British troops left the town.

Question, "That those words be there inserted," put, and *negatived.*

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address to be presented to Her Majesty."

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BALLYFORAN MURDER.

### STATEMENT.

MR. SEXTON said, that before the Report of the Address was passed, he would call attention to a very remarkable statement of facts which had just come into his possession. The statement was made by a young Irishman—who, with his father, had been arrested on suspicion of being accessory to the murder known as the Ballyforan murder—and who had been deprived of his means of living by certain agents of the Crown in Ireland. It was the statement of Thomas Nolan, late prisoner in the Ballyforan murder case, and made in Boston, U.S.A., and was as follows:—

"Statement of Thomas Nolan, late prisoner in the Ballyforan murder case, made at Boston, U.S.A.—

"I was arrested in connection with the Ballyforan murder case 24th February, 1884, one month after my father was arrested as an accessory to the same murder. I was arrested as I was leaving the Courthouse after the investigation on the evidence of a young man named M'Donnell, who swore he saw me on the road about a half-mile from the supposed scene of the murder. That evidence was false, and the young man who swore it could have no motive for so doing unless he was prompted and paid for it by the Crown. He further swore he saw my father, John Nolan, on the night of the murder speak to Michael Tansey, another prisoner. My father is still in prison on this false evidence. Neither my father nor myself could have any motive for being accessories to that unfortunate man's murder. We were always on the most friendly terms with him. But on account of our house being next to the supposed scene of the murder the police said we must know something about it, and for that reason procured false evidence against us in order to drive us to swear falsely against the other prisoners. On the night I was arrested I was visited by the Governor of the prison, Captain Mason, who asked me how I got into the hobble; he also asked me, if I knew anything, to turn round on the others and liberate myself and my father. I told him I knew nothing at all about it. Three weeks after I was arrested Sergeant O'Brien, of Ballyforan, asked me to give evidence against the others, and told me I should have the support of the Government. I told him I could give no evidence unless it was perjured evidence. This was in the grand jury room of County Courthouse, Galway. Four weeks after I was arrested (22nd March), the four other prisoners—namely, Tansey, Kennedy, Hannon, and my father, John Nolan, were brought out into the office of the gaol, and Mr. Bolton told them I had turned approver, and Sergeant O'Brien said he expected to get evidence from me. He had no reason whatever for saying it, unless it be to frighten Thomas Kennedy to turn round and swear against all, as they promised to save him if he turned approver. On this day (22nd March) I was taken out by my warder (Simcox) after the other prisoners. He was not in the plot. Just as I was going in on the office door, Sub-Inspector Joyce and the Deputy Governor ran out, and Joyce said 'For God's sake take him back, or the whole thing will be spoiled.' I knew then how the ground lay. Mr. Bolton was at work, others on the inside, telling them I was an approver. I was taken in and locked in my cell. I asked to be allowed to see Mr. Bowler, the solicitor for the defence; but I was denied the privilege, though he was in the prison office at the time. They told me he was gone. My mother called to see me that day and the next and was denied admission. After Mr. Bowler was gone I was taken out alone, and Mr. Paul, R.M., addressing me, said, 'Consequent on what Sergeant O'Brien has sworn you are remanded for further evidence.' I did not know what he swore; they did not tell me. I did not know what they told the other prisoners. I was hurried away again into the prison without being given time to ask a question. This was the fourth time I was remanded without any evidence being given against me. On the following day (Saturday, 23rd March), Sergeant O'Brien came into the prison, and himself and the Deputy Governor asked me would I not do something for the Crown that was paying me, saying I must know something about the murder. I told him I should have his conduct and that of the Deputy Governor Evans brought before the notice of Parliament in not allowing me to see Mr. Bowler, the solicitor who was employed for me, and making it appear that I turned an approver. Sergeant O'Brien again visited me in the prison on Sunday, 24th March. I asked him would he be satisfied if I swore to the truth. He said I would not be sworn unless I made a statement criminating the prisoners. I then handed him a written statement as follows:—

"'I know nothing whatever of the circumstances connected with the murder of William M'Mahon *pro* and *con.*'

"I told him to keep that, and that it was the truth, and that I should swear to no other statement. I asked them several times to put the book in my hand, and that I would tell the truth, but they wanted me to give evidence against the other prisoners, and swearing the truth would be only contradicting the witness Thomas M'Donnell. I was brought up by myself on the 6th day (Friday) of my incarceration, about 7 o'clock in the evening, and Mr. Paul, R.M., read a long piece of swearing done by Sergeant O'Brien against me in order to frighten me, and told me he must again remand me. Mr. Bolton, Crown Solicitor, said I must be sent for trial along with the others. and that I would not be discharged till both myself and my father should go before the judge and jury. During that week and the following I was kept in a cell separate from the other prisoners; though I requested to be allowed to go to exercise with the other prisoners I was denied leave to do so. I was several days without exercise. Now I always told the Crown I had neither hand, act, part, or knowledge in that murder. One of the warders (M'Ardle) used frequently to tell me that he was instructed by Sergeant O'Brien to tell me that I would be kept there until I would be either sent for trial or made a statement criminating the other prisoners. He also told me that it was no harm to swear false, that it was done every day, and the Crown did not care right or wrong. On the 4th of April I was taken out of the prison to the County Courthouse. Sergeant O'Brien came to me and said, 'I suppose you have heard that your school is gone?' 'Yes' said I. 'Well,' said he, 'the best thing you can do now is to turn round with the Crown. You have no business home.' He was sent to make offers to me by Bolton and Joyce. I repeatedly told him I knew nothing about it. 'Well,' said the magistrate, 'we are now going to send you for trial.' I was discharged shortly afterwards when they saw all their badgering was of no avail.

"After coming home from prison the children were being kept at home from school by their parents till I would be reinstalled. My mind was disturbed both while I was in prison and after getting out, and the inspector and manager agreed to reinstate me when I should get better. I was so bad at this time that it was deemed necessary either to send me to the asylum or somewhere; so I resolved to come to America, as I was told the Crown were prompting Kennedy, one of the men in prison, to turn round and swear against me. Shortly before I left a report was circulated that I was going to swear against 100 men in the country for committing outrages and belonging to secret societies. Four young men secretly left the country at the time. One of them was none other than a Government spy, and never belonged to a secret society, and I believe he was paid by the Crown for running away, and making it appear that it was from me he was running away. I met two of the young men here. They told me they were told by the parish priest to run away. He told them he was informed of all through the Crown. The plot was got up by the Crown in order to prevent me from being reinstated in the school, in order, as Sergeant O'Brien said, of leaving no resource to fall back on but to turn round and become a perjured informer."

After the debates which had recently taken place in that House, he should not delay the House by offering a single word of comment on this statement. He left it to the judgment of the public, and he asked the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker), Whether, considering the additional light thrown by this statement on the character and practices of the person lately restored to the office of Crown Solicitor of Ireland, and considering the inferences it enabled them to draw as to the methods by which convictions were obtained in certain cases in Ireland—whether the Government would at once cause an independent inquiry to be held into the truth of the statement he had read?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, as far as he could follow it, the statement read by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) was the statement of the son of a man who was in gaol charged with murder. The statement charged four or five officials with attempting to procure this man's evidence. He had no information as to this statement. The man appeared to have gone to America, where in his safety he had written a statement which, under the circumstances, would be received with a considerable amount of distrust and suspicion.

MR. SEXTON: After he had been released by the Crown in Ireland.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), continuing, said, it was quite open to the hon. Member to send in the statement to the authorities, who would consider the matter.

MR. BIGGAR said, the reply of the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland seemed to him to be an exceedingly lame one. The hon. and learned Gentleman said if the statement was sent in to the Government, they would make an inquiry into the case; but his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton) had read charges of a very severe nature, which only corroborated what had been said before with regard to the administration of justice in Ireland. It had been proved, on the most complete evidence, that what passed for administration of justice in Ireland was nothing but a farce, and the Government seemed to be heartily ashamed of it; but, at the same time, did not wish at present to confess their guilt, because they thought it would injure them in the eyes of the English electors, who would shortly have an opportunity of declaring on their character and conduct. His hon. Friend had very clearly pointed out the state of the case—namely, the system of trying to force men to swear falsely. He held very firmly the opinion that the Government were responsible, morally speaking.

MR. SPEAKER: I must point out to the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) that it is not regular at this stage to bring on an ordinary debate. The principle of relevancy applies. The Question I have to put to the House is, "That this House do agree with the Committee in the said Address to be presented to Her Majesty;" and it would be contrary to the general principles of relevancy to allow a debate on the administration of justice in Ireland to arise on that Question.

MR. BIGGAR: I will not pursue the subject further; but on the question of relevancy to the Address, I am of opinion that the Address does not——

MR. SPEAKER: I have ruled that to be the case, and I must put the Question.

MR. JOHN REDMOND said, he regretted very much that the Government was not in a position to make any more definite declaration than that made by the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland with reference to the very serious statement read by his hon. Friend (Mr. Sexton). He must say that he heard that statement with feelings of astonishment.

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman (Mr. John Redmond) is now repeating what I have ruled to be out of Order in the case of the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar). I shall put the Question to the House, "That this House do agree with the Committee in the said Address to be presented to Her Majesty."

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 134; Noes 18: Majority 116.—(Div. List, No. 6.)

Address *agreed to*.

To be presented by Privy Councillors.

## POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 9.]

(*Mr. John Redmond, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Barry.*)

### SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

MR. JOHN REDMOND, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that this duty would not impose upon him the necessity of delivering anything in the shape of a long speech. He would begin by saying frankly that he and his hon. Friends laboured under a disadvantage in presenting the Bill to the House, inasmuch as it was not at present in the hands of hon. Members. He would admit that, in the case of an ordinary Bill, that might be a fatal objection to proceeding with the second reading; but he submitted to hon. Members that, in regard to this Bill, such an objection was not a fatal one. What was the history of the Bill? Time after time it had been introduced in the House, and over and over again its principle had been admitted. Last year, when it was introduced, it was greeted with the well-nigh universal approval of the House, and it commanded the support of Irish Members of nearly every section. The hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) had criticized several parts of the Bill; but it was finally, upon second reading, carried unanimously. It was amended in that House in Committee, and Amendments were made in accordance with the wishes of the Government, so that, finally, the Bill was moulded in such a manner as to meet with the unanimous approval of that Assembly. He would now appeal to the Government not to press a technical objection against the present Bill, because it was not in the hands of Members. In the eyes of the Government it should not be considered a fatal objection, because they themselves last year expressed, in an emphatic manner, their urgent desire to get this Bill as it stood passed into law. The people of Ireland would regard that declaration on their part with great scepticism if they now opposed the second reading on the merely technical ground that the Bill had not been printed and placed in the hands of Members. The Bill was identical in every particular with the measure which left the House of Commons last year with the approval of all sections of the House. He therefore did not think it necessary to dwell upon its principle, which had been explained over and over again. It introduced into the election of Poor Law Guardians the system of election by ballot, to which there could be no valid objection, as the system had been already adopted in Parliamentary elections. It also provided for the abolition of proxy voting, and the diminution of the relative number of *ex-officio* Guardians on the Poor Law Boards. The system, as it had existed up to the present time in Ireland, had been worked in such a way that the landed interest in the country were able to exercise an influence which was neither right nor just. First of all, by the system of open voting, the landed interest of the country was able to exercise an undue influence on elections; secondly, by the system of proxy voting, a number of absentee landlords were enabled to hand over their proxies in a bundle to their agents, who were allowed to fill them up as they choose, and in this way to exercise a baleful and unjust influence in elections. By the system which prevailed in Ireland the *ex officio* Guardians formed at least one-half of the Boards of Guardians throughout the country; while, by the system which prevailed in England, the proportion of *ex offiico* Guardians was only one-third. He could assign no reason why the proportion should be larger in Ireland than it was at present in England. He ventured to appeal to the Government, especially after the action which they had been obliged to take—he presumed in the interests of their Party—in regard to Irish affairs, not to press a mere technical objection to the Bill; but having declared their warm approval of its principle, and their indignation because it was defeated in "another place," to assent to the second reading of the measure. He had felt the great disadvantage under which the right hon. Gentleman the new Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had laboured in being obliged to remain mute for the last few days. Indeed, the right hon. Gentleman's first speech, in which he stated that an odious official for Ireland had been reinstated, was calculated to make a bad impression. He (Mr. J. Redmond) would, therefore, be glad if the right hon. Gentleman would take the opportunity of mitigating this bad impression by allowing this Bill to be read a second time, and he would now move that it be so read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

MR. ELTON said, that if the Bill was in the House, he would be the last to propose any technical objection to it, seeing that it was discussed upon a former occasion when introduced into the House by the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. John Redmond). It was, however, quite obvious that there were a number of important matters to be considered in connection with the Bill which were not before the House; and he would, therefore, move the adjournment of the debate.

MR. WARTON said, he rose for the purpose of seconding the Motion. He had called the attention of the House last Session to the practice of bringing in a Bill without its being printed, which, he thought, most dangerous and objectionable. He was ready to take the word of the hon. Member for New Ross (Mr. John Redmond), that this Bill was identical with the Bill of last Session; but, as a matter of principle, measures ought not be read without the House knowing what they were reading, and they ought to be careful not to establish dangerous precedents. Moreover, the House was put in a false and even ridiculous position by being asked to read what they had not actually before them.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned." —(*Mr. Elton.*)

COLONEL NOLAN, in supporting the Motion for the second reading, said, that by the happy accident of the early close of the discussion on the Address, the Irish Members had obtained a chance of bringing on the Bill that day, and he hoped that the Government would show itself in earnest by supporting them upon so extremely important a measure, which had been passed almost unanimously by that House, and thrown out by the House of Lords last Session in company with the Franchise Bill. The hon. and learned Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) urged that they ought not to read the Bill until it had been printed; but he (Colonel Nolan) presumed that as soon as it was in print the hon. and learned Member would, as usual, immediately put a block on it. After the second reading, Irish Members would undertake not to press the Committee stage until the measure had been printed If it was absurd to read a Bill before it was printed, it was an absurdity which was committed every day, for Bills were always read a first time before they were in the hands of Members.

MR. GIBSON said, that the hon. and gallant Member for Galway County (Colonel Nolan) had called on the Government and the House to show the people of Ireland that they were in earnest about that Bill; but the hon. Members who were in charge of it had not shown that they were themselves particularly in earnest about it, inasmuch as though that was the 14th day of the Session, the Bill was not in print. If they had been they would have had it printed before this. It was impossible to ask the House to proceed with legislation when they had not a single line of the Bill before them, and having merely to rely on what occurred in debate last Session at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. It was not quite correct to say that the Bill last Session left that House having the unanimous approval of all sections of the House. No doubt, some of its important provisions were not then objected to; but there were many other provisions contained in it, some introduced on Amendments, which were seriously and strongly opposed, and they would probably be as strongly opposed again. It was unreasonable to expect the House to proceed with the discussion of a Bill with which they were not acquainted; and it was nothing to the purpose to tell them that before its next stage they would have the Bill before them. They could not now proceed gravely to its second reading without setting a most serious and lamentable precedent. He did not disparage the importance of the measure, or the way in which it had been presented by the hon. Member for New Ross; and he should himself be ready to discuss it with perfect fairness whenever it came properly before the House; but he was not in a position to do that now, and he presumed that those who were responsible for the conduct of the Business in the House would join him in supporting the Motion for Adjournment.

MR. MACARTNEY said, that, when a similar Bill was brought forward last Session, they were told that it was identical with a measure which had been proposed in the previous year. Nevertheless, there were several rather serious differences between those two Bills, and the opponents of the second reading were then able to point those differences out. But they were not in a position to do the same now, the present Bill not being in print. It was all very well to take things on trust; but that was not the way to do business either in the House or out of it. In a matter of this importance it was necessary that they should have the Bill before them. He supported the adjournment, contending that the Prime Minister had stated that no Business would be taken between the conclusion of the Address and the second reading of the Franchise Bill. Had he (Mr. Macartney) been present when the Bill was before the House last Session, he would have opposed it tooth and nail. There were hardly any Members of the Conservative Party present to discuss the question; because, on asking at the Vote Office, they had learnt that the Bill was not printed. Seeing, therefore, that they had gone away with the conviction that it would not come on that evening, it would be most unfair to proceed with the discussion now.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA said, it was useless for any hon. Member to pretend that he was unacquainted with the provisions of the Bill, for he (Sir Joseph M'Kenna) held in his hand a copy which had been taken from the file which contained the Bill as it was sent up to the House of Lords last Session. He, therefore, hoped it would be permitted to proceed.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that he sincerely and deeply regretted the circumstances under which the second reading of the Bill had been moved, nor could he well see why they had been allowed to arise. The Bill had been introduced some days ago, and if it was an exact reproduction of the Bill before the House of Lords last Session, it would have been all the easier on that account to have had it printed. In spite of this, not only was it not in the hands of hon. Members, but it was not yet in the hands of the printer; at least, it was not when he last made inquiries. This was a Bill which the Government regarded with not only a great, but with a benevolent, interest. They were in favour of the main principles of the Bill; they had supported them last Session, and were prepared to do so again; and it would have given him personally and the Government the most sincere pleasure to have supported it at this and at every other stage, so far as they found the Bill of this Session carrying out the provisions of the Bill of last Session. But, as far as his experience went in that House, and it went back a good many years, he believed it to be the invariable practice of the House to refuse its assent to the second reading of Bills which it had not seen, and which had not been printed. There might, possibly, be one or two exceptions to that rule; but, if there were, it would be found that they were in the case of small Bills of one or two clauses, and not in the case of a measure of such a large and comprehensive character as this. He must confess that, in his opinion, that rule was a salutary and proper one; and, as a general principle, he thought that the House would agree that they should not be called upon to pass the second reading of this Bill, which they had not seen. He was sincerely anxious that this Bill should pass, as his Predecessor had been, and the Government were themselves so disposed to meet the views of the hon. Gentleman who proposed it, that they would not themselves have thought of raising this objection. It had, however, been raised, and it was in accordance with the almost invariable rule of the House. In these circumstances, he had to consider what was the invariable practice of the House with regard to Bills of this importance, and he must most reluctantly say that he could not support the Motion for the immediate second reading of the Bill. The blame was on the shoulders of those who were in charge of the Bill. It was a Bill that would have been very easy to get printed, and at the time there was no pressure on the printers.

Mr. SEXTON said, the hon. Member for Tyrone (Mr. Macartney) had used a childish argument. It was perfectly apparent to anybody who looked at the Votes that morning, that the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill would be reached, and therefore there was no excuse for the absence of the Tory Party. He (Mr. Sexton) had noticed that fewer Tories were present on more important occasions. There was a certain convenience apparent now for the second time in the recent changes in the Office of

Chief Secretary for Ireland. It would have been very difficult for the right hon. Gentleman who last held that Office (Mr. Trevelyan) to have made the speech which had just been delivered. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) seemed to be ignorant of the fact that the Government accepted last Session not merely the main principle on the second reading, but in Committee, and on the stage of Report, the Government went much further, and assented to every clause, every word, every letter, and every comma in the Bill. There were several copies of the Bill of last Session which could have been seen, and that Bill was identical with the present one, and it had the full support of Irish Members, irrespective of the side of the House they sat upon. The fact of its not being printed was a matter of the purest inadvertence, and he was sorry to see the Government taking advantage of it. He also regretted, for the sake of the reputation of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, that he had been so ungenerous as to shift the blame for its rejection from the shoulders of the Government to the shoulders of the Irish Party. The Irish Party could not possibly have foreseen a few days ago that the Bill would come on that evening. This was rather an unpromising beginning for the right hon. Gentleman. It was very unfortunate that, on the second or third day of the appearance of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, he should take the course which he had adopted. He first opened his official career by restoring to official employment a most obnoxious person; and, in the second place, he endeavoured to shift on to the Irish Members the blame of causing the rejection of a Bill, the value of which was admitted by the Government with which he was connected. The right hon. Gentleman stated in effect that he was in a dilemma; and, indeed, he was to be commiserated with, for he accepted a most difficult Office, and yet, on the second day of his appearance, he confessed that he was in a dilemma. That being so, he (Mr. Sexton) believed that the day was not far postponed when he would be in a position of disaster.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY, in supporting the Motion for the adjournment, said, he had never heard a more unfair speech than the one just delivered, and he must, therefore, take the opportunity of stating his opinion that the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) deserved to receive at least a little consideration and fair play. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) would just refer to one point that had been alluded to on the other side of the House. Mention had been made of the re-appointment of Mr. George Bolton, an incident which he, for one—

MR. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is the adjournment of the debate, and not the appointment of Mr. George Bolton. I must ask the hon. Member to adhere to the Question.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he should not have alluded to that subject except in reference to what fell from the hon. Gentleman opposite, and all he wished to say about it was that he did not support all the acts of the Government, or of the right hon. Gentleman who lately assumed the Office. He had frequently stated elsewhere and in the House of Commons that, when the Irish Members endeavoured to get legislation through, they should conform to the requirements and Rules of the House. The requirements of the House must be adhered to. That was not the first time that Irish Members had failed to get their Bills printed; and it was their own fault if they could not proceed with this measure, owing to their not having complied with the Forms of the House. Last year, in the case of the Labourers' (Ireland) Bill, a similar thing took place, and, whilst not saying a word against the measure now in question, he desired to express the opinion generally to which he had now given utterance.

MR. R. POWER said, he could not congratulate the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) on the championship which he had just won. He (Mr. R. Power) was disappointed with the speech of the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and he regretted that instead of taking, as he had, a technical objection, he had not frankly and generously allowed the second reading. It was nothing less than absurd that hon. Gentleman should get up and say that they were perfectly ignorant of the provisions of the Bill. It was the same Bill as was before the House last year, and everybody knew what its principles were. They had a limited number of copies of the Bill. They could explain the principles and the provisions of the Bill in a short space of time, and he would, therefore, appeal to the Government to yield the point, and permit the Bill to be read a second time.

## ORDER IN DEBATE—SUSPENSION OF A MEMBER (NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE—RULE 2).

Mr. O'DONNELL said, the House had, at that moment, an opportunity of doing a piece of useful legislation. That was a Bill supported by Her Majesty's Government, and it was most extraordinary, he ventured to submit, to find Her Majesty's Government taking advantage of and seizing on this technical point and plea, to put off the second reading of the Bill, in face of their loudly-advertised zeal for "practical legislation" in that House. He would hope that the Prime Minister would maintain the dignity and independence of his character, and say a word now in favour of practical legislation, by allowing the Bill to pass the second reading. The House had been informed, in no ambiguous terms, that very drastic measures would be taken, if necessary, to further practical legislation, and enable the House——

Mr. SPEAKER: The Question before the House is, "That the Debate be adjourned;" and the hon. Member has no right to travel into other subjects.

Mr. O'DONNELL: The Business before the House, I submit, is the proposal to adjourn the debate, and thus adjourn the consideration of this important piece of practical legislation; and I appeal to the Prime Minister, who says that practical legislation is the chief object of Parliament, to give us an example and proof of his sincerity on that point, and of his well-advertised zeal on that subject, to throw over his subordinate, and support the just claim of the Irish Members to have this most important reform proceeded with on the present opportunity. I would on that question, as an additional argument for proceeding with the Bill, remind Her Majesty's Government that, in this Session already, a most important Irish Bill was swept away, owing to their having taken away from the Irish Members their last Wednesday.

Mr. SPEAKER: Again I must remind the hon. Gentleman that he is travelling from the Question before the House, which is the adjournment of the debate. I beg that he will not repeat it.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I wish, then, to consult you on the question of Order. What I am endeavouring to bring forward, as a reason why the Government should not adjourn this Bill, is that the Government have already taken an important day from the Irish Members. Am I not allowed to use that argument in support of the views which the Irish Members put forward on this question? Surely, Mr. Speaker——

Mr. SPEAKER: It is not the Question. The hon. Gentleman has again travelled from the Question. I am to judge as to whether the hon. Member is, or is not, confining his remarks to the Question, and if the hon. Gentleman deviates, in my opinion, from the Question, it is my duty to tell him so. I have already twice told him that he is diverging from the Question.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I am absolutely convinced that I was bringing forward arguments in support of the plea that this Bill be not adjourned, and I respectfully protest—[*Cries of* "Order!"] I respectfully protest——

Mr. SPEAKER: Order!

Mr. O'DONNELL: Sir, I respectfully protest against your interference with the legitimate course of the discussion. ["Order, order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I must call upon you to resume your seat, on account of the irrelevancy of your observations to the Question before the House.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Mr. Speaker, Sir, I protest—I would say——[*Cries of* "Order!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: Again I must call upon you to resume your seat.

Mr. O'DONNELL: Sir, I wish to protest against this use of the power of calling on Members to sit down when using legitimate arguments, and thus stop their observations—["Hear, hear!" *and* "Order"]—and as you have taken that step, I wish you to——[*Cries of* "Name him!"]

Mr. SPEAKER: I have twice—three times—called the hon. Member's attention to the fact that his observations were not relevant, and that he was wandering from the subject of the debate.

Mr. O'DONNELL: I was not. I was not.

Mr. SPEAKER: I did so in terms which are before the House. You have not thought proper to pay any attention to my ruling — [*Ministerial cheers*]— and I now Name you, Mr. O'Donnell, as disregarding the authority of the Chair.

MR. GLADSTONE: You, Mr. Speaker, having Named the hon. Member, I consider it my duty, upon that Naming, to move that Mr. O'Donnell be suspended from the service of the House.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. O'Donnell be suspended from the service of the House."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. SPEAKER: The Question is, "That Mr. O'Donnell be suspended from the service of the House." As many as are of that opinion say "Aye;" the contrary, "No." I think the "Ayes" have it. ["No, no!"]

MR. O'DONNELL: You have played your expected part, Monsieur le President.

The hon. Member then withdrew.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 163; Noes 28: Majority 135.—(Div. List, No. 7.)

Question again proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."

The following is the Entry in the Votes :—

Mr. SPEAKER called the attention of the House to continued irrelevance on the part of Mr. O'Donnell, Member for Dungarvan, and directed the honourable Member to discontinue his Speech :—

The honourable Member, nevertheless, having persisted in speaking :—

Mr. SPEAKER named him as disregarding the authority of the Chair.

Motion made, and Question put, "That Mr. O'Donnell be suspended from the service of the House."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)—

The House *divided;* Ayes 163, Noes 28.

MR. PARNELL: I wish, Sir, to point out to the House that the Bill, the adjournment of which is now sought by a coalition of the Front Government Bench and Front Opposition Bench, was read a second time last Session in this House, and passed through all its stages without any practical opposition whatever, and was sent to the House of Lords, and then thrown out on second reading. In the Session before last also, this Bill received the second reading; so that it cannot possibly be contended, in support of the Motion for Adjournment, that the House is unacquainted with its contents. A pledge has been given by my hon. Friend who brought in the Bill (Mr. John Redmond) that it would be, and is, the identical Bill which last Session left this House and was thrown out by the House of Lords. I ask, under these circumstances, what can the Government be in doubt about? If they have agreed to the principle of the Bill, why should they support a Motion for Adjournment, on the ground that they do not know what the Bill is? [An hon. MEMBER: The new Chief Secretary for Ireland.] If they believe that the Bill is the Bill of last Session, and has been stated distinctly, the tenability of the position taken by the Front Government Bench and some of their followers entirely disappears. If the Bill is not considered to-day, and if the adjournment is granted, all chances of its passing this Session will have gone by. I addressed an appeal towards the close of last Session to the Prime Minister with reference to the Bill. After it was thrown out, I asked him, would he include this measure in the list of subjects to be brought forward during the Autumn Session? The right hon. Gentleman stated that he desired to see the measure passed, when asked, at the close of last Session, to bring it forward as well as the Representation of the People Bill. He could not, however, see his way to including the measure in the Government programme. We do not, however, ask the Government to take up the Bill and make it portion of their programme —we simply ask that the opportunity which we have obtained by chance should be given to us of obtaining another stage for the Bill. I do not believe that we have been met by the Government in a candid way from first to last. I cannot see why they should assist the hon. Gentleman who has moved the adjournment of the debate (Mr. Elton). The Chief Secretary for Ireland said that he would not have moved the adjournment of the debate; but, its having been moved by a Member upon the Conservative side of the House, he felt bound to support it. I cannot see the force of that argument; for, if it was right that the adjournment of the debate should be moved, he should have been prepared to move it; but, if it was not right that the adjournment should be moved, I do not see how he can escape the odium of having obstructed the measure by leaving to others the adoption of that course. The action of the right hon. Gentleman in supporting the adjournment gives colour to the suspicions entertained in Irish circles last Session, that the Government would be glad to see the Bill opposed and thrown out, although they did not wish to incur the odium of opposing it themselves. Hon. Members on these Benches are most anxious to see the measure passed into law.

Colonel COLTHURST said, he deeply regretted that the adjournment of the debate should have been moved, though he did not believe in the aspersions which had been cast upon the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). If ever there was a case in which the Rules of the House should be departed from, this was one; and he therefore trusted that the Government would see their way to allow the second reading of the Bill, although it had not been printed, and, therefore, not presented to hon. Members. The Government should remember that the opposition was made from the opposite side of the House. He hoped sincerely that even still the Government would see their way to allow the Bill to be read a second time. It was argued that the Bill was not printed; but still they should remember that it stood in peculiar circumstances, for it was exactly the same Bill as had been so thoroughly discussed and passed last year. There was, moreover, a general consensus of opinion in Ireland that the main features of the Bill should be passed into law.

Mr. GLADSTONE said, that after what the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) had said, that the Government were liable to incur the responsibility of joining in the negative on the Motion now before the House—that was, supporting the Motion for the adjournment of the debate—he felt it impossible to leave his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) under that responsibility. The hon. Member for the City of Cork had done what he (Mr. Gladstone) thought it was always a pity to do—that was to say, he had given a painful and odious colour to the act of his right hon. Friend the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant. He accused the Government of a secret desire to oppose the Bill, which they were unwilling to display openly. He (Mr. Gladstone) might say, however, that it appeared to him that the whole matter was one which concerned the Forms and Rules of the House, respecting which it seemed that there were a great number of questions in which hon. Gentlemen might exercise their own discretion as to standing or not standing on a point of Form or Rule. The hon. Member had laid down the doctrine that it was impossible to be right in acceding to a demand from another quarter to do what one would not do himself. But he (Mr. Gladstone) could not assent to that doctrine, for he had sometimes acceded to demands from the hon. Member for the City of Cork himself. He should be very glad, he might tell the hon. Member for the City of Cork, if, under the circumstances, that objection were not taken—namely, that the Bill was not printed. At the same time, he must say that he thought hon. Gentlemen who were interested in the Bill, and especially hon. Gentlemen who desired to oppose the Bill, and who read that morning on the list of Orders of the Day—"Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill"—knowing the Bill had not been printed, were perfectly justified in the assumption that it would not come on. That was a point of Form with regard to which he must, in all fairness and equity, say that all those hon. Gentlemen who took an interest, and especially those who took a hostile interest, in the Bill, were justified in the assumption that it would not come on at all, because it was not printed, and they had, therefore, absented themselves from the House. Under those circumstances, it was a point of equity to acquiesce in the objection so taken. He was very sorry that the hon. Member for the City of Cork also laid upon him (Mr. Gladstone) the disagreeable imputation that he was a concealed enemy of the Bill, and dared not avow his hostility to it. He must bear the ill-will and odium of that imputation, such as it was, trusting to his general character that he might be able to survive it. If hon. Gentlemen should think it necessary to insist upon the objection that the Bill had not been printed, he could not vote against them, although he should have been glad if the objection had not been raised.

Mr. JUSTIN M'CARTHY said, he could not see the ground for the objection on the point of equity. All the opponents of the measure were present and had spoken; and it was, in addition, the identical measure which had been passed through the House last year. It could not be urged that in this case any person had been taken by surprise. He was unable to see the slightest equity in the objections of the Prime Minister, who, in the course he was taking, was simply doing what he yesterday complained that others were doing—putting obstacles in the way of practical legislation.

MR. BARRY said, he regretted extremely that the Bill was not printed for second reading. It had, however, been brought forward unexpectedly, and they had been unprepared; but the objections which had been raised on that account were both both flimsy and technical, for he could assure hon. Members there was not the slightest variation in any details of the Bill from that of last year.

MR. GRAY said, he had come to the conclusion that the positions taken up by the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) and the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Gladstone), in supporting the Motion for an adjournment, were purely personal ones. The Prime Minister had stated that he had reluctantly come to the conclusion to support the Motion for Adjournment. By that, the right hon. Gentleman, he (Mr. Gray) presumed, intended to convey that he could not see his way to vote against the adjournment, for he could understand the Prime Minister not wishing to put himself in direct opposition to the point raised. He believed that the common sense of the House, especially of hon. Members below the Gangway who advocated Radical principles, would see that, upon this occasion, they were free to vote according to their consciences. He could quite understand the position of the Prime Minister, who did not wish to oppose the Motion on a point of equity. He would ask the right hon. Gentleman and the Members of the Treasury Bench to allow the Members of the Radical Party to vote on this question according to the dictates of their consciences. If the permission were given, the obstructive Motion, which had been brought forward by a Member whose constituency were not interested in the subject-matter of the Bill, would be defeated. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker), who had expressed himself in favour of the Bill, was free now to vote as he desired. He thought even the hon. Member for Dublin City (Dr. Lyons) might, under the circumstances, see his way to vote with the Irish Members.

MR. M'COAN said, that, no doubt, a keen sense of the iron discipline under which the hon. Member for Carlow himself spoke and voted, explained his sneer as to the freedom of Members on that side of the House to vote as they liked. But he (Mr. M'Coan) assured the hon. Member that, for one, he required no such permission, but intended to vote against the adjournment without asking the leave of anyone, and notwithstanding anything the Prime Minister might have said. Having in two successive Sessions supported the Bill, he would now do so again, as his opinion of the measure remained unchanged.

DR. LYONS said, he would ask what they were to vote upon, as there was not even a Bill in manuscript before the House? He would suggest that hon. Members should take the Bill which passed that House by a large majority last Session, and endorse it with the names of the Mover and Seconder; the House, then, would have something to proceed upon. But to call upon them to vote for an imaginary Bill was only trifling with the House.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he rose to a point of Order. A copy of the Bill as it was when sent to the House of Lords had been placed in the hands of the Government.

MR. SPEAKER: That is not a point of Order.

Question put.

The House *divided:* — Ayes 130; Noes 97: Majority 33. — (Div. List, No. 8.)

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

## LABOURERS' (IRELAND)—REAPPOINTMENT OF THE SELECT COMMITTEE.

### QUESTION.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Can the noble Lord the Member for Flintshire (Lord Richard Grosvenor) say when he intends to move the reappointment of the Labourers' (Ireland) Committee?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: I will confer with the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for

Ireland, and it will be his duty, I believe, to move it.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Can the hon. and learned Gentleman answer now?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I will move it to-morrow.

### SUPPLY.

*Resolved*, That this House will, upon *Friday*, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

### WAYS AND MEANS.

*Resolved*, That this House will, upon *Friday*, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty.

House adjourned at half after Five o'clock.

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## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday*, 6*th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—*Sat First in Parliament*—The Earl Cowley, after the death of his father.

### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ADJOURNMENT.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, seeing my noble Friend (the Earl of Carnarvon) in his place, I have a request to make to him on behalf of my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook). I am sure he will regret, and will not be surprised, that after the hard work and the long journey of my noble Friend, he has been attacked by a malady not altogether unknown to some of your Lordships; and although it is not of a very serious description, it makes it exceedingly difficult for him to come down to the House. If it is equally convenient to my noble Friend, I would ask him to postpone his Motion as to the Colonial Possessions and Garrisons Abroad until to-morrow.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON: I am very sorry to hear the cause of the absence of my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty. Of course, I will postpone my Motion. Perhaps the noble Earl opposite (Earl Granville) will allow me to fix a day for its discussion after consultation with some of my Friends—probably, some day next week.

*Lord Richard Grosvenor*

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH: In consequence of the statement as to the indisposition of the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook), I beg to give Notice that I will postpone my Question as to an inquiry into the strength and condition of the Naval Forces.

Subsequently,

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, in consequence of the postponement of the Notices for to-morrow, there will be no Business done; and, therefore, I propose, in the manner I did the other day, to move the adjournment of the House from this evening until Monday.

Motion *agreed to*.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE.

#### MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN, in rising to move—

> "That a Select Committee be appointed to join with a Committee of the Commons to inquire into the condition of the trade and commerce of the country,"

said, that he should have to ask the House to give him a little time and attention while he attempted to deal as shortly as he could with a very difficult subject, because, in asking for a Parliamentary inquiry into the condition of trade, it was necessary for him to show that the circumstances of the case were very grave; that the country was suffering from something more serious than one of those ordinary and transitory fluctuations to which trading communities were liable; and that the time of Parliament was not to be taken up in an unnecessary inquiry. He did not know how far the existence of serious depression would be admitted, for until quite recently it was denied by some of the highest authorities. The period of prosperity came to a close in 1873. In 1874 a period of depression set in which, notwithstanding occasional slight reactions, had lasted to the present date. Yet for a long time statements relative to the depression of trade were met with flat denial. Thus, as late as August 1, 1881, *The Times* said that—

> "The depressed talk which is current is most unfounded, and the real prosperity of our national industries and the real well-being of our people at the present time ought to be generally recognized."

In the following month the same journal stated that there was hardly a trade or a manufacturing district "which was not doing well." Mr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, constantly denied the existence of depression. Speaking at the Mansion House in October, 1882, the President of the Board of Trade said that "this country was on the eve of a period of great prosperity," and as late as last January he said at Newcastle that "trade was now fairly good." It was to be hoped that the knowledge of the President of the Board of Trade as to the causes of depression was more accurate than his estimate as to its extent. Yet, while these attempts were being made to lull the nation into false security, evidence was not wanting to justify the fears of those who were most alarmed at the signs of the times—evidence which had accumulated until it was now impossible any longer to deny that the depression was of a most serious nature. Let their Lordships look at the enormous and increasing excess of imports over exports. He was aware that by a certain school of economists the fact that imports exceeded exports in value was looked upon as a sign of prosperity. It was so to the same extent as the prosperity of an individual who succeeded to an estate known to produce £10,000 a-year, was proved by the fact that he spent £15,000 a-year. The excess might come out of profits derived from some unknown source, or it might come out of capital, or partly from capital and partly from profits. If it came out of capital, it was entirely bad. If it came out of profits on capital invested abroad, which had been or might be invested at home, it was partially bad—bad as far as the working classes were concerned. It was good only if the profits were derived from investments abroad which could not possibly, under any circumstances, be profitably made at home. The excess of value of imports over exports was, to a large extent, accounted for by the profits of the carrying trade, which was formerly in a flourishing condition. But, unfortunately, the carrying trade, and all the numerous industries connected with it, had now followed the sad example of other trades, and showed itself smitten with the same disease. Let them consider the condition of our other great trades. The cotton industry was stagnant. The output was still large, but the rate of increase had been most seriously checked. Stagnation had succeeded healthy growth, and stagnation was bound to intervene between growth and actual decay. Messrs. Ellison & Co., unimpeachable authoritios, stated that the consumption of raw cotton had increased since the year 1872-3 only 2·72 per cent. In other words, the great cotton trade had almost ceased to grow. And that was not all, for we knew from many sources that the profit of the trade, such as it was, had fallen almost to the vanishing point. The iron trade was no better off. In 1882 there were 566 furnaces in blast in England. In 1883 the number was reduced to 543, so that 23 furnaces were extinguished in one year. We had not far to look for the cause. Sir John Brown, the head of a very eminent firm in Sheffield, put the case clearly. He said—

> "Our former customers have become our competitors, and not only sell against us, but undersell us, not merely in neutral markets, but under our very noses at home."

The noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville), speaking at a meeting of the Iron and Steel Institute, in October, 1881, stated that in four years—from 1874 to 1879—there had been a reduction in the quantity of steel and iron we exported of 25 to 30 per cent, and in the value of 50 per cent. He said—

> "That reduction in value represents to the iron trade of this country a net value of something like £40,000,000 a-year, so that during those four years no less a sum than £160,000,000 was lost to the iron trade."

Since that time, the trade had gone from bad to worse. The woollen trade had also suffered. At present that industry was enjoying a revival, but that revival was due to causes which could not last. The coal trade, which, owing to very natural causes, held out stoutly, was weakening, and so were the great industries connected with shipbuilding. The same tale of depression might be told of every industry in the land. The position was well and accurately defined by *The Economist* in its review of the trade of 1883. *The Economist* confessed that the year was "one of disappointment." It said—

> "With a few exceptions, which may almost be counted on the fingers of one hand, there runs through the long series of trade reports

the same unvarying complaint of lessened returns to those by whom the trade of the country is conducted."

Well, the state of trade had not changed for the better during the present year. Distress had penetrated below the class of capitalists, and was making itself felt with terrible severity among the great mass of people engaged in trade. At Sunderland there were, it was said, 11,000 men out of work; at Glasgow, over 4,000; on the Tyne and Wear, about 25,000; at Jarrow, hundreds of families were on the point of starvation; and in Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire trade was bad, and it was feared that in a very short time 10,000 men would be out of work in that district. About 60,000 men were employed, on an average, in the London Docks; of that number one-third were out of work, and one-third working four days a-week only. The wages of those at work had been generally reduced. The instances which he had given showed that some 200,000 or 250,000 human beings depending upon our main industries for employment were deprived of the means of subsistence. That was serious enough; but it must not be forgotten that even if he could furnish the total number of men out of work, statistics of the unemployed did not reveal the true state of trade. Masters preferred putting all their hands on short time to discharging any portion of them. That was the case in Staffordshire, Lancashire, and other great industrial centres. So much for what he might term the great trades, the industries upon which, putting aside agriculture, we depended mainly, not only for national well-being, but for national existence. In the case of these great industries the roots were deeply struck into the soil, the capital invested was enormous, the wealth at the back of them gigantic. Their power of resistance was great, and yet they had yielded slowly to the enervating lassitude of disease. It was only natural to expect that industries of comparatively minor importance should more rapidly succumb. The sugar trade was in great straits, and many other industries—such, for example, as were connected with the sale of silk, gloves, musical instruments, &c. —were either dead or in a dying condition. He had touched upon the conditions of these various trades, not because he meant to say that the decline or even extinction of any one of them must of necessity prove a national calamity, but because he wished to impress upon the House that the whole commercial, trading, mining, manufacturing community was suffering. The decline of any particular trade might mean merely the transference of capital and labour from an unprofitable to a profitable undertaking, an operation which, although it might cause temporary distress, might eventually be beneficial to the nation. But if all industries were languishing, and if in each case the decline was owing to the fact that in that particular trade capital could no longer be profitably employed, the inference was very different. Such a state of things proved that the capital invested was becoming unprofitable, which meant national ruin. This question of the value of a trade, the question whether it was profitable or unprofitable, was one of the most profound and vital importance. It was impossible to form a sound opinion concerning it by the study of statistics and the perusal of Board of Trade Returns. We might estimate the output in a large industry; we might ascertain correctly the volume of the trade, but we had no means of proving whether the capital in money and labour employed in it was profitably employed. The prosperity of a trade depended not upon the bulk of the articles produced in it, but upon the exchangeable value of those articles. Statistics could help us little in this matter, and it was to a great extent on that account that he demanded an inquiry. But there were other proofs of depression besides those which he had mentioned which ought not to be passed over. The Revenue derived from Excise Duties was falling off, and the consumption of an article of such universal consumption as tea was diminishing. There was a great desire on the part of capitalists to reduce their personal risk by turning their private businesses into Limited Companies, and there was a tendency on their part to withdraw capital from industries in the United Kingdom and invest it in the same industries on the Continent. He might be told that, on the other hand, the Income Tax kept up, that the deposits in savings banks were increasing, and that pauperism was declining. These, however, were delusive tests of a nation's prosperity. If the savings banks deposits increased, it only showed that such deposits were not made by what were commonly called the working class. As a matter of fact, artizans and working men usually invested their savings either in Trades Unions or Friendly Societies. The Income Tax was a poor criterion. It did not affect the class he had alluded to, and it was no indication of the state of trade. It was calculated on past profits, and was often paid on imaginary profits. To reduce the amount it was necessary for a business man to submit his affairs to the closest scrutiny, and practically to the public eye. In course of time it would serve to show the state of trade to a certain extent, but not for some years, and it would not be affected in the least by a transfer of capital from the United Kingdom to foreign countries. The Income Tax revenue might remain but little changed, while the working classes here were starving. As to pauperism, it took a good deal to pauperize this country, thanks to the high qualities of the people and the accumulation of wealth. We were often accused of being an improvident and thriftless people. He dared say we were not nearly as thrifty and prudent as we ought to be. But the people did accumulate something, either privately or in the fund of Trades Unions and Provident and Friendly Societies. That reserve had been drawn upon. It had carried them over a long time, but it must become exhausted soon. In a letter to *The Times* of the 30th of last month, a Trades Unionist paid a tribute to the good work the Trades Unions had done. He mentioned one—the Boilermakers' and Iron Shipbuilders' Association at Newcastle—which paid out the huge sum of £37,000 in relief to members out of work in the last financial quarter only. It was impossible to collect much information on this point, because the accounts of Trades Unions were not published. But we might safely assume that very large sums were being paid to men out of work. He had had put into his hands letters from the secretaries of Trade Societies at Aberdeen, Glasgow, Birmingham, Darlington, Hull, Leeds, Edinburgh, Bristol, Cleveland, Liverpool, all testifying to deep distress and destitution, and expressing grave fears for the winter. Let them not forget that the test for relief was now very severe, and that the idea of parish relief was intolerable to the English artizan and working man. Nothing but the direst distress would drive them to it. Their savings in Trades Unions, their private savings, their furniture, their comforts, their necessaries, everything must go first. They would suffer and suffer greatly in silence. If they complained their Lordships might be sure the complaint was wrung from them by the bitterest distress. They would undergo anything sooner than admit they could not support themselves, sooner than forfeit their independence and submit to the degradation of relief. The people were very patient, very brave, had most honourable instincts; and now the possession of the very qualities we honoured and respected most in men were turned against them, and they were told that because they were not paupers they did not suffer. Were we to wait until the whole accumulated property of the working classes was exhausted before making even an inquiry into the circumstances that were making their labour unprofitable? Were we to wait until vast multitudes were pauperized to think what could be done to avert such a fate? Delay was a cruel and a dangerous thing. He thought he had said enough to show that serious depression existed among us. The silk trade and some of our minor industries were dead or dying, and who could calculate the suffering that those words implied? The unavailing efforts, the despair of honest men, the breaking up of homes, and all the long train of misery that lead from independence to absolute want. In the cotton trade we saw looms idle and factories closed. In the iron trade furnaces were blown out, capital was withdrawn, and labour could not find employment. In our great shipbuilding districts silence reigned in yards which not long ago re-echoed the busy sounds of industry. Our dock-gates were besieged with men eager for work which they could not get. Everywhere the same most pitable spectacle—able-bodied, honest, skilful men clamouring vainly for work to support themselves and their wives and children. Was there any reason to expect an improvement? He feared not. The depression had lasted long, and had gradually increased. It was totally different in extent and nature from ordinary bad times, consequent upon some financial crisis or temporary excess of production over demand. Now a few words as to the causes of depression. We were generally told that the depression of trade we laboured under was due to bad harvests and over-production, and that the people were suffering from their own bad habits. He was very far from undervaluing the disastrous reaction upon our manufacturing industries produced by the depression in the great industry of agriculture; but it would not account for it all. And what was more important, we must dismiss the view that agricultural depression was due entirely to lack of sunshine. The loss in agriculture had been estimated by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) at £130,000,000 or £150,000,000, by the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) at £200,000,000, and such a gigantic dead loss must, of course, have acted very unfavourably upon our home markets. We had been passing through a long series of bad seasons. But the harvest of this year was good, and our flocks and herds were free from disease. But as far as could be gathered, the profitable nature of agriculture in the present year, the value of the produce of the earth's surface in food, was not such as to justify us in supposing that renewed sunshine would restore the industry of agriculture to its former position. Though we were perfectly right, therefore, in putting forward agricultural depression as one of the causes of trade depression, we should be totally wrong, and be merely deluding ourselves, if we assumed that agricultural depression would be remedied by sunshine, and that, in consequence, good harvests would produce good trade. Now, as to the other reason generally advanced, to account for the universal depression said to exist all over the world owing to universal over-production. The world was said to have become too industrious, and to make more than it could consume. He would not go into that abstract question; but he would compare, as well as he could, the condition of other countries with that of the United Kingdom, and would prove that the depression from which we suffered was out of all proportion heavier than that affecting other nations. When they spoke of a declining trade they were usually struck in the face by a violent discharge of statistics to prove that it was expanding. That might be true. Our trade had expanded in volume. But let their Lordships compare it with the expansion of trade among our neighbours. Since 1870 the United States had increased their total commerce by 75 per cent, Russia by 70 per cent, France by 51 per cent, Germany by 40 per cent, Great Britain by only 26 per cent. Let them take one industry alone—the greatest of our industries—the cotton trade. The United States had increased their consumption of cotton since 1873 by nearly 84 per cent, the Continent generally by nearly 64 per cent, and Great Britain by not quite 3 per cent. He did not wish to weary the House with many figures. He thought he had proved by these few that England, instead of increasing more rapidly than any other nation, was not holding her own; that she was not even holding her own, but had fallen back utterly, and that she was become last, instead of first, in the race. And in the face of such facts we were told we were only sharing in a universal depression. But there were special circumstances affecting our neighbours which must not be lost sight of. And, besides, he denied that there was any evidence on the Continent of such suffering or of such a decline of trade as was only too clear with us. He saw nothing of it in Germany, and yet Germany had to bear the burden of an enormous Military Establishment. What, he wondered, would become of this country under those circumstances? France might be suffering slightly. Granting for argument that she was, look at what she had gone through. Only 14 years ago her whole social and commercial economy was upset. She suffered an invasion. Nearly her whole territory was occupied by the enemy. She had to pay £371,500,000 sterling war expenses, and she lost two Provinces. Since then she had lost enormously by the ravages of the phylloxera. Where should we have been had such calamities occurred to us? In the United States there was considerable depression, but it was merely transitory and traceable to distinct causes. The commercial system of the United States was not conducted in the most healthy manner. It was too much affected throughout by Stock Exchange operations. It was infected by the spirit of gambling. The depression in the States was due to over-speculation in Stocks and to a slight excess in the development of the country. The nation was suffering a little headache, the result of excess, and a slight growing-pain incidental to youth. It was of no consequence and would soon pass. We could not, therefore, even console ourselves with the poor consolation that we were no worse off than others. But if we could, if we were only sharing a universal distress, was that any reason why we should sit down idly and do nothing? He thought it a more worthy part that we should bestir ourselves and see if we could not do something to help ourselves. He, at least, was not content that England should suffer because other nations were suffering also. It was a cowardly and illogical argument. If an outbreak of typhoid occurred in Westminster, should we neglect to inquire into our sanitary arrangements because they had cholera at Naples? Our duty was to our own people. Whatever might be happening to foreigners it was the first duty of the English Parliament to see that Englishmen did not starve, or, at any rate, to know the reason why they did. Then as to the causes. He had seen some remarkable reasons given for the existing distress in this country. Mr. Giffen, of the Board of Trade, in writing in 1877 about a depression, the existence of which he afterwards denied, gave vent to a kind of Gladstonian utterance, and said that it had "its roots in human nature which lends itself to an ebb and flow, an action and reaction in affairs." No doubt, commerce, like most actions of men, had its roots in human nature; but it was difficult to know exactly what Mr. Giffen meant, and he did not see that commerce having its roots in human nature was any great comfort to men who were starving for want of work. Afterwards Mr. Giffen became more practical, and informed us that—

> "What mankind require for the greater efficiency of their labour is that the proportion of people employed in agriculture and mining should diminish, and foreign manufactures should increase."

Foreign manufactures had increased largely, and the population engaged in mining and agriculture had largely decreased. He hoped Mr. Giffen was satisfied with the result. But the depression continued, and it was now infinitely worse. No doubt, commerce still had it roots in human nature, and the ebb flowed on with increased velocity. The President of the Board of Trade spoke in 1881 of—

> "Weak industries, such as those of Coventry and Bethnal Green, in which energy was engaged which was capable of much better direction."

That meant, he supposed, that the money and labour in those industries should be more profitably employed elsewhere. That was very sound sense under certain circumstances. But surely now when, as he maintained, all industries were suffering, it would be only common charity on the part of the Board of Trade to point out where the energy, the capital, and the population were to go to. The capital might go to Saxony, France or Belgium; but how about the people and the energy? The depression could not be traced to purely natural causes or improvident reckless habits. No great dislocation of trade centres or trade routes had occurred; our coal was not exhausted; we had abundance of capital. There was no evidence that as a people we had lost our skill, energy, or courage. We might be suffering to a certain extent from universal over-production, but not to an extent sufficient to account for the depression. We were affected by over-production, not because the supply throughout the whole world was greater than the demand, but because we were no longer allowed to supply our fair share of that demand because foreign markets were forcibly closed to us, and because our own markets were unfairly interfered with. Our industries were suffering from bounties and foreign tariffs. He could not go at length into controversial topics. The bounty question was probably well known to their Lordships by the prominence which had been given to its effects upon the sugar trade. It was a simple question. The object of bounties was to create or foster an industry that could not compete with the same industry existing elsewhere under more favourable circumstances. It could be combated only by countervailing duties. This was admitted by the Committee of the House of Commons that inquired into the condition of the sugar trade. No one would deny that it was allowable for the Government to persuade foreign countries to take off bounties. If persuasion failed they might equally counteract the effect of the bounty. The only argument against doing so was that it was advantageous to the whole community to purchase an article of so universal consumption as sugar as cheaply as possible, even below cost price. The argument was specious but false. The value to the community of the cheapening of the article would have to be compared with the loss to the community of the value of the industry. The value of the sugar trade was very great. A very large amount of capital was invested in it and in industries dependent upon it in this country, and it employed a large number of people at home, 51,000 of whom, it was estimated, had been thrown out of employment through the effect of bounties. The capital invested in the Colonies was estimated at £30,000,000, supporting a population of 500,000 at least. That loss would have to be deducted from the gain of unnaturally cheap sugar. It would be a dead loss; the capital could not be reinvested. There was no opening for it in any other industry. If, after competition was destroyed, the price of sugar rose again our trade could not be recreated. It was as easy to destroy a trade as it was to cut down a tree. It took generations to build up one and grow the other. But the main argument was that consumers would not ultimately benefit. Bounties destroyed competition. Anything that destroyed fair competition and restricted the area of production was prejudicial to the consumer. As soon as the competition of our Colonial produce and Home manufactures was got rid of the price of sugar would rise to an unprecedented price. It was admitted that our export trade was crippled by hostile tariffs. That import duties could possibly do any harm except to the people who were rash enough to impose them on themselves was at one time stoutly maintained by economists of the Cobden Club school.

Earl GRANVILLE asked the noble Earl whether he could substantiate that assertion?

The Earl of DUNRAVEN said, he could not do so at once; but he would undertake to do so on a future occasion. But some glimmering of common sense had penetrated even into the sacred precincts of that sanctuary of theory. The evils to us of hostile tariffs were allowed. Our whole system of Commercial Treaties proved it. The very idea of such a Treaty, the importance we attached to a Most Favoured Nation Clause, the very employment of the word "favoured" proved that hostile tariffs were injurious to us. The conflict of opinion was as to the best method of combating hostile tariffs. Free imposts, an attempt to bargain when we had nothing to offer in return for the benefits we asked, and a liberal distribution of Cobden Club tracts were the methods we had hitherto employed, with the result that tariffs had been raised and our export trade had rapidly declined. It was high time to try some other plan. We should be much more successful by altering our fiscal system in such a way as to raise revenue by the imposition of a uniform low duty on all foreign imported manufactured goods. In many cases the pressure of such duties would compel foreigners to relieve our goods of excessive duties, and we should obtain better prices for them; and even if it did not have that desirable effect, revenue would be raised and applied to relieve the taxation, and the cost of production would be lessened. The quantity of foreign manufactured goods was far larger than was generally supposed, and a low duty on articles chiefly luxuries would raise a sufficient revenue to give us considerable relief. In the case of import duties, the exporter paid a proportion of the duties, large or small, according to the relative necessity to sell or to buy. At present their industries were heavily taxed at home, and, in addition, contributed largely to the revenues of foreign countries. The foreigner should contribute to our revenue, and give proportionate relief to our taxation. The effect of protective tariffs was two-fold. Those high duties wholly or partially excluded their goods from foreign markets. But that was not all. They enabled foreign manufacturers to compete with them unfairly in the home and the neutral markets. Being secured, wisely or unwisely, mattered not, from our competition in their home markets, they were enabled to throw their surplus stock upon our markets at very low rates. The quantities might be small, but they were increasing, and they were sufficient to bear down our home market prices to an unwholesome extent. Every argument that could be used against foreign bounties was applicable against foreign protective tariffs, and, even admitting that there was not a word to be said in favour of Retaliation, the imposition of low import duties on our part was necessary to neutralize the effects of high protective duties abroad upon our home market. He might be called a Protectionist. After all, Protection was the political creed of the United States, with 50,000,000 English-speaking people, and of all the British subjects in Canada and the Australasian Colonies. The United States had progressed most marvellously under a fiscal system based on pure Protection. They began the present century with a commerce worth £20,000,000 a-year. By the year 1870 it had increased to £116,000,000, and by 1883 it had reached £300,000,000. Under it they had also paid off £180,000,000 of their Debt, and they had brought an enormous area of land under cultivation. Protection could not have been very detrimental to them. But he did not believe in Protection for us. He wanted no advantage; he asked only for equality. Free Trade was the free exchange of various products of the world, and he believed in that principle. The object of Free Trade was that every locality and every person should be able to produce that which it could naturally produce to the greatest advantage. But our system acted in an exactly opposite direction. If, for instance, sugar could be grown and manufactured at Magdeburg as cheaply and of better quality, or of equal quality and cheaper, than it could be grown and manufactured in Demerara and England, then, on Free Trade principles, the trade should be prosecuted in Germany, and the imposition of a duty in favour of Colonial, and against German, sugar would be Protection, That would be Protection. But if the contrary was the case, if the locality best suited to the trade was the West Indies and England, then anything that tended to transfer the trade to Germany was in direct violation of the principles and objects of Free Trade, and if they passively permitted such a transference of trade to take place when it was in their power to prevent it, they were guilty of acting contrary to Free Trade. Political economy was not an exact science. There was no absolutely perfect fiscal system suitable for every country under all circumstances. The theory of Free Trade was perfectly correct, and it must be good in its effects, provided it had fair play. But it was necessary that it should be exercised over a sufficiently large area. Trade was exchange, and if they had not got free exchange, they had not got Free Trade. They might have a very excellent system, but it was not Free Trade; it was absurd and ridiculous to call it by that name. Our commercial system might be good, but its advocates were guilty of a most unwarrantable act of piracy in calling it Free Trade. And this unjustifiable misapplication of term had most unfortunate results, for, in spite of the authority of Shakespeare, there was a good deal in a name. The bulk of the people of these Islands believed in the doctrines of Free Trade, and they were right. They further believed they had got it. In that they were wrong. And the fact that they falsely thought they were in the enjoyment of Free Trade induced them to tolerate a system which, if pursued, would eventually work their ruin. They were trading under circumstances never anticipated by the advocates of Free Trade. They expected the whole world to join with them. Mr. Cobden said in the House of Commons—

> "Adopt Free Trade, and there will not be a tariff in Europe that will not be changed in less than five years to follow your example."

Nearly 40 years had passed, and the prophecy remained unfulfilled. Sir Robert Peel also argued on the supposition that our example would be followed. He said—

> "In spite of the desire of Governments and Boards of Trade to raise revenue by restrictive duties, reason and common sense will induce relaxation of high duties. The sense of the people will prevail."

And he added—

> "Our last accounts from the United States give indications of a decline of a hostile spirit in this respect."

Yet they still heard of "indications" from the United States; but they remained "indications," and nothing more. The country where the people were supposed to rule, where, therefore, the "common sense" of the people, if they had any, must prevail, was the most Protectionist nation on the face of the earth. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) was constantly telling them that America was on the point of adopting Free Trade. The noble Earl the Secretary of State for the Colonies (Earl Derby) held out the same hope in a speech at the Cobden Club dinner, full of many most interesting fallacies. They would reduce their tariff, no doubt, because they must do so, or invent some way of spending their surplus revenue. But they would never reduce it lower than they were compelled, by the strange difficulty they laboured under of reducing their income to the limits of their expenditure. The question, therefore, of the truth or falsehood of Free Trade was in no way involved in a consideration of the depression of trade or the causes of it; but the question was whether our present system was suited to our present circumstances? It was suitable when we could sell freely. It was unsuitable now that we were not allowed freedom of sale. Our trade suffered from perturbations owing to sudden calls from abroad, especially from the United States. England, instead of doing a good, steady business, was in the position of a journeyman waiting for a job. Full of work occasionally, and then relapsing into comparative idleness, our resources in capital and population flowed largely to the United States. When demand overran supply for a brief period in that country, orders came to us, and we had a brief spurt of prosperity, followed by a corresponding reaction when supply in the United States had overtaken demand. Nothing could be more unwholesome than such a state of things. The remedy lay in the direction of looking less to foreigners, as consumers, and more to our Colonies and Dependencies. Every legitimate effort should be made to turn British capital and British emigration to India and the Colonies, for the very simple reason that upon India our principal industry—cotton—depended, and our Colonies were the only customers we could rely upon. With the one exception of the Cape Colony, they bought largely from us in proportion to their population. It was at least worthy of notice that the only exception was in the case of that Colony in which the Imperial tie was weakest, and where our duties had been most neglected. A continuance in our present commercial and Colonial policy would bring about the ruin of England. But by a policy directed to developing the Empire and increasing the purchasing power of British subjects across the seas, and by a commercial system aiming at neutralizing the evil effects of bounties and hostile tariffs, and a revenue system on which revenue should be raised on foreign manufactured articles and applied to the relief of taxation, prosperity would be secured to England in the future. It was not his business to formulate a system or define a scheme. It was impossible to do so without the information that a full and exhaustive inquiry into the condition of trade alone could give. He wanted to know, also, what the practical men thought—the master manufacturers and shipowners, the great agents and shippers and dealers, the artizans and operatives and labourers. If a change was necessary it was of the utmost importance that the change should be made deliberately, and after the most careful and serious consideration. The commercial revolution which swept away most of our import duties was forced upon us by a national calamity. It was undertaken hurriedly, and it had resulted in evils which might have been averted by more mature consideration leading to riper judgment. We ought to profit by experience, and not wait until another, and, perhaps, a far more serious, calamity forced a too violent reaction upon us. An inquiry into the conditions of trade ought to have been undertaken by Her Majesty's Government long ago; but Her Majesty's Government were not famous for forestalling evil or anticipating events. The Government were, to his mind, neglecting their first duty. They showed no signs of moving in the matter. At least, he expected them to accede to the request of a private Member of the House, not only to sanction an inquiry, which, after all, committed them to nothing, but also to use their best endeavours to assist the inquiry in every way.

*Moved,* "That a Select Committee be appointed to join with a Committee of the Commons to inquire into the condition of the trade and commerce of the country."—(*The Earl of Dunraven.*)

**Earl GRANVILLE**: My Lords I have lately read a very clever and amusing book by a very old and noble Friend of mine who usually sits opposite; and I remember one passage where he described his own difficulties as one of the principal Conservative Leaders at the time when Protection was considered to be dead by the Conservative Party, and the difficulty which he had in making a speech on this subject, the difficulty consisting in this—that he was not to discourage the Protectionists and yet not to commit his friends. The Head of the Party entirely approved of the line he had taken. I entirely acquit my noble Friend (Earl Dunraven) of any wish to ride on so narrow a stile as that, although his moving from the Cross Benches to a more prominent place, seems to imply that he thought it fairer not to commit the Cross Benches to some of the theories and facts which he has stated this evening. My noble Friend has laid great stress upon his not being a Protectionist. He says he is a Free Trader, and the only thing he objected to was that he did not like "sham Free Trade." He has been good enough to admit that, on the whole, foreign trade was an advantage to the country. I should have thought that as a real Free Trader he was aware what foreign trade consisted in; that it is a sort of barter; that you cannot get foreign goods without paying for them in goods. It is a perfect illusion that you pay for foreign goods in gold. Gold must, like water, find its level. You cannot keep more gold in the country than you want, because it lowers its value, and it immediately flows into places where its value is high. This is proved in the most clear way, because for nearly 40 years this country has been importing much more than it exported to the whole world, and yet concurrently with that, instead of our sending gold out of the country, the balance of import gold over export has been continually greater. The noble Earl objects extremely to this state of things. His object is to increase our exports and to diminish our imports. I believe it is perfectly impossible to do that.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN: I do not wish to limit our imports.

EARL GRANVILLE: The noble Earl says he does not wish to limit our imports—he only wishes this country to pay more for them. There are some elementary principles of Free Trade which I should like to know whether my noble Friend agrees with or not. Does he think that it is no advantage that Free Trade leaves people to follow the most natural and profitable course for the employment of their capital and labour? Does he not think that the division of labour is an important thing, and that Free Trade adds to the power of a division of labour more than anything else; whereas Protection, which he really advocated although he repudiated it, would destroy that division of labour? The noble Earl has given us his views. Five years ago, I remember—and I dare say a good many of your Lordships remember—a remarkable speech of Lord Beaconsfield on the subject. He gave an historical account of what had happened 30 or 40 years ago. It was a most interesting account, although in some particulars I ventured at the time to question its perfect accuracy. Lord Beaconsfield then contrasted the speeches of two noble Lords who had spoken in favour of an inquiry much like that asked for to-night. He showed that they entirely differed in their views, very much as the Fair Traders do at the present moment. Then he goes on to say that, putting aside altogether the question whether the policy of Reciprocity and Retaliation is good in itself, and whether Free Trade was well applied by Sir Robert Peel and his Friends at a time when our tariffs were burdened with duties, and almost every article came into this country subject to duties, it was impossible to pursue this policy now when only 22 articles were left in our tariff. I really do not think that Lord Beaconsfield contemplated the possibility which the noble Earl suggests of recurring to that cumbrous method of putting duties on every small article that came into this country. Lord Beaconsfield ended by a complete denunciation of an inquiry without any defined object and without any likelihood of the promoters bringing it to a practical end. I really think I might sit down and say that speech entirely disposes of the Motion of the noble Earl. But the noble Earl has brought forward so many questions that I should like to go into them. Now, the noble Earl has assumed that there is a great depression of trade. I must say that, in a statement like his, I have hardly ever heard so little evidence brought forward to support it. The noble Earl has travelled himself, and has been told by secretaries who have not published their accounts what happens. But he seems to have neglected all the official documents which we have on this subject. Now, I do not deny that there is great suffering, both commercially and agriculturally. I believe exactly what Lord Beaconsfield said five years ago. I believe, as Lord Beaconsfield said on that occasion, "there is neither ruin nor despair to the bulk of the people." The noble Earl has made so many statements that perhaps he will allow me to make some observations with regard to the present state of the country. I quite agree that our profits, although they are not disappearing, are smaller than we should like them to be. The principle point in connection with the present depression would appear to be that it is, to a large extent, only nominal, the volume of trade being larger than ever it was before, and the appearance of depression arising from the lower prices. This is conspicuously the case as regards the foreign trade. The imports and exports for the last few years have been in millions of pounds:—Imports.—1879, 363; 1880, 411; 1881, 397; 1882, 413; 1883, 427. Exports.—1879—British, 191; Foreign and Colonial, 57; total, 248. 1880—British, 223; Foreign and Colonial, 63; total, 286. 1881—British, 234; Foreign and Colonial, 63; total, 297. 1882—British, 241; Foreign and Colonial, 65; total, 306. 1883—British, 239; Foreign and Colonial, 66; total, 305. Thus, the foreign trade was larger in 1883 than it had been for several years before, although prices were lower than in any of the other years in the table. The nominal figures have not been higher in any previous year, except as regards the exports of British produce in 1872 and 1873, when the large totals of £256,000,000 and £255,000,000 were reached; but in 1872 and 1873 prices were abnormally high, and they were in 1883, on the average, 20 to 30 per cent lower than in 1873. If the exports and imports were now to be valued at the prices of 1873 the volume of foreign trade would appear much larger than it has ever done. The magnitude of the volume of trade down to 1883 is also apparent from other figures. The production of pig iron in 1880, 1881, 1882, and 1883 was the largest on record—namely, in 1880 it was 7,749,000 tons, in 1881 it was 8,144,000 tons, in 1882 it was 8,580,000 tons, and in 1883 it was 8,490,000 tons. The annual average of 1869-74 was only 6,223,000 tons, and of 1875-80, 6,609,000 tons. This, surely, is a most extraordinary condition for a trade which, as the noble Earl represents it, has been entirely destroyed. The noble Earl has drawn attention to coal. Similarly, the production of coal has progressed as follows:—The annual average in 1869-74 was 118,000,000 tons, in 1875-80 it was 135,500,000 tons, in 1880 it was 147,000,000 tons, in 1881 it was 154,000,000 tons, in 1882 it was 156,500,000 tons, and in 1883 it showed the enormous increase of 164,000,000 tons. Now, take the raw cotton. The amount of raw cotton used in manufacturing has likewise increased. The annual average in 1869-74 was 1,150,000,000 lbs., in 1875-80 it was 1,245,000,000 lbs., in 1880 it was 1,373,000,000 lbs., in 1881 it was 1,439,000,000 lbs., in 1882 it was 1,461,000,000 lbs., and in 1883 it rose to 1,511,000,000 lbs. In the present year—1884—there are signs of some falling off from the large totals of 1882-3—a decrease of £24,000,000 in the imports, or 7½ per cent, and of £3,000,000 in the exports, or 1½ per cent, during the nine months ending with September. But these decreases are more than accounted for by the low prices. *The Gazette* average of wheat last week was only 32*s.* 3*d.*, as compared with 40*s.* 3*d.* at the same time in 1883, and other prices have fallen similarly. In sugar, raw cotton, wool, jute, iron, copper, tin, and lead, a great reduction of price is shown at the present time as compared with the same time last year. Apart from reduction of price, therefore, it would appear that the volume of foreign trade is larger at the present time than ever it was known before. The noble Earl had quoted the condition of the people, and had actually cut the ground from under my feet by saying—"Do not talk to me about Income Tax, pauperism, or deposits in savings banks." The noble Earl relied in preference on Benefit Societies, whose accounts were not published, and which he (Earl Granville) did not know. But these considerations were most essential to the case. The fact was that the Income Tax of 1*d.* in the pound, which once meant £1,000,000, now meant £2,000,000. The following are the material figures as to Income Tax, consumption of certain articles per head, pauperism, and savings banks deposits, all indicating the condition of the people:—The annual average of the Income Tax assessments was, in 1869-74, £204,000,000 on Schedule D, and the total was £487,000,000; in 1882, it was £267,000,000 on Schedule D, and the total was £601,000,000. Surely that proves something; but the noble Earl entirely rejects it, because, he said, the Income Tax does not touch the poor. But certainly it has some effect on the depression or the prosperity of the whole country. Again, the noble Earl says that pauperism is no test, as there is more difficulty about out-door relief. I am very glad there is, because I think it is an excellent thing, not only for the ratepayers and the farmers, but for the persons themselves who are the recipients of the relief. But I think it cannot be denied that the figures relating to pauperism have an important bearing on this subject. In the years 1869-74, the number of paupers per 1,000 of the population was 42½; whereas in the year 1883 it was only 29. Take, again, the savings banks deposits. In 1869, they were £51,000,000; and in 1883 they rose to £87,000,000. Then the consumption of articles in the country shows a state of prosperity or depression. I find, in regard to sugar, tea, coffee, tobacco, and spirits, that the consumption of coffee has rather fallen off, though not very largely. With regard to spirits, I was rather in hopes that there would be a diminution in the consumption owing to the much greater temperance of the people; but this is not the case. In 1840 the consumption of spirits was 0·97, and in 1883 it was 1·06 gallon per head. I think figures like these must have some sort of importance. There is much discussion among economists as to the causes of the low prices. Mr. Goschen, in the House of Commons, and in a lecture to the Bankers' Institute last year, attributed them to the scarcity of gold. Mr. Hubbard and others have contended that it is the great multiplication of commodities, due to such influences as extension of telegraphy, great rapidity of communication, and low freights, &c. The two assertions are not in reality contradictory. If there had been more gold produced, prices would undoubtedly have risen, or not have fallen, notwithstanding the real abundance of commodities. The relation between gold and commodities generally has changed. For the present purpose, however, it is only necessary to point out that the present depression of trade is to a large extent only apparent. Production and consumption are large, and people are well off. As wages have not yet fallen in proportion, the profits of wholesale merchants and manufacturers are curtailed, and hence the complaints. If it is argued that it is possible by appointing a Commission or Committee of the House to examine how the production of gold is certain suddenly to increase trade, that is an argument which will hardly be valid with your Lordships. The noble Earl laid great stress upon the comparison between ourselves and foreign countries as to the depression in trade. He, first of all, said that the depression is not at all the same in foreign countries as it is with us; and then he said it had no bearing at all on the argument. But I think it has very great bearing on the argument; for if the countries protected are in a much more flourishing condition than we are in, then, I think, there is at least a *primâ facie* case against Free Trade; but if you find that this depression is common to all countries, then it is extremely absurd to refer it to legislation which occurred 40 years ago, and had been followed by singularly prosperity in all the countries affected by it. My Lords, the fact is that in Germany and Austria the depression is quite as great as our own. The following figures show the foreign trade of the United States and France in recent years. It will be seen that the present depression in each of these countries is greater than in our own. In the United States the maximum year for imports in recent years was 1881-2, in which they amounted to £147,000,000. In 1883-4 the amount was £139,000,000; and in the two months July and August this year there is a further decline of 10 per cent compared with last year. As regards exports, the maximum year in the United States was 1880-1, in which the amount was £184,000,000; in 1882-3 the amount was £151,000,000—a decline of one-sixth. In the two months July and August there is a further decline from £23,814,000 to £22,660,000, or about 5 per cent. In France the maximum year of imports was 1880, the total being

£201,000,000; in 1883 the total was £192,000,000. In the nine months ended September 30 this year, as compared with the same period last year, there is a further decline from £140,000,000 to £134,000,000. The maximum year of exports in France was 1875, when the total was £154,000,000; but not going so far back, and taking only 1882, which was the highest year lately, with a total of £143,000,000, it appears that in 1883 there was a decline to £138,000,000. In the nine months ended September, 1884, there is a further decline as compared with the same period of 1883, from £100,000,000 to £94,000,000, or 6 per cent. The following is a comparison with the United Kingdom:—Imports—United Kingdom—Maximum year, 1883, £427,000,000. In nine months of 1884 a decline of 8 per cent compared with 1883. United States—Maximum year, 1881-2, £147,000,000; 1883, £139,000,000. In two months of 1884 a decline of 10 per cent compared with 1883. France—Maximum year, 1880, £201,000,000; 1883, £192,000,000. In nine months of 1884 a decline of 5 per cent. Exports—United Kingdom (British produce)—Maximum year, 1882, £241,000,000; 1883, £240,000,000. In nine months of 1884 a decline of 1½ per cent. United States—Maximum year, 1880-1, £184,000,000; 1883, £151,000,000. In two months of 1884 a decline of 5 per cent. France—Maximum year, 1882, £143,000,000; 1883, £138,000,000. In nine months of 1884 a decline of 6 per cent. In the face of those figures, showing how much greater in two protected countries—two countries with the greatest natural wealth in the world—the depression has been than with us, I really think that any hearsay evidence brought forward by the noble Earl must fall to the ground. The noble Earl also gave us figures about sugar, and he seemed to believe that the bounties which other Governments put upon refined sugar was one of the three causes which have reduced this country to the miserable state he has described. But the sugar bounties affect only a very small portion of the sugar industry. From figures I have before me, it appears that in 1840 the consumption of sugar in this country was 15⅕ lbs. per person; whereas at this moment, when the sugar trade has entirely disappeared from the country, it has risen to the enormous amount of 71⅗ lbs. per head. In 1840 the consumption of tea was 1⅕ lbs. per person, while last year it was 4⅘ lbs. And in the same way the consumption of tobacco in 1840 was only ⅘ lb. per head, while last year it was 1⅖ lbs. I do not believe that noble Lords opposite will support the noble Earl in his suggestion that a remedy for a matter affecting only an infinitesimal portion of the trade would be found in putting a countervailing duty against the bounty given by other countries. But the noble Earl makes three suggestions. He suggests that a low fixed duty should be put upon every manufactured article introduced. That is, in short, a proposal to return to that old, condemned, and obsolete tariff of duties which was formerly levied on large quantities of articles, to the great obstacle and detriment of trade, and also to the great injury of fiscal arrangements, the cost of collection being enormously increased. The noble Earl proposed to fix a duty on manufactured articles, and at the same time expressed sympathy with the farmers, and did not propose to tax them. He protected the farmers, and he does not propose to tax food or the raw material for our manufacturers, but proposes to put the duty entirely on manufactured articles. That will certainly not help the farmer. On the other hand, by his plan he raises the value of every single article which his wife, his family, or he himself use. The general scope of the noble Earl's plan is to take away trade and emigration from foreign countries and force them into the Colonies. I am quite sure nearly all the Colonies have raised their tariffs since 1869 in a higher proportion than any foreign country has done since that time, with the great exception of the United States; and I must say here, when the noble Earl entirely repudiates the idea of our example having been of any use whatever to foreign countries, I must remind him that foreign countries have to a certain degree followed our example. There does not at this moment exist a single prohibitive tariff in the world—a great advance since we introduced Free Trade. The noble Earl follows the example of the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) in saying that Sir Robert Peel, in establishing Free Trade, was guided by the conviction that all other countries would follow our example.

THE MARQUESS OF **SALISBURY**: When did I say that, and where?

EARL **GRANVILLE**: I do not recollect the locality or the date.

THE MARQUESS OF **SALISBURY**: I never said so.

EARL **GRANVILLE**: The noble Marquess has certainly laid great stress upon the gigantic blunder which, according to him, Free Traders made 40 years ago in believing that foreign countries would follow their example. I would, however, point out to the noble Marquess that the Free Traders of those days did not merely advocate their policy with the object of our being imitated by foreign countries, but they put that policy forward because they were convinced that simply and by itself Free Trade was best for this country. The object of the noble Marquess is not quite the same as that of the noble Earl on the Cross Benches. He does not propose to establish permanently a fixed duty upon all manufactured articles; but he would threaten to do so, and use the threat as an instrument of warfare with which to frighten all foreign countries into reducing their tariffs and becoming Free Traders like ourselves. If the noble Marquess could satisfy me that by our using that threat or putting it into execution for one year we should cause all the Protective walls in every part of the world to fall down, it might be well to make the experiment. But I do not believe in our power to achieve that result by using such a threat. The plan was tried for 20 years, and we went on trying to force other countries to fall in with our views by clapping 20 per cent on to the price of their goods; but without result. If we were to say—"We are going to use our tariffs as a means of forcing you to do that which you do not think advantageous to do," we should be using an argument like that which a missionary would use were he to say—"Heathens, your religion is unsuitable. Ours is the only true, pure, and inspired religion. If you do not follow our example and become Christians, we shall be forced to become heathens ourselves." If the views of noble Lords opposite are to prevail, how are you to deal with the Most Favoured Nation Clause which exists in almost every Treaty which we have made? This demand for Fair Trade appears to me to be as theoretical and fallacious as anything can possibly be. I must say that I shall be extremely surprised if your Lordships, simply on the statement of the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven) as to the existing state of things, which, I think, I have proved is not a correct statement, and after his suggestions as to the reforms he would carry out, should agree to grant the inquiry which he desires.

THE EARL OF **HARROWBY** said, he had heard with perfect amazement the assertion of the noble Earl that there was no very serious depression in this country.

EARL **GRANVILLE** said, that at the beginning of his speech he stated that there was very great suffering and distress among certain classes of the community.

THE EARL OF **HARROWBY** said, it was something to have got that acknowledgment from the Government. He asked their Lordships to consider whether the arguments of the noble Earl who had just sat down (Earl Granville) did not afford the strongest reasons for the holding of such an inquiry as was asked for? The noble Earl had pointed out that the present volume of the trade of this country had never been exceeded, and had also acknowledged that large classes of the community were in a very depressed and suffering condition. What was the meaning of such an extraordinary state of things? The volume of trade was greater than it had ever been, and yet very large masses of the people were in the greatest straits. Surely this mystery ought to be inquired into. The whole burden rested on Her Majesty's Government to tell the House why there should not be an inquiry. The noble Earl had given no reason why there should not be an inquiry, and had rested himself mainly upon what Lord Beaconsfield said five years ago. But when Lord Beaconsfield made that speech he had no idea that the depression would go on increasing at the terrible rate which had been the case, and it was perfectly absurd, therefore, to quote that speech now. Another argument in favour of permitting the inquiry was the fact that the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Dunraven), who, on that occasion, represented a large mass of the industrial population, and the noble Earl who represented the Government

(Earl Granville) were at complete variance in regard to matters of fact. He held that the real facts ought to be ascertained. In the manufacturing districts, in the iron and coal districts, the depression of trade was only too manifest. He (the Earl of Harrowby) had been in the manufacturing districts this autumn, in the great Port of Liverpool, and in the iron and coal districts, and unless his eyes deceived him there was one uniform testimony as to the suffering in every branch of trade. The Liberal Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith), in "another place," said the other day—

> "The fact has to be faced, that this great commercial country, which for years made such rapid progress by leaps and bounds . . . . has for some years past shown a tendency towards retrogression."

That came from a Gentleman who was well versed in commerce, and it was testimony worth a good deal more than the statistics of the noble Earl opposite. As to the statistics quoted by the noble Earl opposite, he would remind the House that nothing could be more deceptive than a mass of figures, which could be handled in a variety of ways. He should, therefore, decline to give his assent to the statistical statement of the noble Earl until it had been fully sifted by people of opposite views. He did not entirely agree with the noble Earl who brought the subject forward as to the reasons for the existing depression. In his opinion there were greater reasons. Trade and commerce were very shy of instability and uncertainty, which were fatal to enterprize, and one of the chief reasons why depression now prevailed was that the acts of the Government, and the speeches of some of its Members, had succeeded in creating a feeling of uncertainty and instability at home, and of great insecurity abroad. Enterprize was in consequence shy, commerce was frightened, and everybody seemed to be afraid to launch out. There was nothing extraordinary in this when they remembered the legislation of the Government in regard to land; their proposed shipping and attempted railway legislation; their attempted tampering with the coinage of the country; their bankruptcy legislation, which was evidently breaking down; and the threats which they had levelled at their Lordships' House. When they remembered these things, they would no longer be astonished that trade and enterprize were less prominent than formerly, and that labour was not receiving its just reward. Surely it would not be denied that our commerce was suffering from the instability of our policy and the state of uncertainty with regard to foreign affairs. The Government had neglected our commercial interests—that could be seen in many instances. Did we not see in every part of the world a state of things which made commercial men anxious? Were we not told by Sir Donald Currie and by Mr. Stanley that commerce was flying from West Africa in consequence of the conduct of Her Majesty's Government? What about their treatment of the Congo? They were allowing stringent tariffs to be established against our commerce on the Congo. Was their support of commerce in China encouraging? And what had been done in Madagascar? Everywhere we found the same feeling—that traders were afraid to launch out boldly into commercial enterprize, because the British flag was not likely to protect them, and the Government was not fairly supporting them. The uncertainty of trade, and feeling of want of stability and uncertainty at home, were, in his opinion, potent factors in the present trade depression. It was the opinion of a large mass of people who agreed with the noble Earl who had made this Motion that an inquiry ought to be held, and no reason had been given by Her Majesty's Government why it should not. But Her Majesty's Government were only following a fatal precedent. Their answer always was "No inquiry." When their Lordships wished to inquire into the operation of the Irish Land Act, the answer was "No inquiry." The hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie) asked for an inquiry as to the condition of the sugar industry, and the answer was "No inquiry." The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) urged for an inquiry into the state of our finances; but "No inquiry" was still the answer. And so again, with regard to our merchant shipping, a Select Committee was refused last year. And with respect to that most important matter, the Conference on Egypt, the Government made use of their majority to prevent inquiry. He owned he did not expect that the inquiry now moved for would be granted, as he had watched the conduct of the Government on former occasions. But the country would not rest until there was a full and searching inquiry, nor would any sensible man be afraid of demanding it lest he should be called a Protectionist. This inquiry would come in time; what the result of it would be it was not for him to say, but the country had a right to have this matter thoroughly investigated.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that neither the beginning nor the end of the noble Earl's (the Earl of Harrowby's) speech was consistent with the middle of it. In the beginning of his speech the noble Earl gave reasons for inquiry, and at the end of his speech he adduced what he deemed very strong reasons for it; but in the middle of his speech he cut away the ground for inquiry altogether, because he had found out that the way in which Her Majesty's Government had conducted foreign affairs was the cause of all the mischief. What the noble Earl really wanted was, not inquiry, but the removal of Her Majesty's Government. He (the Earl of Kimberley) was not going to follow the noble Earl in his long and unconnected statement with regard to every possible subject, from foreign affairs to Irish land, but would direct his remarks to what had fallen from the noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Dunraven). Her Majesty's Government were asked, Why not grant an inquiry? The answer was, because nothing could be worse unless they had made up their minds that the evils complained of were of such a nature that they could be remedied by the action of the Government and by legislation. Her Majesty's Government had made up their minds that the evil from which we suffered could not be so remedied by them, or by legislative measures. They ought to have some notion of a remedy before encouraging people to hope for one. The noble Earl on the Cross Benches (the Earl of Dunraven) had a remedy—the application of the principles of Reciprocity. The principles of Reciprocity were held in some countries; but what he would ask was, were we prepared to look forward to the establishment of a system of Reciprocity with other nations? This was a practical question, not a question of theory. Unless we obtained Reciprocity Treaties from all the nations of the world we must introduce differential duties in favour of countries from whom we obtained Reciprocity. And suppose we did so; the question was, would that produce any effect upon the other countries? Taking the United States, for example, suppose we were to endeavour to drive them into a more liberal policy by a system of differential duties, were we going to put a duty upon corn, or upon raw cotton, or upon the raw materials imported from the United States and used in the most important trades in this country? The attempt to force foreign countries to change their commercial policy by putting on differential duties would be the most Quixotic enterprize it was possible to enter upon. If they on that (the Ministerial) side of the House did not consider the introduction of a system of Reciprocity and Retaliation a practical measure it could not form to them the ground for any inquiry. Then if we were not going to introduce such a system, what possible scheme could be suggested for meeting the evil? The noble Earl said he would not deal with one of the principal interests of the country—namely, the agricultural interest. It might be all very well for noble Lords to put that out of their view; but the agricultural interest was a very important interest, and if they were going to leave food untaxed and to tax other things which the producer of food in this country used, they would be doing a great injustice. This was a thing he had often begged farmers to consider. If by any chance the people of this country were to be persuaded to put duties on foreign manufactures, the large mass of our population would never consent to have duties imposed on food, and therefore the agricultural classes would be placed in this position—that they would not have high prices for their produce, while they would have to pay high prices for all they had to consume. The noble Earl referred to theories which he said were held by members of the Cobden Club—for instance, that foreign tariffs were not an evil to this country. Anything that injured the trade of this country was an evil; that nobody could deny; but whether it would be wise in us to put duties upon foreign imports in order to break down the system of foreign tariffs was quite another thing. This was perfectly certain, that if goods were imported from foreign countries, they must be paid for by the produce of the labour of this country, and the produce of the labour of this country was the riches of this country, and the larger our imports —he did not say in any one year, but for a series of years—the greater our prosperity. He did not believe that this was a matter which would be regarded with disfavour. The noble Earl made a comparison between the advance of trade in certain countries and the advance of trade in this country over a given series of years; but that comparison was not a fair one. If they took the case of New South Wales and looked at the imports and exports of that Colony for the past 30 years, he had not the smallest doubt that it would be seen that the advance made there was greater than had been made by France in the same period. The reason was that the advance was much greater in a new country than in a country which had a greater volume of trade. The noble Earl quoted the wonderful progress in America in support of his argument. It would be a remarkable thing if the United States had not made a wonderful advance; but to compare the progress of America during the last 40 years with the progress of Great Britain of late years, was not a fair comparison. It had been said that he stated the other night that there was no depression in agriculture. He made no such statement. What he said was that there was no such depression as to induce them to mention it in the Queen's Speech. At the same time, he added that he was painfully aware, from his own experience, that there were parts of the country in which there was very serious depression, but that there were other places where depression did not exist, or where it was not so serious. He hoped it would not be supposed that he denied the existence of distress among many classes. He did say, however, that nothing could be less advantageous to the country and in the long run to these suffering classes themselves than an inquiry such as that now asked for. It would not be to the advantage of the people to make them lean upon such measures as the Government could supply. They ought rather to trust to the vigour and energy of the population.

## DEATH OF THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FAWCETT, POSTMASTER GENERAL.

### OBSERVATIONS.

Earl GRANVILLE: My Lords, I may be permitted to interrupt the debate for one moment to communicate a very sad piece of intelligence, which I received with very deep regret, which I am sure will be shared by every Member of this House. Two or three hours ago the death of the Postmaster General, Mr. Fawcett, occurred. I did not know any man whose intellectual qualities and high character more entitled him to the respect of every one who knew him. He was one of the bravest of men under a great physical disability.

The Marquess of SALISBURY: I will only add one word to what the noble Earl has said, and that is to join with him in expressing the belief that there are few public men whose loss at this moment would be received with so much regret. Mr. Fawcett was a man who, while holding strong political opinions, excited the liveliest sympathy and admiration alike among his opponents and friends.

## TRADE AND COMMERCE.

### MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

Debate *resumed.*

The Earl of CARNARVON said, he heartily concurred in the expression of regret at the loss sustained by the death of Mr. Fawcett, whom he had had the good fortune to know. The noble Earl said, that in considering the subject before their Lordships, there were two things they should bear in mind. First, they had to consider whether there had been a case made out worthy of inquiry; and then, in the next place, whether the mode suggested was the best way of dealing with the matter? The noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Kimberley) deprecated any inquiry, because it would mean a preconceived opinion as to the measures to be adopted. With regard to the condition of the trade and commerce of the country, he was not prepared to agree with the argument that, in accepting the Motion, the question would practically be Free Trade or Protection. He denied that Free Trade ought to be made a sort of idol or fetish, before which everything should be judged. It seemed to him that nothing could be more unreasonable or absurd than to say that, because they took off the duty on corn 40 years ago, they should not now have an inquiry into commercial and agricultural distress. That depression existed no one could doubt. It was depression in some cases, but in others it was misery and almost ruin; and it affected not one, but many classes. There had been none of that recuperative vigour and force which they had seen on former occasions. The depression which now existed had continued over a period of eight or 10 years, and there was no sign of recovery. On the contrary, every sign there was pointed to a still further downward course, It was true there was abundance in the exports of manufactured articles, just as there had been in the harvest; but, on the other hand, there was a diminution of profits. One might attribute that state of things to one reason, and another to another reason; but they ought, in his opinion, to try and ascertain what this phenomenon, which was new to them, really meant. It had been stated that the cause of the depression was the removal of British capital to foreign countries. In such a case as that no sign could be more alarming; but was it so? The answer was, inquire. By instituting an inquiry, the truth of such statements might be ascertained. Then there was the enormous competition which existed at this moment in many trades. That competition existed in large as well as in small trades. It was only the other day that he heard that the whole of the ironwork of an enormous railway station in the Midlands had been imported into this country from Belgium, and he knew from his own knowledge that iron for railway bridges had been brought over from abroad. It was precisely the same in smaller industries. When all these matters were put together, they produced an alarming result; and when he looked to the terribly severe winter which was in prospect, he, for one, could not contemplate the future without apprehension. He greatly regretted that the Government had opposed the investigation asked for. Scarcely anything had been said about agricultural distress, a subject which would require a long discussion to itself. During the last few years a vast amount of land had been thrown out of cultivation. No doubt, no blessing could be more greater than that which we had derived from cheap bread, which had carried us through many seasons of distress during the last 30 years. Still we ought to recognize what the throwing of land out of cultivation really meant. During the last 10 years 1,000,000 acres had been changed from arable to grass; 1,000,000 acres of grain would be about one-fourth of the total grain production of the country. All conversion of arable into pasture involved two consequences, one social and the other political. It meant the displacement of so many families and individuals, who were driven either to emigrate, or to contribute to the overcrowding of the large towns. He was not one of those who objected to emigration, for he had seen its advantages; but he did say that the driving of agriculturists and their families into the towns was in itself an unmitigated curse, which increased populations for whom the means of industrial employment were already too limited, and increased the struggle for life, and the general distress. Then it meant another very serious matter; it practically reduced the area of land devoted to the food supply of this country. We already depended for two-thirds of our food supply upon foreign countries, and it was a very great risk for the country to live on the sufferance of foreign nations. It had been said by the Prime Minister that farmers should recover their losses by growing fruit and rearing poultry. He could not understand anyone who knew anything of agricultural matters speaking of such small and petty agricultural pursuits as the substitute for growing corn; and, although these industries might be developed, we could not depend upon them as a means of subsistence, and the bulk of the land in England must always be farmed upon different principles. It was a mere fraction of the land of the country that could be applied to these purposes. Little had been said about our commercial relations with our Colonies; but for many years our Colonies had been our best customers, and a merchant or tradesman generally desired to meet the wants of a customer. Why had not we done anything of the sort? Our Colonial Empire was one of such extent, fertility, and variety of production, that we could get everything we wanted from them. Canada could supyly us with all the wheat we wanted at 30*s.* a-quarter, and in time of war we could hold the lines of communication, which would be a much more simple matter than living upon the sufferance of others. One of the best things we could do would be to see if we could not devise some form of commercial connection between the Colonies and the Mother Country. He believed that the case made out by the noble Earl (the Earl of Dunraven) was one worthy of inquiry, and that it was wise to ask for a Joint Committee of both Houses, because the weakness of this House in its knowledge of commercial subjects could be made up by the abundant knowledge in the other House. It would save public discussion and public time if the inquiry were granted, and in proportion as Free Traders were confident of the soundness of their principles, they ought to be willing and eager to submit them to the test of an inquiry. The Government were making a mistake in refusing an investigation on which the heart of the country was more set than it was on any other matter, and public feeling would be intensified by the distress of the coming winter.

EARL GRANVILLE said, the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon) had called special attention to the arguments that arable land had been turned into pasture. Did he suggest that inquiry might lead to legislation to prevent farmers and landlords cultivating land in the way they thought most profitable, or that this should be done by adopting the obvious course of putting such a duty on pasture as to bring land under the plough when wheat ought never to be sown, as was done by the Corn Laws?

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, that the inquiry of the noble Earl showed the supreme inattention with which he had listened to his remarks. What he had contended was that the large acreage of land which had gone out of cultivation had partly caused a distress which should be fully inquired into.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I should be sorry that this debate should close without my saying one word, which is to express the hope that my noble Friend will not push his Motion to a Division. Although I deeply regret that Her Majesty's Government have not granted the inquiry, yet the very structure of the Motion would have made it obviously inconvenient for us to resolve upon inquiry when we know that Her Majesty's Government are determined to arrest it. I am sorry that the Government have come to that conclusion. But I am more sorry that they have done so on arguments which I am sure will seem to the country to imply considerable scepticism as to the existence of this general depression. The noble Earl (Earl Granville) gave us statistics; he poured upon us all the columns of the Statistical Abstract. But I am sure, that if he had done that in the other House to anything like the same extent, he would have been told by a great authority that he was dealing with this country as though he were dealing with Jupiter or Saturn. He was treating us with scientific formulas, and elaborate quotations of statistics, in order to traverse the existence of a thing which anybody, who moves about in England at all, knows to exist as well as he knows that the sun shines in summer. The noble Earl admits the existence of this distress, at all events among certain classes. He admits its extreme severity. I do not know how much of human misery is necessary, in his mind, in order to call the attention of Parliament to its existence, and the powers of Parliament to inquire into its cause. But the Government, in this debate, have given us a reason against inquiry which certainly cannot be applied to any other department of life. The noble Earl almost angrily corrected my noble Friend for not having asked for this inquiry with a foregone conclusion as to its results. I have heard the advice not to prophesy unless you know. But this is the first time I have ever heard the doctrine propounded that you ought not to inquire unless you know what the result of the inquiry will be. The noble Earl (Earl Granville) used to-day a favourite argument with the Government—a quotation from a speech of Lord Beaconsfield delivered five years ago, which appears now to impress them with a reverence which it did not produce at the time. Lord Beaconsfield spoke in 1879, and although he was a man of marvellous powers, he could not have foreseen what would be the state of things in 1884. At all events, whatever may have been in Lord Beaconsfield's mind on that subject, I can prove that he did not go on the doctrine of "Never inquire unless you know what the result will be." When the late Government assented to the Royal Commission on Agriculture, he never required that the Duke of Richmond should write down his ideas of the conclusions to which the Commission would come.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: What have been the results?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Recommendations which I very much wish you would carry out.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY: Upon what?

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: Upon local taxation. I regret this view of Her Majesty's Government, and I shall remember it when they bring forward any Departmental Inquiry, and I shall bear in mind that it would not have been undertaken unless the result had been known beforehand. But, my Lords, I do not take that view. The objects of inquiry are to ascertain facts and to form conclusions—to ascertain whether legislation is required, and, if so, to lay the basis on which that legislation should rest. But inquiry has another important function—namely, to inform the minds of the people of the country. We are governed by public opinion, and it is our highest interest that that public opinion should be rightly stored with facts and rightly guided. Therefore, it is of great importance that the matters of fact in dispute should, as far as possible, be ascertained, and that the materials for the judgment of the country should be placed before it in a form in which they can be dealt with. The noble Earl (the Earl of Kimberley) cannot ignore the fact that this notion of Fair Trade is gaining force in every quarter—that there is a mass of public opinion forming which, if his view is correct, is most pernicious in its aims, and which ought for that reason to receive the attention of Parliament. I think I am at one with the noble Earl as to the point of Reciprocity, and that the use of countervailing duties would be legitimate as weapons of offence if there were fair grounds to believe that that species of warfare would be successful. The noble Earl's opposition is based upon scepticism as to the success of that kind of warfare. Surely in that he forgets the experience of his own official career—he forgets the Reciprocity Treaties which he himself has had a hand in negotiating. It was by an offer of reduction of tariffs that the French agreed to a relaxation of their prohibitory and protective system. Therefore, I think that the experience of the noble Earl himself should have warned him that this kind of threat is not so entirely without its influence with Foreign Powers as he is disposed to think. But, on the other hand, I agree with him, as Lord Beaconsfield said five years ago, that the difficulties surrounding any such undertaking are very great and enormously enhanced by the excessive and somewhat imprudent facility with which we have allowed our own free action to be bound. But, at all events, is it not wise that these difficulties should be faced by inquiry, and that it should be shown whether or not they are insuperable? I cannot understand that from any point of view more light would be an evil. We have strange and new phenomena to deal with. We wish the mysteries which attach to our present difficulties should be dissipated. We wish the misery, whose existence is more or less freely admitted, to be explained as far as possible, and I cannot see that any evil whatever could arise from exposing to the free light of inquiry the fiscal policy of the last 40 years, which, if it be sound, will only emerge the stronger from any inquiry which may be held.

THE EARL OF DUNRAVEN said, that after the debate that had taken place, he was willing to withdraw his Motion.

Motion (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

## MARRIAGES LEGALIZATION BILL.

### QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY said, that the Marriages Legalization Bill was an excellent and a comprehensive Bill, as it would probably have obviated the necessity for those Acts to legalize marriages which were passed almost every Session, and of which two—for Stopsley, Bedfordshire, and Wood Green Church—had been passed last year. This Bill had been sent down to the other House on the 23rd May, and had been withdrawn on the 24th July. How was it that it had not passed in those two months? Complaints had been made by the Government whenever they had been asked to initiate legislation in this House of the difficulty of passing their Bills; but it seemed there was something wrong in the other House, or in the management of it by the Government, for the year before, also, a Government Bill—the Indian Marine Bill—the principle of which had been unopposed, had failed to pass the House of Commons, and had come up again last Session. He would ask the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack whether he intended to reintroduce it?

THE LORD CHANCELLOR, in reply, said, that the reason why the Bill had not become law was because the House of Commons had not passed it. Their Lordships were aware of the circumstances under which the last Session terminated. No Bills except those which were absolutely uncontested were passed. Some hon. Members of the House of Commons thought that this particular measure had not been skilfully prepared, and the hon. and learned Attorney General (Sir Henry James) found he would not have an opportunity of passing it. In these circumstances, the Bill, like many other measures, fell to the ground. He hoped that he should be able to reintroduce it next Session, and that the objections to it would then disappear. He certainly intended to persevere with it.

House adjourned at half past Seven o'clock, till To-morrow, half past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday, 6th November,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW MEMBER SWORN—Lieutenant Colonel Richard Fell Steble, *for* Scarborough.

SELECT COMMITTEE—Charitable Trusts Acts, *re-appointed* and *nominated.*

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Liquor Traffic (Local Veto) (Scotland) * [28]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) * [29]; Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) * [30].

*Second Reading*—Representation of the People [1], *debate adjourned.*

## QUESTIONS.

### THE GLASGOW CALAMITY—PUBLIC BUILDINGS (DOORS) BILL.

VISCOUNT FOLKESTONE (for Mr. COLERIDGE KENNARD) asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he can inform the House if the exit doors of the public building in Glasgow, in which a terrible catastrophe has just occurred, were hung so as to open inwards; and, if so, whether he will withdraw the opposition he offered during the last Session of Parliament to the Bill entitled "Public Buildings (Doors) Bill," if again introduced?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have not yet received the official Report on this matter, and therefore I cannot judge, of course, of its bearings. But even if it were the case, as suggested in the Question of the hon. Member, that the doors of the theatre opened inwards, I do not think that would materially affect the grounds on which the Bill of last Session was opposed.

MR. MACFARLANE: May I ask whether it is in the recollection of the right hon. and learned Gentleman that Captain Shaw made a Report in regard to places of exit at public entertainments in the Metropolis; and, whether the recommendations of Captain Shaw have been fairly and efficiently carried out?

DR. CAMERON: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman lay the Report on the Table?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have not yet received the Report; but I have no objection to do so.

MR. MACFARLANE: I shall move for the production of the Report of Captain Shaw.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: As to the Report of Captain Shaw, the hon. Gentleman is, no doubt, aware that the authority in these matters is the Metropolitan Board of Works. I have done all in my power to induce the Board to carry out the recommendations, and I believe they are willing to carry them out. Indeed, I understand the works recommended have been carried out; but I should not like to say offhand

### ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—THE LANARK MILITIA.

DR. CAMERON asked the Lord Advocate, Whether it is a fact that Thomas Scoffield, arrested in Ayr on October 13th on a charge of absenting himself from the annual training of the Lanark Militia, was kept in custody at a county constabulary station for five days without being brought before a magistrate for remand or committal; and, if he would explain how the delay originated, and how the case was ultimately disposed of?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I believe the facts are correctly stated in the Question. Questions have arisen from time to time as to whether minor offences against the Army Acts should be prosecuted by the Civil or Military Authorities. During last Session a definite arrangement was agreed to between the Departments concerned, which was to come into force on the 1st of October. It appears that this arrangement was not sufficiently known or understood by the Local Authorities on the 13th of October, and a misunderstanding between them on the point was the cause of the delay. The consequence was that the man was liberated without being brought to trial. The occurrence is certainly to be regretted; but I do not think that such a case will happen again.

### INLAND REVENUE—DUTY ON GOLD AND SILVER PLATE.

MR. SLAGG asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take any steps with the view of ascertaining the amount necessary to provide a reasonable drawback of duty upon gold and silver plate, new and unused, in the hands of manufacturers and dealers; and, whether such information could not best be obtained by means of the assistance of the Goldsmiths' Company of London and the other Assay Offices throughout the Country?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to my hon. Friend I have to say that if it should be decided to make any payment in the nature of drawback of duty on plate in the hands of manufacturers and dealers, the fullest consideration will be given to the question of the scale and principle on which such drawback should be calculated. We should, no doubt, avail ourselves of the assistance of the Assay officers in considering on what articles such drawback should be allowed; but I cannot say that their advice as to the amount to be considered reasonable would necessarily be taken.

### REGISTRY OF DEEDS OFFICE (IRELAND).

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether any steps have yet been taken to remove the grievances admitted last Session to exist in the Registry of Deeds Office, Ireland?

MR. COURTNEY: I must demur to the implication that any grievance was admitted; the only admission is that some men in this Office are too good for their work. Special inquiries have been made into the condition of the Office, and I expect to receive very shortly a Report from the Treasury Remembrancer upon it.

### PUBLIC DOCUMENTS—DELAY IN PRINTING.

MR. BROADHURST asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he is aware that the delay in the production of Reports and Despatches is largely due to the fact that the Queen's Printers carry on their business with low-priced labour, therefore the best class of workmen do not accept employment in that firm; and, whether, having regard to the inconvenience caused to this House by the length of time which elapses between the laying of the Papers upon the Table and the delivery of them to Members, he will either make the printing contract an open competition in fact, or transfer the orders to the firm which now does the work of the Foreign and War Offices, and who have a complete command of the skilled labour market of the Country, so far as it relates to the printing trade?

MR. COURTNEY: I have no knowledge as to the class of labour employed by the different Government printers, and it is not the fact that delays have been greater in work done by Eyre and Spottiswoode than others; I am, indeed, aware that they protest that there has been no delay attributable to them. Irrespective of the present complaint, it has long been settled that when the present printing contracts expire the work will be thrown open to public competition on an improved system.

## ARMY (INDIA)—EAST INDIAN MEDICAL SERVICE.

Mr. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether any, and, if so, what, steps have been taken by the Indian Government to lessen or remove the grievances of the Indian Medical Service?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The measures taken for reducing the number of unemployed medical officers in India have been efficacious. The Government of India have telegraphed that there are now only two unemployed officers in Bengal, and they have promised to communicate the number still unemployed in Madras and Bombay. It has been decided to place all surgeons of the Indian Service, not holding Executive charge, on precisely the same footing in respect of pay as surgeons of the Army or British Medical Department similarly situated. The lower rate of pay hitherto called unemployed pay will, for the future, be called grade pay, and will only be given when the officer is in receipt of staff salary in addition to his pay.

## RAILWAYS (INDIA)—BHOPAL, GWALIOR, AND NAGPORE RAILWAYS.

Mr. SLAGG asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he can give any information to the House as to the proposals or contracts, if any, which have been made with regard to railway extension in India under the recommendations of the Select Committee on Indian Railway Communication?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: In reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Manchester, I can only say that negotiations are proceeding respecting the proposed Bhopal, Gwalior, and the Nagpore Railways; but I regret that they have not yet resulted in any contract.

## METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS (THAMES CROSSINGS)—SUBWAY AT SHADWELL.

Mr. RITCHE asked the Chairman of the Metropolitan Board of Works, Whether the attention ef the Metropolitan Board has been directed to the Special Report from the Select Committee on Metropolitan Board of Works (Thames Crossings) Bill, in which the Committee report that "two crossings are immediately required, and should be sanctioned by Parliament," the one a low level bridge, with openings at Little Tower Hill, and the other a subway at or near Shadwell; and express a hope that the Metropolitan Board of Works would undertake the construction of the subway contemporaneously with the construction of a bridge at Little Tower Hill by the Corporation of London; whether the Engineer to the Board reported, in 1882, recommending the construction of a tunnel at Shadwell; and, whether the Board propose to apply to Parliament in the ensuing Session for the necessary powers to construct the subway as suggested by the Select Committee, and recommended by their Engineer?

Sir JAMES M'GAREL-HOGG: In reply to my hon. Friend, I beg to inform him that the attention of the Metropolitan Board has been directed to the Report of the Select Committee on the Thames Crossings Bill, and that Report is now before a Committee of the Board. As regards the second part of my hon. Friend's Question, the Engineer of the Board did, in 1882, suggest the construction of a tunnel at Shadwell as part of a general scheme of communications, and that scheme would, no doubt, have been submitted to Parliament had the Board been able to obtain from the Government an assurance of the continuance of the Coal and Wine Dues. As regards the last part of the Question, I regret that I am not at present in a position to afford the information asked, as the whole question of Thames communications is still under the consideration of a Committee of the Board.

Mr. RITCHIE asked the Lord Mayor of London, Whether the attention of the Corporation of London has been directed to the Special Report from the Select Committee of the Metropolitan Board of Works (Thames Crossings) Bill, in which the Committee report that "two crossings are immediately required and should be sanctioned by Parliament," the one a low level bridge with openings at Little Tower Hill, and the other a subway at or near Shadwell, and express a hope that the Corporation of London may be induced to undertake the great and useful work of constructing the bridge contemporaneously with the construction of a subway at Shadwell by the Metropolitan Board of Works; and, whether the Corporation of London propose to apply to Parliament in the ensuing Session for the necessary powers to construct such a bridge?

Mr. R. N. FOWLER (Lord Mayor): In reply to the hon. Member, I have to say that as soon as the Report of the Select Committee on Thames Crossings appeared the Corporation immediately took steps to ascertain how far its recommendations could be complied with. They decided to construct a low-level bridge at Tower Hill, and the notices required before we can obtain the necessary powers will be given in a day or two.

### ARMY (INDIA)—NUMBERS.

Captain AYLMER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the English troops in India are below the established number; and, if so, by what number of men in each branch of the Service, and also by what number they fell short of the establishment on the 31st December 1883?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: It is very difficult during the trooping season, when detachments of men are on their way to and from India, to state the exact strength of a given arm in that country; but if the hon. and gallant Member will be content with the Returns for the 1st of September in the present and the past years, which may be taken as dates immediately preceding the trooping season, it will be seen that in the present season the Cavalry was 141; the Artillery 67; and the Infantry 4,224 below their establishment. It should be observed that a deficiency of from 800 to 900 was to be expected as arising from casualties since the close of the previous trooping season; and there is a further reason for deficiency in that two battalions from the Indian Establishment have been lent for service in Egypt. The corresponding figures for the 1st of September, 1883, showed the Cavalry as 419; the Artillery as 88; and the Infantry as 5,123 below establishment. I may add that the Authorities in India anticipate that by the close of the present trooping season their deficiency will be reduced to 650 men.

### ARMY—ARMY MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—SURGEONS MAJOR—EXAMINATIONS FOR PROMOTION.

Sir HENRY FLETCHER asked the Secretary of State for War, with reference to the Regulations in regard to the examination of Surgeons Major for promotion to the rank of Brigade Surgeon, as laid down in Army Circular, dated 1st November, 1884, Is there any precedent for examining officers ranking as Lieut.-Colonels of six years' standing, and is it proposed to extend these examinations to the other scientific branches of the Army, and examine Lieut.-Colonels of Royal Engineers and Royal Artillery before promotion to the rank of Colonel; is it the fact that several of the senior Surgeons Major are over fifty years of age, and is it the case that H.R.H. the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, when giving evidence before Lord Morley's Committee, expressed an opinion against subjecting such old officers for examination; and, by whose recommendation were these examinations instituted?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: There are several Surgeons Major over 60 years of age, who, before being promoted to the rank of Brigade Surgeon, will be required to undergo examination. It is the case that His Royal Highness the Field Marshal Commanding in Chief, in his evidence before Lord Morley's Committee, expressed an opinion adverse to the examinations of officers so advanced in life; but after full consideration of the difficulty of selecting officers for the rank of Brigade Surgeon the examinations were determined on at the suggestion of the Director General. There is probably no precedence for the examination of officers of similar rank in the service; but then there is probably no case in which the grounds of selection for promotion are so difficult to arrive at. There is no intention to propose the extension of the system of examination to the corresponding combatant ranks.

### SOUTH AFRICA—ZULULAND—THE NATIVE RESERVE.

Sir WILLIAM M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether there is any foundation for the report published in *The Natal Witness* of the 27th September, to the effect that the Native Reserve in Zululand has been, or is about to be, given to John Dunn and Zibebu; and, if not, whether Her Majesty's Government contemplate any other change in their relation to the Reserve?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY, in reply, said, there was no foundation for the report in question, and the Government did not contemplate any other change in their relation to the Reserve.

## HOUSING OF THE WORKING CLASSES —REPORT OF THE COMMISSIONERS.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked the President of the Local Government Board, When the Report of the Royal Commission on the Housing of the Working Classes is likely to be issued; and, whether evidence has been taken, showing generally, and not in exceptional cases: the nature of the house accommodation provided for the working classes in the agricultural districts as compared with the towns; the rent charged in the agricultural districts as against that charged in the towns; the return of interest in the shape of rent on the capital invested in this class of houses in the towns as compared with the agricultural districts?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The first Report of the Royal Commissioners on the Housing of the Working Classes —namely, that which relates to England and Wales, is now under consideration; but I am unable to say when it will be issued. It is unusual for Royal Commissioners to make public statements as to the nature of the evidence taken before them; but I may say, in general terms, that the subjects mentioned by the hon. and gallant Member have received attention.

## SCOTLAND—APPOINTMENTS TO THE LOCAL MARINE BOARD, GREENOCK.

Lord CLAUD HAMILTON asked Mr. Solicitor General, Whether the appointment, on the 23rd February, by the Board of Trade to the Greenock Local Marine Board of Mr. George T. Swanston and Mr. H. A. Dobson, *employés* of the Board of Trade, and resident in London, was legal under Section 110 of the Merchant Shipping Act, 1854; whether the appointment on the 4th of March last, by the Board of Trade of Mr. Abram Lyle and Mr. Edward Wilson (Provost of Greenock and, as such, already a member *ex officio*) to the Local Board was competent, having regard to the question of the lapse of the power of appointment prior to their nomination; whether the nomination by the Board of Trade of a gentleman to the Local Board, already an *ex officio* member, was within the provisions of the Act; and, if, in the case of the misconduct of an officer of a vessel belonging to Greenock, it is competent for the Board of Trade to direct the trial of such case (as recently took place) before the Local Marine Board of Glasgow instead of that of Greenock?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL (Sir Farrer Herschell): With regard to the first part of the Question, I have to say that under the Merchant Shipping Act, in addition to the elected members of Local Marine Boards, four members are to be nominated within a month of the election by the Board of Trade. In some cases it has been found difficult within a month to find suitable persons to take the office; and the practice has prevailed now for a great number of years of appointing certain officials of the Board of Trade temporarily, and then, afterwards, on their resignation, of appointing other persons, whose fitness has been, in the meantime, ascertained. This is no new practice. I confess, however, that, having looked into the matter, I question whether it is within the letter of the law. I think it is not; and although it was no doubt done with the best intentions, I think it will probably not be repeated. With regard to the second part of the Question, I think the appointment of those two gentlemen, apart from the matter referred to in the third part of the Question, was a legal appointment. I think that, whatever question there might have been as to the fitness of the persons originally appointed, their resignation caused a vacancy which was properly filled up with suitable persons. With regard to the third part of the Question, I think it is certainly open to question whether the appointment was an effectual one at all; because if effectual it could only take effect at the termination of his year of office. I would rather not pass a positive opinion on that point, because it is not so clear as the others. As regards the fourth part of the Question, I think there is a misapprehension on the part of those who have suggested it. It is not obligatory on the part of the President of the Board of Trade to direct that the trial should take place at the port to which the officer belongs; but it is in the Act that it is to be held at the nearest and most convenient place for the attendance of witnesses. In this particular case I am not aware that there was any inconvenience to the witnesses in selecting Glasgow instead of Greenock; but the reason was that owing to the questions which had arisen, such as the noble Lord has called attention to, some members of the Marine Board stated that they would not attend; and, consequently, it was found that if the trial were directed to be held at Greenock the great inconvenience might be felt of there not being a quorum when the witnesses were summoned to attend.

## THE IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—MR. WALPOLE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Justice O'Hagan, when replying to the Memorial for the removal of Sub-Commissioner Walpole from the Cork Sub-Commission, had inquired into the specific charges of partiality set forth in the Memorial when he wrote that—

> "The Commissioners do not believe that any valid reason does exist in the case of any of their Sub-Commissioners;"

and, if so, what was the nature of his inquiries?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I thought it right to communicate the terms of this Question to the Office of the Land Commissioners. I understand that the Commissioners are at present on Circuit in the West of Ireland. Perhaps the hon. Member will repeat this Question a few days later on.

## WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS (SCOTLAND)—THE LAND AGITATION.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether, in view of the grave intelligence received from the Western Isles of Scotland, concerning the excited state of feeling among the crofters, and the occurrence of collisions between the crofters and the police, the Government have taken any steps, or will take any steps, before permitting the employment of Military force, to inform themselves whether the existing state of affairs is due to any difficulties unjustly thrown in the way of the crofters in their efforts to secure by their labour the means of subsistence for their families and themselves; whether the Government, before sanctioning a resort to extreme measures, will apply their good offices to endeavour to induce the landlords to come to friendly terms with their tenants; and, whether the Government, with a view to allay the excitement now prevailing in the Western Isles, will hold the prospect of introducing in the coming Session of Parliament, for the benefit of poor tenants in the Highlands, a Bill on the lines of the Irish Land Act of 1881, or some such measure of practical remedial legislation? He also asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman had any information that a deputation representing 26,000 men of the Island of Lewis was at Stornoway awaiting for the answer to that Question?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, he had no such information as was referred to in the last part of the Question; but it only showed the seriousness of the answer he had to give on that matter. He was not aware that there was any further information on the subject than was contained in the voluminous Report of the Royal Commission. He had already stated that the Government had under their consideration what should be done in consequence of that Report; but he should act improperly if he for one moment countenanced the idea that anything was to be conceded to the violation of law and order. The first and unconditional duty of the Government was to see that order was maintained, and the law observed. It was impossible at this moment to set forth what legislation the Government might think fit to propose; and certainly no such announcement could be made as a condition on which the maintenance of order could depend.

MR. MACFARLANE asked whether, after the Franchise Bill had been disposed of, legislation on this subject would be taken up? He did not ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman to tell them what legislation would be proposed; but would there be any legislation, and when? He thought if the

Government would make a statement to that effect the agitation would subside at once.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am very glad to hear that from the hon. Member; because I have already stated last Session, and I have no objection again to state, that the Government having appointed a Commission, and they having made an important Report, they will feel themselves bound to take action upon that Report.

### CONTAGIOUS DISEASES (ANIMALS) ACT, 1883—THE DOMINION OF CANADA.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If he will lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence with the Canadian Government relative to the operation of Clause 3 of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act of last Session?

Mr. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that there would be no objection to produce the Correspondence in question.

### NATIONAL DEBT (CONVERSION OF STOCK) — OPERATION OF THE ACT.

Mr. SALT asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, If he will lay upon the Table of the House a Statement exhibiting the amount of Three per Cents. converted into Two and three-quarter per Cents.; the amount converted into Two and a-half per Cents.; the particular Stocks with respect to which the conversion has been made, Consols, Reduced Three per Cents., or New Three per Cents.; the amount of Stock, in each case, that belongs to private and to public funds, and the amount added to the capital amount of the public debt by the process of conversion; the amount of interest saved; the present capital sum of Three and three-quarter per Cents. and of New Three per Cents.; and, whether he proposes to take any further steps to accelerate the process of conversion?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): In reply to my hon. Friend, I have to say that the final account of these conversions is not yet made up; but that as soon as it is complete I propose to lay on the Table a Paper giving full details of the transaction. As to the second Question, Parliament has given the Treasury discretionary powers within certain limits for two years; and at this moment I have no communication to make on the subject. If further powers should become, in my opinion, necessary, Parliament will be informed.

### FRANCE AND CHINA—THE HOSTILITIES.

Mr. M'COAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government recognise the existence of a state of war between France and China; and, if so, whether our duties of neutrality will be strictly observed towards both belligerents, including the closure of British ports and coaling stations in the Eastern Seas to their respective transports and men-of-war?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: It is not in my power to make, at present, any addition to my statement on this subject of the 28th ultimo, as the reply to the communication, which I informed the House had been addressed to the French Government, was only received yesterday, and is being considered. Meanwhile, the provisions of the Foreign Enlistment Act are being strictly enforced against both France and China.

### PUBLIC WORKS LOANS ACT, 1879—INTEREST ON HARBOUR LOANS.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether his attention has been directed to a speech delivered at Stonehaven on the 17th October, by Mr. R. W. Duff, M.P., one of the Lords of the Treasury, on the subject of the rate of interest charged upon Harbour Loans, and to his statement that the rate of interest on those loans was raised one per cent. by "The Public Works Loans Act, 1679;" whether he confirms that statement; whether there is anything in the Act of 1879 which restrains the Public Works Loan Commissioners from advancing money for Harbour Loans at any rate of interest which does not involve loss to the Exchequer; whether advances are now made at a rate unnecessarily high for the security of the Exchequer; whether it is not in the power of the Treasury to make regulations whereby that rate shall be reduced; and, whether he intends to make such regulations?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I will first answer the third Question of the right hon. Baronet, and I am afraid that I must, in doing so, enter into some detail. When the Bill of 1879 was originally introduced by the right hon. Baronet it contained a clause fixing the rates of interest on harbour loans, among others. They were to be according to a scale which required 4½ per cent interest to be paid on loans for more than 40 years, and less rates for shorter terms. But this clause met with great opposition, and the right hon. Baronet omitted it and took power to the Treasury to fix these rates. He said, however, that he assented to this modification with the distinct understanding—I am using the words of the Minute which he passed at the Treasury—that the Treasury would discharge the responsibility imposed upon them by at once adopting the rates which the Bill originally contained. My hon. Friend the Member for Banffshire (Mr. R. W. Duff) was therefore right in saying that the practical effect of the right hon. Baronet's Act was to raise the rate of interest on harbour loans by 1 per cent—the former rate for long loans under the Act of 1861 having been 3½ per cent—and this increased rate has been actually enforced since the passing of the Act. But it is also true that by the Act of 1879 the Treasury have power to reduce this rate of interest; and if the right hon. Baronet had been in the House on the 25th of July last he would have heard me say that before the Session of 1885 the Treasury would take into consideration and deal with all the rates of interest on loans made by the Public Works Loan Commissioners, having regard to two circumstances—one, the lower rate at which the Government can now borrow; and the other, the possibility of obtaining collateral security, such as local or county rates. We shall carry out that promise.

## POST OFFICE (CONTRACTS)—THE IRISH MAIL SERVICE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Postmaster General, What additional amount was offered by the Government to the Midland Great Western Railway Company of Ireland in the course of the recent negotiations for an improved Mail Service between Dublin and the West of Ireland, and what improvement in the Service was stipulated for by the Government; also what additional sum the Company asked for a Mail Service of forty miles an hour; and, whether he will lay upon the Table of the House a copy of the correspondence between his Department and the Midland Railway Company, and of any memorials and resolutions submitted to him with regard to the necessity for an improved Mail Service between Dublin and the West of Ireland?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: I am sure the House will regret to learn that my right hon. Friend the Postmaster General is suffering from a severe attack of pleurisy, which will, I fear, prevent his transacting business for some little time. He has asked me to act again as his deputy, and in that capacity I will answer this Question. No specific sum was offered to the Railway Company for accelerating the existing trains, because at the outset of the negotiations the Railway Company assured the Post Office that it was not practicable to secure an acceleration by making the existing trains start earlier and run at a faster speed. As my right hon. Friend recently explained, the question whether the circumstances would justify the running of the additional train is now being carefully considered. He is of opinion that no useful end would be served by laying copies of the Correspondence and Memorials to which the hon. Member refers on the Table, especially so as he fully recognizes how much importance is attributed throughout the locality to an acceleration of the mails.

## CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES' COMMISSION — LETTER OF THE SECRETARY.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he will have any objection to lay upon the Table a copy of a letter written by Mr. H. D. Warr, Secretary to the City of London Livery Companies' Commission, by the direction of the Commissioners, and addressed to the editors of certain Liberal newspapers with a view to "educate the opinions of the Liberal electors of the Provinces" upon the recommendations of the Commissioners in their Report?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that since the right hon. Gentleman had put that Question on the Paper he had communicated with Mr. Warr, Secretary to the Commission, and also with its Chairman. On seeing the Secretary, that gentleman frankly admitted to him that substantially what was stated in the Question was true; but he also stated that he had no authority from the Chairman of the Commission, or from anyone upon it, to write such a letter. He had also communicated with the Chairman, who wrote that he never directed Mr. Warr to write letters to the newspapers, or to call their attention in any way to the subject of the Report of the Commissioners; nor did he know that Mr. Warr had done so; and Mr. Warr certainly had no right to use the name of the Commission in connection with any correspondence of that kind. He himself had told Mr. Warr that it was a most indiscreet and improper proceeding on the part of the Secretary of a Commission, who ought to be absolutely impartial in the matter, and ought to obey their directions in what he wrote and did. Mr. Warr, he thought, recognized that that statement on his part was well-founded. He thought, therefore, that the right hon. Gentleman would see that it was impossible to lay any Papers on the Table. He had not seen the letter in question; but Mr. Warr admitted that he wrote it without any authority from the Commission or the Chairman. Consequently, it would not be an official document at all, and it was written after the Commission was *functus officio*, and its Report had been made. Mr. Warr could only allege a slight communication from one of the Commissioners at all relating to communications with the newspapers.

### MEXICO—RENEWAL OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN—BRITISH CLAIMS.

Mr. SALT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the preliminary Agreement for the renewal of relations between Great Britain and Mexico has been ratified by the Mexican Congress; and, whether any steps have been taken for the settlement of British claims?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The preliminary Agreement for the renewal of relations between Great Britain and Mexico has been passed by the Mexican Senate, and the ratifications were exchanged at Mexico on the 28th ultimo. Her Majesty's Government have no reason to doubt that the Mexican Government will now proceed with the investigation into the British claims provided for in the 1st Article of the Agreement, a copy of which has been laid before Parliament in the Paper, Mexico, No. 1, 1884.

### SCOTLAND—SEA AND COAST FISHERIES—FISHING GRANTS.

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If he will cause to be prepared, and lay upon the Table, a Return of all persons to whom the Crown has at various times granted an exclusive right of angling in estuaries and on the coast of Scotland, the Return to specify the date of such grant, the service for which it was granted, and the revenue, if any, formerly and now paid for such monopoly?

Mr. COURTNEY: The Question of the hon. Member is not thoroughly understood in the Department. The Crown originally owned all the salmon fishings in Scotland, whether in rivers, estuaries, or sea coast; and, apart from grants made long since, what remains is treated as part of the land revenue, and the dealings with it are reported year by year in the Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests, to which the hon. Member may refer; but these Reports do not in any way relate, as I understand it, to rod fishing, to which the Question of the hon. Member appears to refer.

Mr. MACFARLANE: The hon. Gentleman says that grants were given a long time ago, and all that remains is now vested in the Crown. What I want to know is the equivalents that were given for these grants, for if the grants are not in existence, the tenants have no right to the fishings.

Mr. COURTNEY: I said they were grants of general rights of fishing, and the rights of fishing are treated as part of the revenues of the Crown; but there are no grants of angling, as I understand it. That is the point of the Question.

Mr. MACFARLANE: The grants I refer to are exclusive grants. I wish to ask if there are any exclusive grants of fishing by reason of which certain persons exclude the public from these waters?

Mr. COURTNEY: Certainly; there are exclusive grants of fishing; but I pointed out to the hon. Member that that is not the Question on the Paper. It refers to exclusive grants of angling. With respect to the fishing, as I said before, there were ancient grants made long since for considerations with which we are now very little acquainted. The rest of the fishing is treated as part of the land revenue. Large part of it is let on 10 years' leases to persons who choose to rent it from the Crown; but a good deal has recently been sold to landowners —fishings *ex adverso*—that being the best means, we think, both in the interest of the Crown and of the public, of treating that revenue; and in these cases the owners have, by grant, the right to the exclusive fishing off their lands. All these sales are reported from year to year in the Report of the Commissioners of Woods and Forests. It would take a very long time to make out a complete list of the grants sold for Scotland.

### CITY OF LONDON LIVERY COMPANIES' COMMISSION.

MR. W. H. JAMES asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether the Government contemplate any legislation to give effect to the recommendation of the City Liveries Companies Commission?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: My answer to that is that this matter is under consideration. I cannot say more at present.

### NAVY—ACCOUNTANTS AND ENGINEERS—REPORT OF THE DEPARTMENTAL COMMITTEE.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, Whether the Report of the Committee, appointed to inquire into the existing rules for counting junior time in the Accountant and Engineering Branches of the Royal Navy, will be considered in time to enable any recommendations that may be adopted by Her Majesty's Government to take effect in the forthcoming financial year?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The Report of the Committee will be submitted shortly, and the recommendations will be carefully considered before the commencement of the forthcoming financial year.

### POOR LAW (IRELAND) — BELFAST WORKHOUSE—IRREGULARITIES OF THE MASTER.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to *The Northern Whig* newspaper report of the proceedings of the Belfast Board of Guardians of the previous day, in which it is alleged by Mr. Jackson, a large ratepayer in the Union, that an irregular, if not fraudulent, system of book-keeping has prevailed in the Belfast Workhouse for a long time past; if it be true that the master of this workhouse effected sales of farm produce, and other workhouse property, for one whole year and more, and made no entry, nor kept any record, of said sales in the books set apart by the Local Government Board for that purpose; if it be true that he has disregarded a resolution of the Board of Guardians requiring him to keep an inventory of the furniture and movable effects of the workhouse; if it be correct that forty paupers more were on the books of the workhouse, on the 29th September 1884, than were in the house; is it a fact that the present numbers in the house do not agree with those on the books; is it true that Major Stoddart, Government Auditor, and Inspector Hamilton, promised to conceal the master's misconduct, and did keep it concealed from the public, until Mr. Jackson's letter disclosed their conduct; have the Local Government Board condoned these offences; and, will an inquiry on oath be instituted into the whole question, or what steps will be taken?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: This Question having only appeared on the Notice Paper yesterday, there has not been time for the receipt of the necessary Report, which could only be made after detailed inquiry in Belfast. Perhaps the hon. Member will be good enough to repeat the Question on Monday.

### LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND) —THE ARRAN ISLANDS.

MR. O'BRIEN (for Mr. HEALY) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Has his attention been called to complaints that the agent in the Arran Islands for many years has made the tenants under £4 valuation pay rates contrary to Law under threat of eviction, make roads without wages, and support a Protestant minister who, along with his congregation, had been imported by him into the island, and for whose benefit two tenants were evicted; if he would inquire if the tenants collected seaweed and made kelp from it without any charge for doing so for many years, but were first charged a royalty on this kelp when the agent became a director and shareholder of a kelp manufacturing company; has the Land Court of Appeal at Galway adjourned, at great inconvenience to the tenants, the decision of their cases at the request of the agent, in order to consider a demand he makes for royalty on seaweed for kelp, although there is no question about the abstract right of the tenants freely to collect seaweed for manure or otherwise; and, did the Court allow only £3 as expenses to seventy-eight tenants for the delay and the hazard of their lives in coming across the sea to Galway; and, will arrangements be made to have the points complained of speedily investigated?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): My attention has been called to complaints of the tenants of Arran Island and counter-statements of the landlord's agent. The tenants valued under £4 have, I am informed, paid poor rate up to last year; but this was not done under threat of eviction. The agent states he took on himself and paid all rates at the tenants' request, and charged them one rate equal to the county cess alone. I am informed that the tenants, up to a few years ago, did make roads without wages, and were threatened with eviction if they refused. The agent states they were bound by the terms of their tenancies to provide labour for the purpose. The Protestant clergyman is paid exclusively by the Sea Coast Mission Society. No Protestants have been imported into the Island. The clergyman has resided in the present house for 30 years. One tenant was evicted in 1877 for non-payment of rent. The farm was given to the clergyman, who held it only for a short time. It is now on the agent's hands The tenants were not charged for kelp until recently. I believe it is a fact that a royalty was first charged at a time when the agent was Director and shareholder of a Kelp Manufacturing Company. The Company has since failed. I am informed that the Sub-Commissioners only adjourned the cases till the claims to take seaweed, which was disputed before them, were settled. I have no information as to the circumstances under which the Sub-Commissioners, in the exercise of their discretion, measured this sum for expenses.

### THE WESTERN HIGHLANDS OF SCOTLAND (LEWIS)—MR. ROSS.

MR. MACFARLANE asked the Lord Advocate, If the Mr. Ross, who was recently deputed to investigate some alleged disturbances at Uig in Lewis, in his capacity of Procurator Fiscal, is the same Mr. Ross who is the Law Agent of the proprietor?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): The position of Mr. Ross has already been explained to the House on, I think, not fewer than four or five occasions during the present year. He is the Procurator Fiscal, and he is also a member of a firm who do any local law business which may be required by the proprietrix of the Island. That lady's principal law agents are in Edinburgh. Mr. Ross's firm are not factors or managers of the estate.

### PUBLIC MEETINGS (IRELAND)—THE RIOT AT PORTADOWN.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Government will direct an inquiry into the police arrangements in connection with the recent riots in Portadown; and, if explanations have been demanded from the Resident Magistrate, Captain Whelan, and District Inspector Smith, as to the absence from duty upon the night of the riot, and to whom, in their absence, the direction of the police force was entrusted?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I can assure my hon. Friend that the subject is engaging the most careful attention of the Government, and especially the matter in the second paragraph of the Question. As soon as possible the result of the inquiry will be made known.

### FREEMASONRY (IRELAND)—OPENING OF A NEW LODGE AT BANTRY.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that, on the 16th ultimo, a new Masonic Lodge was opened in Bantry, county Cork, at which the leading "brethren" were Mr. E. B. Warburton, Resident Magistrate, Mr. W. H. Fizelle, District Inspector Royal

Irish Constabulary, Bantry, and Mr. J. S. Hume, District Inspector Royal Irish Constabulary, Skibbereen; and, whether, in view of the sentiments of the Catholic inhabitants of the neighbourhood, he will consider the advisability of modifying the police arrangements of the district?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Beyond what is indicated by reports published in the local Press, the Government has no knowledge of the circumstances referred to as to the alleged establishment of a Masonic Lodge. With regard to the suggested modification of the police arrangements of the Bantry district, the Inspector General informs me that, if any representation is made to him on the subject, he will be prepared to consider whether any necessity for such modification exists.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether there were any inquiries made by the Government of any of the gentlemen present at the opening of the Lodge?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir; we have not inquired into what appears to be a private matter entirely.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Is it not a matter of some concern that the whole administration of the Police Force should be in the hands of Freemasons?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I understand that in Ireland, as in England, it has never yet been considered that being a Mason precludes in any way individuals from the discharge of official duties.

## PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 (WARRANTS)—EXTRA POLICE AT TIMAHOE, QUEEN'S CO.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary, Whether it is a fact that four additional police have been put upon the district of Timahoe, in the Queen's County; whether the district in question is one of the most peaceful in Ireland; what are the representations which have induced the Government to take this step; and, from what responsible authorities did the representations come?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Four additional police have been placed in the district on account of the prevalence of intimidation and "Boycotting" and apprehension of outrage. It was because reports to this effect were made to the Divisional Magistrate and responsible Constabulary authorities of the district that the charge has been made.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman, whether a single outrage of any kind or description has occurred for many months in the district?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I did not say there had been outrages; I said it was because there was intimidation and apprehension of outrage.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked, whether the Government proposed to throw any extra charge upon his constituents on account of extra police placed in Queen's County only upon the surmise of the Resident Magistrate and in the absence of outrage?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN replied, that if this Question were anything more than appeared on the Paper, he must ask for Notice. If the hon. Member desired to know whether any extra charge would be placed on the county, perhaps he would give Notice.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, he would repeat the Question on Monday.

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—OVER-PRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, in view of the statements contained in a Report made at his request by Dr. Crichton Browne, F.R.S. one of the Lord Chancellor's Visitors in Lunacy, and printed by order of this House, and of the published opinions of Sir William Jenner, President of the Royal College of Physicians, that the report, if acted upon, "will save much suffering and some lives," he will take steps to procure the appointment of a Commission of medical men unconnected officially with the Education Department, to inquire whether the present method of applying the Elementary Education Acts injuriously affects the health of the children and teachers? He would add to what stood on the Paper in his name the following Question—namely, Whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that the Metropolitan Association of School Board Teachers, representing more than 2,000 masters of board schools, had passed a Resolution supporting the contention of Dr. Crichton Browne?

MR. MUNDELLA: I may say that I have also received many representations from Metropolitan teachers to the contrary effect. I have reason to believe that the London School Board will today order an inquiry into the allegations in Dr. Crichton Browne's Report, and into the whole question of the alleged over-pressure of London board schools. If an efficient inquiry is instituted, and if, as I hope, it is assisted by impartial and thoroughly qualified medical experts, it would seem to be undesirable and unnecessary to conduct a second inquiry at the same time, and for the same objects. But, as I have already stated to the House, the most careful precautions have been taken in the Code of this year to guard against the evils complained of. The power of classifying children, either as infants or children, subject to individual examination, the provisions for the withdrawal and exemption of dull and delicate children are now universally applied, and there is a general sense of responsibility on the part of school boards, school managers, and Her Majesty's Inspectors as to the discharge of their duties in these respects. In addition to this, and, perhaps, more important than anything I have stated, the public discussion of this question is leading to the establishment of voluntary associations for supplying assistance, in the shape of cheap and, in some instances, gratuitous food and clothing, to starving and neglected children. In London a Committee of representative Managers are actively engaged in investigating the requirements of the various districts of the Metropolis, and by their aid 13 centres are in course of establishment for supplying dinners for poor children. I have been able myself, through the munificent generosity of some Members of this House, to offer considerable pecuniary help to this Committee, and I anticipate the most useful results from these efforts. Meantime, I can assure the House that I am watching carefully the general administration of the Code and Education Acts, and the effects of the recent relaxations of its provisions. I have also inquired into every alleged case of over-pressure that has been brought to my notice, and I shall shortly lay the result of these inquiries before the House.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I should like to ask, whether the right hon. Gentleman is aware that is own administration and that of the London School Board are different matters? The London School Board has only authority to inquire into the proceedings of school boards, and not those of the voluntary schools. Is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to maintain that any inquiry by the London School Board would relieve him from responsibility?

Mr. MUNDELLA said, he could only refer to the Report of Dr. Crichton Browne itself, in which he stated that if the provisions of the Code were only carefully carried out it would be all that was required. He had also the testimony of medical men, school boards, and others, to the effect that where the Code was properly applied, no over-pressure would arise from it. He had also received an admirable letter from Mr. Birley, of Manchester, who had had great experience on the subject, and who stated distinctly that the Code, if properly administered, would not produce over-pressure.

## PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS—SCARBOROUGH ELECTION.

Mr. CAINE asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been called to the following handbill, which was largely distributed by Sir George Sitwell's Committee on Sunday last in Scarborough:—

> "More Disgrace for England.—Terrible News "from Egypt.—Fall of Khartoum.—Capture of General Gordon by the Mahdi.
>
> "The following telegram, which was received in Scarborough this (Sunday) night, will be read with Shame and Indignation by every patriotic Englishman:—
>
> "'From "'Sir T. Bateson, "'Strand, London. To Sir Geo. Sitwell, Bart., Scarborough.
>
> "'Gordon's Capture by the Mahdi is confirmed by information received by Government. Seven thousand of his troops deserted. Fate of Gordon unknown.
>
> "'Hold the Government responsible for this Indelible Disgrace;'"

if he is aware that no printer's or publisher's name was attached to it; and, if he will institute proceedings against the person or persons responsible for its publication, under the eighteenth section of "The Corrupt Practices Act, 1883?"

Sir THOMAS BATESON: Before the Attorney General answers the Question, and in consequence of my name having appeared, I venture to trespass on the indulgence of the House for a few minutes in a matter of personal explanation. I was, Sir, informed by what I regarded as a reliable authority —[*Cries of* "Name!" *and* "Order!"] If hon. Gentlemen will allow me to conclude, then I will answer any question they put to me. I was informed late on Sunday afternoon that the rumours of the few previous days with reference to the capture of General Gordon by the Mahdi had been confirmed, and that intelligence—I did not say official—had been received by the Government to that effect. *The Observer* newspaper, at a later period of the evening, felt this intelligence to be of so much importance that the proprietors of that journal actually printed and published a special edition, giving most minute and circumstantial details with reference to this supposed disaster; and I am quite sure the noble Lord the Patronage Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Richard Grosvenor) will not deny that *The Observer* newspaper is one of those general supporters of the Government which receive favours from him.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! The hon. Baronet is entitled to give a personal explanation, but he is not warranted in travelling outside that limit.

SIR THOMAS BATESON: I will speak of myself. I fully believed this information to be true on the Sunday evening, and half London also believed it to be true. *The Times* newspaper evidently believed it the next morning, for it published an article upon it. On the faith of the information I received, I did telegraph to Sir George Sitwell a message somewhat in the terms quoted by the hon. Member, which are substantially correct. I think I said "8,000," and not "7,000." I can only add that nobody will rejoice more than I shall if this information is totally devoid of foundation. I only hope that the Expedition which proved too late to save the life of the gallant Colonel Stewart, has not been too late to rescue his heroic Chief. ["Order!"]

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES): I have received a copy of this document, and it certainly bears no printer's or publisher's name; but as the fact of that publication may be made the subject of proceedings for the recovery of a penalty, I shall not express any positive opinion as to whether an offence has been committed or not. But I understand that the pith of my hon. Friend's Question is whether, as representing the Crown, I should institute proceedings against the publisher and printer for having committed this alleged offence if his name were furnished to me? Well, apart from the consideration that the power of procedure is in the hands of any person—and certainly in relation to questions arising out of political and electoral contests it is not advisable for the Government unnecessarily to take part in proceedings—I can only in this case apply the rule that I have very frequently to apply to the more general law where the printer's and publisher's name is not affixed to any placard, apart from political considerations. The principle that I apply is to consider what was the object of the suppression of the name, and what is the effect that has been produced by the name not being published. Well, as to the suppression of the publisher's name here, I, of course, will receive any information my hon. Friend is good enough to communicate to me on the subject; but, looking into the document, I cannot suppose there was any intention in the suppression of the name, because I feel even now, after the explanation of the hon. Baronet, although we may feel some curiosity to discover the source of the information which caused him to say that the Government had received information of the capture of General Gordon, I think those who received this intelligence from a Gentleman in his position would not have any reason to doubt the truth of the statement as it was communicated to them. As to the result which was produced by the publication, I do not believe my hon. Friend the Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine) will feel that the result has been a very disastrous one. The more immediate result of the publication has been inconvenience, because it caused the hon. Member to spend the greater part of the "polling" day in a waggonette, explaining to the electors that the information was entirely unfounded; and I believed that he announced to their great satisfaction that General Gordon not only was, but for a number of years would be, in a state of perfect security at Khartoum. ["Order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. and learned Gentleman is now travelling beyond the limits of an answer to the Question. [*Cries of* "Name!"]

MR. LABOUCHERE: As the hon. Baronet has intimated his readiness to answer any Question that may be put to him, I should like to ask him whether he will give the House the source of his information?

MR. SPEAKER: I must appeal to the House not to allow the matter to go further. The course taken by the hon. Baronet was not taken in his capacity of a Member of this House, nor had it any relation to any of the proceedings of this House.

## NAVY—BREECH-LOADING GUNS.

LORD EUSTACE CECIL asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, If he could state how many 18 and 43-ton guns of the new pattern breechloader have been applied for by the Admiralty to re-arm the Navy; and, how many such guns have been already delivered by the War Office, or by contract?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: Twenty-two 18-ton guns have been taken in the Estimates. Three have been delivered to the Navy for experimental purposes. Fifteen are ready at Woolwich, except that the sighting is not complete, pending a decision as to the brand of powder to be used. The remaining four are incomplete, but will be ready in time for the *Impérieuse*, for which ship they are intended. Of the 43-ton guns, 15 were taken in the Estimates. Ten have been actually delivered. Four are being proceeded with for the *Collingwood*, and will be ready in time. The remaining gun is a spare gun, and is well advanced.

## NAVY—H.M.S. "AGAMEMNON" AND "AJAX."

SIR JOHN HAY asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, If the distance between the two screw shafts of the *Agamemnon* and *Ajax*, respectively, is 18 feet from centre to centre; if the screws are 17 feet 4 inches in diameter; if this leaves eight inches of space between the rudder and the twin screws on either side; whether this defect in construction fully accounts for the powerlessness of the rudder at rates of speed exceeding nine knots; and, whether any enlargement of the rudder is likely to remedy this evil?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The distance between the two screw shafts of the two vessels is 28 feet. The diameter of the screws is 17 feet. These corrections will show that the remaining Questions are based on a misconception of the facts.

## ALKALI WORKS REGULATION ACT, 1881—DEATHS AT RUNCORN.

MR. WARBURTON asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been called to the death of two children from suffocation by chlorine gas at the Soap and Alkali Works near Runcorn; whether he is aware that noxious vapours, destructive to vegetation and life, are constantly allowed to escape from these works; and, whether he will take steps to compel the owners of these works to adopt measures for the prevention of this danger in the neighbourhood in future?

MR. GEORGE RUSSELL: We have made inquiry respecting the deaths of the two children referred to by the hon. Gentleman, and have to-day received a copy of the depositions made at the inquest and of the verdict of the jury. I regret to say that it is true that the deaths of two children were caused by an emission of chlorine gas from the bleaching powder plant of the Runcorn Soap and Alkali Company's works at Runcorn. This emission, the jury state in their verdict—

> "Was due to an error of judgment, and to misadventure on the part of the man in charge in opening the door of a chamber at the works."

The Reports received from the Inspector under the Alkali, &c. Works Regulation Act, 1881, as to the works in question have been satisfactory. So far from the Board being aware that noxious vapours destructive to vegetation and life are constantly allowed to escape from these works, they believe from the Report of their Chief Inspector under the Act that the escape of gas on the occasion referred to was altogether exceptional, and that the rule is that the requirements of the Act are fulfilled. The depositions which have been received to-day will be considered, with a view to determining whether the case is one for a prosecution under the Act.

## BELGIUM—ANTWERP INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION.

SIR HENRY TYLER asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether, in view of the importance to British trade of the forthcoming International Exhibition at Antwerp, Her Majesty's Government will appoint a Commissioner to act in concert with the Commission appointed by the Belgian Government, and to give attention to British interests at the Exhibition?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The question of the appointment of a Commissioner is at present under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government.

### TRADE AND COMMERCE—THE CONSULAR REPORTS—WAGES IN GERMANY.

MR. ANDERSON asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he has observed that a Report by Consul General Oppenheimer as to wages in machine factories in Germany, just published by the Foreign Office, is rendered almost valueless for comparison by the total omission of all reference to the number of hours in the working day; and, if he will take steps to have this omission rectified?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Mr. Oppenheimer will be instructed to forward a supplementary Report containing the information asked for by the hon. Member.

### WESTERN HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS (SCOTLAND)—THE CROFTERS OF SKYE.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether it is true, as announced in *The Inverness Courier* newspaper of 4th November, 1884, that armed policemen, specially drilled, have been sent to the Island of Skye, and a steamer chartered to lie off the Island; and, whether he will at once lay upon the Table of the House Copies of the communication or communications from the local or police authority to the Government on the subject, also of the reply or replies made, sanctioning this step?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: We are in communication with the Local Authorities in the county of Inverness as to what measures are necessary in order to protect the police from any attacks made upon them in the execution of their duty. These communications are not yet complete. When they are so, I shall have no objection to lay them on the Table of the House.

### PERSONAL ESTATES (SCOTLAND) BILL.

MR. COCHRAN-PATRICK asked the Lord Advocate, referring to what was said when the Personal Estates (Scotland) Bill passed the Second Reading last Session, If he is in a position to make any statement on the subject to the House?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Communications have been passing, which I hope may result in a satisfactory basis for legislation being arrived at.

### SOUTH AFRICA—BECHUANALAND—THE MURDER OF MR. BETHELL.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he is aware that full and complete details of the murder of Mr. Christopher Bethell appeared in *The Kimberley Independent* of 9th August; if he is able to explain how it happened that these details were not received at the Colonial Office before 23rd October; whether, on receipt of Commander Bethell's letter of 22nd August, asking for the particulars of the murder of his brother, the Colonial Office cabled to Sir Hercules Robinson, or if they only wrote by post; whether the Government have instructed Sir Hercules Robinson to cable back the steps he thinks necessary to take for the arrest of the murderers of Mr. Bethell, and when we may expect to hear what has been decided on; and, if he can explain how it was that the letter from Mr. Assistant Commissioner Wright (No. 98), written to Mr. William Bethell, of Rise, and which was received at the Colonial Office on 23rd October, was not delivered to Mr. Bethell till 29th October, the day on which the South African Debate took place, notwithstanding the fact that the particulars contained in that letter must necessarily have been of great service to those who were introducing the case of Mr. Bethell?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: In reply to the first Question, I have to say there is no mention in the newspaper referred to of the names of the murderers, or any evidence to prove their identity, two points which I have already several times said are obviously necessary elements on which to base any steps for their punishment. The first and only communication which gave those details was, as I have already said, Mr. Wright's despatch. In reply to the third Question, the Colonial Office did not cable—only sent a despatch. In reply to the fourth Question, we have received a telegram from Sir Hercules Robinson, who had consulted his Attorney General, and we are submitting the question to our own Law Officers to see if we can meet the legal difficulties which the High Commissioner brings before us. I shall be glad to show that telegram to the hon. Member privately; but I think he will understand that to make it public until we are able to say what course we have decided on would be very inconvenient. As to the last Question, I find, on inquiry at the Department, that the explanation of the delay of four days, one of which was a Sunday, in sending to Mr. William Bethell the letter referred to is the oversight of a clerk in the Department, caused by the pressure of getting the Papers prepared for Parliament, including this one, which was the very last received. I must be allowed very strongly to repudiate the insinuation contained in the latter part of the Question.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—SPECIAL RESIDENT MAGISTRATES.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any new arrangements are to be made with respect to the offices of the Special Resident Magistrates in Ireland; and, if so, whether the House will be afforded an opportunity of discussing these arrangements before they come into force?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: No new arrangements regarding Divisional Resident Magistrates in Ireland are intended.

### RAILWAYS (INDIA)—NEW RAILWAYS.

Mr. E. STANHOPE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it is a fact that sanction has been given to the construction of a Railway between Umballa and Kalka, and of another towards Ootacamund; and, whether it is intended to proceed with these two Railways at a time when the traffic returns of Indian Railways are showing a considerable falling off, and when the policy of the emigration of Government Departments to the hill stations is being reconsidered?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: The line from Umballa to Kalka is one of those which have been surveyed; but no intimation of sanction to its construction has reached the India Office. The line towards Ootacamund is not one which Government has contemplated constructing. Promoters of a Company for making such a line have been in negotiation with the Government of Madras and the Secretary of State; but no terms have yet been arrived at.

### EDUCATION, SCIENCE, AND ART DEPARTMENT (ADMINISTRATION).

Viscount LYMINGTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If it is the intention of the Government to give effect at an early date to the recommendations embodied in the Report of the Select Committee on Education, Science, and Art Administration?

Mr. GLADSTONE: We propose on an early day—I cannot name the day exactly—to adopt measures founded upon the Report of the Select Committee.

### INDIA—UPPER BURMAH.

Major General ALEXANDER asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether his attention has been called to the atrocities recently committed in Upper Burmah; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to take any action in the matter?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: Perhaps I may answer this Question. The Secretary of State has seen with regret the report in the newspapers of the horrible atrocities said to have been perpetrated at Mandalay; but he is not aware that the Government of India contemplate interference in the internal affairs of Burmah, which is an independent State.

### PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION—BOROUGH OF SLIGO.

Mr. SEXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he has received a Copy of the following Resolution, unanimously adopted at the last meeting of the Sligo Board of Guardians:—

> "That this Board urge on the Government the necessity and justice of returning to Sligo its representation in the Imperial Parliament, of which it was deprived many years ago; and that we respectfully request the Government

to take the matter into consideration in any scheme of Redistribution which they may introduce this Session of Parliament, particularly so as the population, the trade, and general importance of Sligo has vastly increased since the Borough was disfranchised, Sligo being now the most important town in the West of Ireland;"

whether he is aware that a Resolution, identical in import, has been adopted by the Corporation of Sligo; and, whether, in view of the lapse of time, nearly twenty years, since the disfranchisement of Sligo, the growth of a new constituency there, the increasing population and importance of the town, and the almost total lack of urban representation in the province of Connaught, he will include in his forthcoming Redistribution Bill a proposal to re-enfranchise the Borough of Sligo?

MR. GLADSTONE: I do not complain of the hon. Member, or challenge the propriety of his asking this Question; but I think he will see that I cannot say more than that the case of Sligo shall be fairly considered. If I did say more, it is quite obvious it would be regarded by every community in the country as premature.

## EGYPT (EXPEDITIONARY FORCE UP THE NILE) — INSTRUCTIONS TO GENERAL LORD WOLSELEY.

MR. ONSLOW asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If, before a further Vote of Credit is asked for in connection with the operations in the Soudan, he will lay upon the Table a Copy of the instructions sent to Lord Wolseley, defining the relative position between himself and General Gordon, in the event of the relief of the latter?

MR. GLADSTONE: In replying to this Question I must refer the hon. Member to an answer given by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War, who stated that he did not consider it desirable that the instructions to Lord Wolseley should be made public until he was in a position to act upon them. We still adhere to that—that it is not desirable to publish those instructions.

MR. ONSLOW asked what was to prevent the publishing of instructions as to whether Lord Wolseley was to supersede General Gordon when they met?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is not in my power to indicate whether Lord Wolseley will think proper to act on these instructions. If we find it to the public convenience we shall be ready to publish the instructions.

## EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK'S REPORT.

MR. BOURKE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to state what they propose to recommend to the Khedive in pursuance of the inquiry and advice of Lord Northbrook?

MR. GLADSTONE: My noble Friend, by great activity and exertion, has completed a most onerous and laborious inquiry in a very short time; but Her Majesty's Government have not yet been put in possession of his Report. My Colleagues have only to-day received the first preliminary intimation of any recommendation that he is to make; and, therefore, all I can say is what I have stated before—that we shall lose no time, as soon as we have had an opportunity of considering the recommendation, in announcing to the House our decision.

## EGYPT (THE EXPEDITION UP THE NILE)—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

MR. O'KELLY asked the First Lord of the Treasury, When he will be in a position to make a statement to the House as to the estimated cost of the Soudan Expedition?

MR. GLADSTONE: The time for making in detail any statement in relation to the Soudan Expedition will be when the Vote is proposed. Perhaps the hon. Gentleman rather intends to ask what course we propose to take in regard to that proposal; and I have to say that as soon as we are clear of the Franchise Bill we shall choose the earliest day that is in our power for proceeding with it, consistently with giving full information to the House.

## THE NATIONAL LIBERAL CLUB — OPENING CEREMONY — THE ADDRESS TO THE PRIME MINISTER —PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. BROADHURST: I should like to ask the indulgence of the House for a moment, while I make a personal explanation, affecting my official work. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) is reported to have said last night that I had, in connection with some other persons, been working up an address to the Prime Minister. I beg to say that there is not the slightest foundation for any of the statements so made, neither as to the connection of myself, nor as to any of the other facts which the noble Lord mentioned in his speech last night.

## LIGHTHOUSE ILLUMINANTS' COMMITTEE.

Mr. GRAY asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether his attention has been called to an article in *The Financial News* of October 17th, to the effect that "The Improved Gas and Oil Burner's Company" is about to be voluntarily wound up; that the capital of this Company consisted of £50,000, in 10,000 shares of £5 each, of which £30,000—£25,000 in shares, and £5,000 in cash—was to have been paid to Sir James N. Douglas for certain patent rights for improved burners, &c.; that £17,500 in shares was to have been given to Messrs. Hopcroft and Co. for their services in constituting the Company, and procuring the subscription of the remaining 1,500 shares; that if on these 1,500 shares £1 10*s*. per share only has been paid up; whether this is the same Sir James N. Douglas who is Engineer to the Trinity House; whether Sir James N. Douglas has received any portion of the £5,000 he was to have been paid in cash; whether, at the time he was negotiating the sale of his patents for a very large sum to the Company above-named, it was proposed to place him on the Illuminants Committee, which was to judge of the respective merits of his and rival patents for the improved illumination of lighthouses; whether this led to the resignation of Professor Tyndall; and, whether the Board of Trade contemplate instituting any inquiries with regard to the transactions between the engineer of the Trinity House and the Improved Gas and Oil Burner's Company?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I have seen the article to which the hon. Member alludes, and which refers to, among others, the Engineer to the Trinity House, who has informed the Elder Brethren that he has received in cash £500 out of the £5,000 which he was to have been paid in cash. He further states that the sum so received is about one-fourth of the money expended by him out of his own pocket in perfecting the invention. The two Parliamentary Papers which were laid on the Table of the House last Session will show the whole history of the Illuminants' Committee, and contain all the information in my possession as to the resignation of Professor Tyndall. Before the formation of the Committee, the positions of Sir James Douglas—who had given the free use of his patents to the Lighthouse Boards—and of Mr. Wigham, the well-known gas engineer, of Dublin, who, being a manufacturer and contractor, held patents of which he retained the benefit, were much considered. It was originally proposed that both should assist the Committee, but that neither of them should be a member of the Committee. This was found inconvenient, and the Committee was enlarged so as to include, among other members, both Sir James Douglas and Mr. Wigham. The facts will be found fully stated in the Letter of the Board of Trade of the 11th of May, 1883. The Trinity House are acquainted with all the facts, and are satisfied of the perfect integrity of their engineer. It is not, therefore, my intention to institute any further inquiry.

Mr. GRAY said, he would take an opportunity of calling attention to the subject, and perhaps the right hon. Gentleman could say whether the administration of the Trinity Board would form portion of the subject for inquiry by the Royal Commission on Shipping?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: No, Sir; it will not.

## CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—THE TRIAL OF MR. FITZGERALD.

Mr. O'BRIEN: I wish to ask the Solicitor General for Ireland a Question as to which I do not think he will require Notice. It is, Whether, at the trial of Mr. Fitzgerald yesterday, 19 Catholic jurors were ordered by the Crown to stand by; and, whether, at the trial of Messrs. Cornwall and Kirwan the other day in Dublin, no juror was ordered to stand by; and, whether he can offer any explanation of the difference in the mode of procedure?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I am informed that 19 persons were challenged by the prisoner, and 18 were ordered to stand back by the Crown, and that there were three Roman Catholics on the jury. Beyond that I know nothing.

## ORDER OF THE DAY.

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### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 1.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

**MR. GLADSTONE**, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said: Sir, there is an opinion more or less widely prevalent that when a measure of great importance has to be proposed to the House of Commons the speech in which it is submitted to the House ought to be of proportionate length. Upon this occasion I think an exception may be fairly made to that rule. This is a question which has been thoroughly discussed. It is a question immediately connected with the provisions of the Franchise Bill. I do not even know in what position we stand with regard to any hostile Motion on the subject. The Notice Paper of to-day contains no such hostile Motion. It may be that there will be a revival of the Notice which appeared on that Paper some days ago; but even if there is, I should think it would be an abuse of the time and the patience of the House to discuss it in detail. In truth, my great desire on this occasion is to avoid everything that could partake of a controversial or polemical character, and that for this reason—that the declarations and intentions of Her Majesty's Government have been so fully placed before the House on former occasions that it will probably be enough to merely refer to them now without repeating them. It is known from those former declarations how entirely impossible it must be for us to consent either to the union of the two subjects of the Franchise and Redistribution in a single Bill, or to their simultaneous treatment in two Bills; and this simply for the reason that in our view the paramount interest concerned in this great question, which casts every other into the shade, is that of the franchise, and that we can do nothing which, in our opinion, tends in any way to place in jeopardy the passing of a measure which has for its object the extension of the franchise. In our view, if we were to consent to either the union of the two subjects in a single Bill, or to their simultaneous treatment in separate Bills, we should sacrifice not only our power as an Executive Government representing the Crown—although that would be no light matter; but we should sacrifice what is far greater and more important—namely, the title of the majority of this House to retain an effective control over the Business of this House, and to bring to an issue within a reasonable time within the walls of this House any measure which they may deem it necessary to pass. I do not wish to debate the question; but it is because we know and we conceive that the majority of this House would lose that control entirely were we to consent to either of the courses to which I have just referred—it is on that ground, and that ground alone, that we have found it necessary to make our opinions and intentions so clear to the House upon former occasions, that I think I may, as I have already said, be content merely to refer to them without repeating them. There is one other subject upon which I wish to say a few words. It is a subject which has been referred to from time to time in the course of these debates; it is the possibility and the justice of drawing a distinction between warning and menace. It has been to us a matter of absolute obligation not to keep back in absolute silence the apprehensions we feel in connection with the prolongation and exasperation of the present controversy. Apart from the use of disrespectful language, and apart from entering into invidious details, any attempt, however cautious and limited, to refer to that subject, has been treated with evident sincerity by persons of great distinction in this House as an undisguised resort to menace. If that be so, then it follows that no person, in pointing out to the person whom he loves, or to a body of persons whose privilege he wishes, on the whole, to preserve, can, even with the most friendly intentions, impress upon him or them the danger of pursuing a certain course. Surely it is an extravagant proposition to say that on that subject he must be altogether silent. It would be a course most unnatural to pursue in the incidence of private life. If my house is on fire, and my friend is sleeping in one of the chambers within reach of the conflagration, am I, in awakening him and endeavouring to persuade him to rise, to conceal from him the motive that leads me to do so, and exhort him to get up and go out into the cold without informing him of my reasons for doing so? The argument is just as strong in what I admit to be a case not corresponding with the one I have suggested in every respect. It is the question of an Institution, and of those who guide and direct the fortunes of that Institution. It is not insolent, it is not wantonness to utter such a warning. It is a sense of duty—nay, it is a friendly duty, which requires, with a due regard to the proprieties of the case, and to the respect which every person ought to pay to an established great power in the State, that some indication, careful in its form, and respectful in its language—["Hear, hear!"]—should be conveyed to those concerned of the consequences which may seem to come within the range of anticipation. I said respectful in its language, and I admit the justice of that limitation; but I have not yet heard it said that any language used by me on this subject was disrespectful. I am only seriously saying this—that we cannot admit the justice of those who denounce as menace even the most careful and limited intimation of danger. We cannot subscribe to such a proposition, and we must protest against the handing over to imagination and feeling the work that ought to be done drily and cautiously with a practical understanding by practical men in a great political and national crisis. Although, as I have said, the immediate question relating to the reasons for passing a Bill to extend household suffrage to counties may be held to be exhausted, there are certain conterminous questions on which it may be useful that I should address a few words to the House, and the more especially on that nearest of all conterminous questions, of which we have heard so much in the course of this discussion—namely, that relating to the redistribution of seats. This is a question of great interest, historically and politically; and I am the more glad to approach it, because in what I have to say I shall not find it necessary to use either offensive, or, I hope, even controversial language. This question in 1831-2 constituted the bulk of the controversy which was then before the country—I mean the bulk in a Parliamentary sense; and if we are to divide into two great portions the Reform Act of 1832, we may, perhaps, say with truth that, at that time and under the circumstances of that epoch, the part which related to disfranchisement and the redistribution of seats was even more important than the enfranchisement of the middle classes by means of the £10 suffrage. At that time the great and Constitutional principle which was at issue, and which was conscientiously brought forward by the Tory Party and gallantly fought and maintained by them, not without much countenance from high Constitutional authorities, was that it was necessary to retain within the walls of the Representative Chamber a large non-representative element. That was a subject which no doubt separated, by an almost immeasurable chasm, the two Parties in the State upon that great occasion. Happily, there is no such principle now at issue—there is no such chasm now to fill up. I am able, I may almost say, to compliment the Party opposite upon the readiness which many of them have shown—and which it is not beyond hope all may show—to deal fairly with the question of redistribution, if they can only get over those phantom fears which some of them are still possessed of in respect of the extension of the franchise. I rejoice to know that there is now no such difference between us in principle upon the subject-matter of redistribution as separated Parties in 1831-2. Nor do we approach the question of redistribution as we approach the question of the franchse, nor is one to be regarded from the same point of view as the other. The question of the franchise was one of extreme simplicity, especially as we invited the House to handle it; but the question of redistribution, quite apart from Party tactics, is not necessarily of extreme complexity. The question of the franchise was, in our point of view, the paramount question that would not admit of compromise or delay. We were reproached with a severe and rigid adherence to the provisions of our Bill when it was passing through Committee. I admit that, having reduced it to that simple outline, it was a case in which we were compelled, as far as we were concerned, to invite the House to adhere substantially to the main provisions of the Bill. But this question of redistribution, however, from its complexity, is necessarily more open to variety; and fortunately, as it is much less a subject of vital differences between the respective Parties, we desire, and we not only desire, but we feel that we should endeavour if possible—and I cannot say yet whether it will be possible—to make the measure of redistribution what, unfortunately, we could not make the measure with regard to the franchise, the work, not merely of the majority of the House, but one which should receive the approval of the House at large. I do not say it will be possible to attain that aim; but I do say it is our duty to strive to attain it, and not only our duty, but it will be our satisfaction to strive for it; and if we are able to carry the great mass of opinion in this House without reference to Party differences, I can only say that it will heighten the satisfaction with which we shall regard the consummation of a great work. No doubt it is true that Gentlemen opposite differ entirely from most of us, and certainly from myself, in the relative importance which they give to these two great subjects. I believe I am not overstating the case—in fact, if possible, I am understating it—when I say that while they admit the extension of the franchise to be a good, they regard it only as a conditional good; and if the condition of attendant redistribution does not accompany the franchise, then the franchise is in their view not a good, but an evil. That is to me unintelligible. I do not think the country has been able at all to enter into that proposition so as to see that it has a serious meaning. I quite grant that within the limits of the Party it has been largely accepted and echoed. But I never can depart from the proposition that in our view the franchise is the main matter, and that though the extension of the franchise is a much greater good accompanied with redistribution, yet that it is a good in itself whether redistribution accompany it or not. Though I have alluded to that difference of opinion I have not done so for the purpose of pressing it, but for the purpose of illustrating what I have said with regard to redistribution. We hail every symptom that we can detect of any possible approximation with regard to the bases of a measure of that kind, and it will not be our fault if indications of that kind shall be unhappily frustrated. There are certain main principles of redistribution in respect to which I think the House will agree with me that we must look upon them as beyond question or dispute. Any measure of redistribution which is to meet the exigencies of the case at the present date, and which may give a reasonable hope of something like permanence in the settlement of them, must be a large one. The second proposition is that evidently it must be a measure which shall give very considerable satisfaction to the principle of population or numbers, as compared with the present regulations or the present system of the electoral areas. In the third place, I think that all will probably admit—though there may be some difference in the interpretation—it ought not to be of needless complexity. Very simple it cannot be. Its propositions and provisions cannot be reduced to a very limited number; but needless complexity ought not to be introduced into any part of our electoral system. Further—and to this I attach immense importance—it must be equitable and liberal as between the great divisions of the country—and in speaking of these great divisions I have avoided the term "the three countries" known to the Constitution, because it is not unnatural to substitute the number four for the number three, and speak of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. Further, the measure ought to be just between the different classes of the community, and the different pursuits to which those classes belong. These are the leading propositions from which, in their essence and principle, there ought to be no deviation; but in the application of them there is much ground for temperate consideration, and for some sacrifice of opinion and of prepossessions with a view to unity and concord. For example, I have spoken of the principle of population, and of the large scope that it will be necessary, in any satisfactory measure of redistribution, to allow to that principle; but, of course, the question arises—Shall that principle be the only one taken into view, or shall it be, to some extent, restrained and limited by other qualifying considerations? Shall anything be allowed to prescription and possession—to privilege which has been long enjoyed, and which has not been abused, as compared with privilege which is about for the first time to be conferred? Shall we have regard in any degree, and, if so, in what degree, to the principle of the community as distinct from the individual—the historical existence of certain communities—or shall those communities be reckoned as so many individuals, according to the figure of their population, and thrown into hotch-potch to take their chance with the rest? Shall the most concentrated populations—and especially, of course, the great concentrated population of and about the Metropolis—be treated upon exactly the same principle as was recommended with great ability by my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) in the last Session of Parliament—that is to say, treated upon the same principle and basis as the more dispersed and remote populations? Shall any distinction be drawn, and to what extent, between urban and rural pursuits? Because it must be observed that the distinction between urban and rural pursuits, and so applied as to introduce complex forms of districts and geographical divisions, is of itself a distinct deviation from the pure principle of population. Now, these are points upon which undoubtedly the ultimate character of the measure of redistribution will greatly, and, perhaps, principally depend. They are points upon which probably all of us have, in one one sense or another, a prejudice and a prepossession. I have my own prepossession, to some extent, in regard to the whole of them; but I feel, at the same time, that there are points in regard to which prepossession does not amount to principle, and having respect to the great good of a vast enfranchisement being accomplished—if it be accomplished—I think that upon points of that kind regard ought to be had to the prospects of harmony and peace, and the immense advantage of carrying in a great legislative change the largest possible body of friendly and contented opinion. That is language which I hope will not be thought to deviate in any manner from the propositions and professions with which I set out. I am bound to say that I proceed upon this principle and basis—that it is absolutely impossible to construct any large measure of redistribution, in my opinion, which shall not be a measure favourable on the whole to popular liberty. I am sorry that in a great and august Assembly ingenuity has been exercised to import from across the Atlantic words which belong to the vocabulary of slang. I shall not recite any of these words; but I do think that the standard of Parliamentary language is not unimportant, and that there is an increasing necessity for paying attention to it. I frankly own I can conceive making a small measure of redistribution which shall be a surreptitious and dishonest measure; but if the measure be a large one —I do not know what human ingenuity can accomplish—I am sure that no ingenuity which I can command, or which my Colleagues can command, could by any possibility enable us to produce such a measure other than favourable to the general liberties of the people. Therefore, it is our desire to approach the subject in a large and comprehensive spirit. I will not inquire from what circumstances, or through whose agency, we have been compelled to see this question down to the present date handled to a very great extent, perhaps almost entirely, in association with those ideas which belong to our Party contests; but there are reasons why we may entertain some hope of a change. As to redistribution, we have no reason to abandon as yet the hope that there is not the amount of difference of opinion which prevails on the subject of the franchise. As to the franchise, every observer must have been led to the belief that the opinion is spreading—not in circles of Liberal politics alone—that the time is nearly exhausted, and that the franchise cannot be safely withheld, and that all efforts from all quarters ought to be directed to a safe and fair adjustment of redistribution. If it be true that there is a generally diffused, and, perhaps, almost unanimous desire for a large measure of redistribution on the opposite side of the House, far be it from us to say that such a desire proceeding from that quarter is to be treated with less respect, or is entitled to less sympathy, than if it appeared simply as our own opinion originating within our own camp. Well, Sir, if that be so, I am inclined to regret that we are obliged again to have a contest—if we are to have a contest—on the question of the union of the two Bills. So far as we are concerned, it is a fight which has been fought out already, and belonging to the past. So far as argument and reason are concerned, we are content with what we have said; we believe, rightly or wrongly, that the nation is of our mind. On those propositions we cannot go back; short of those propositions we have every disposition to join hands. If we have in any manner postponed, or if we are still holding over our official and collective decisions on any of the points of this great question, it is not because we have been slack and neglectful in preparing ourselves to decide them, but it is because we know that from the moment an official decision is taken there is a danger that considerations of Party may come to group themselves around it, and because we are anxious as long as we can, and to the utmost degree, to keep the important points of this question out of that dangerous association. It is on these principles, and animated by these views, that we desire to go forward. If Her Majesty's Government do not, beyond what necessity and propriety require, enter upon the details of any old conflict now to be renewed, it is mainly from the fear that the renewal of that conflict will not tend to the objects we ought all to have in view, and that, our work having been done, the attempt to do it over again might rekindle fires scarcely yet extinguished. I have no doubt there will be a disposition in the House generally to conduct, in a dispassionate and tranquil spirit, any debates that may arise. We have contributed, I think—at least, I have endeavoured to contribute by the assurances I have given—to a practical and to a speedy progress. I believe that the more speedy our progress may be in the stages of this measure, the better it will be for the vast issues that are involved in its passing, and the more unmixed will be the satisfaction with which, when the Royal Assent is given, it will be entered upon the Statute Book, as it will also be enshrined in the memories of the people.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. E. STANHOPE, in rising to move—

"That, in the opinion of this House, any measure purporting to provide for the better Representation of the People in Parliament must be accompanied by provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas,"

said: In the absence of my noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill)—["Hear, hear!" *and a laugh.*]—who, I am sorry to say, is suffering from severe domestic affliction—a fact that might have averted that somewhat deplorable cheer—I rise to move the Amendment which stands in his name. I am sure the House generally will not only feel sympathy with the noble Lord in his bereavement, but may also regret the unworthy substitute that has been provided for the very able and incisive speech which the House has undoubtedly expected. We have heard a speech from the Prime Minister couched in terms of moderation, and I desire to imitate him so far as I am able. I will go further, and say that amongst those vague generalities which form so large a portion of the right hon. Gentleman's speech there are some propositions in which I am happy to be able to concur with him. We desire just as much as the right hon. Gentleman that a settlement of the question should be arrived at favourable to the general liberties of the people. We desire equally with the Government to make every effort to secure a safe and fair adjustment of this question; and I am only sorry that, as on a former occasion, we have not had a corresponding effort on the part of the Prime Minister to enable us to come to such a settlement. For my own part, I should have wished that it had been absolutely unnecessary, in consequence of some statements that might have fallen from the Prime Minister, for me to move this Amendment. I had hoped, even against hope, that at the eleventh hour we might have had some assurance from the right hon. Gentleman that the most reasonable proposition we have always put forward would in some way be met by the Government. That proposition was so reasonable that it was actually put forward a year ago by most of the principal Leaders of the Party opposite, and there are a good many who at this moment cordially agree with it. If there had been a will I do not think there would have been any difficulty in finding a way. The difficulties might have been got over, and this controversy might have ended in a manner honourable to both Parties, and advantageous to the country. I have, therefore, been very much disappointed by what has fallen from the Prime Minister. The right hon. Gentleman laid down some general principles, about which I will say a word or two later; but I am unable to detect in his speech any symptom of a desire to meet the views we have consistently put forward, or any solid guarantee to secure what we have at heart. This disappointment is undoubtedly intensified, inasmuch as every principal argument hitherto put forward in support of the proposition that we ought to separate franchise from redistribution has been enormously weakened, if not altogether disposed of, during the last six months. Take one of these arguments which has done good service during the Recess—the argument of time. It was said by hon. Gentlemen opposite that it was not possible, within the limits of a single Session, to pass both a Franchise and a Redistribution Bill. How does the matter now stand? We are here, in the midst of an Autumn Session, with a prospect of adjourning to the full Session in the year to come. The principle of the Franchise Bill is now accepted by both sides. And more than that, the details of that Bill have been discussed and decided upon in this House. Therefore, the main argument upon which hon. Gentlemen have hitherto relied, that it is impossible to deal simultaneously with the two Bills, is invalid. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, speaking in March, gave his views upon this subject. He dwelt upon the enormous importance of dealing with all branches of this question as consecutively as possible. He said that it would be much to the advantage of the country that both branches of the subject should be dealt with in one Parliament, in one Session, and, if possible, in a single Bill. The noble Lord laid down certain conditions which must be fulfilled before the advantage of dealing in that manner with both branches of the subject could be secured. He said—

> "But there is only one way in which such a thing can be accomplished, and that would have been by the existence of some general agreement upon the subject, some admission on the part of the House generally, that the time had now come when the measure which had been granted in 1867 to the boroughs must be extended to the counties, and by an equally general admission that the most grave and glaring anomalies which still exist in the distribution of political power must also be redressed."—(3 *Hansard*, [286] 700- 1.)

Those conditions, I maintain, have been fulfilled; and I therefore claim the vote of the noble Lord in favour of my proposal. In introducing the Bill at the beginning of last Session, the Prime Minister further urged that there was a political objection of a very grave kind to the simultaneous passage of the two Bills—

> "Where the two measures are mixed together, those who think their local interests are touched by the measures, oppose the extension of the franchise for fear of the redistribution which is to follow."—(*Ibid.*, [285] 128.)

At the time that argument was used I thought there was a good deal of force in it; but it must be perfectly obvious that there is now no fear of that kind. The principle of the Franchise Bill is now accepted generally; and the conduct of anyone who attempts, directly or indirectly, to oppose the franchise, for fear of after consequences, will be detected and resented by the country. There is, also, the leverage argument that is put forward. It is said that without the leverage—I might call it coercion—that will be brought to bear by the previous passage of the Franchise Bill, it will be impossible to pass a redistribution scheme. I venture to say that exactly the opposite is the fact. Supposing the Franchise Bill were passed, can anybody doubt that it is extremely probable that the zeal of hon. Members opposite for this great measure of Reform will be considerably damped, and that they would immediately discover that although the Redistribution Bill was of great importance, there were numerous other questions which could not brook an hour's delay? The only true lever, in my opinion, for the passing of that most difficult Redistribution Bill through the House, is to have the Franchise Bill in reserve. The true propelling power is that the Franchise Bill should not yet be passed. One of the contentions of hon. Gentlemen opposite is that the country is most keenly alive to the necessity of extending this household franchise to the counties. I will add something to that. I will admit that in consequence of the agitation during the Recess there are persons in the country previously indifferent to this subject who have, at any rate, been led to expect this privilege. Will anyone suppose that they will brook delay in this matter? If they have a Franchise Bill accompanying or following the Redistribution Bill they will take care, because their immediate interests are concerned, that no undue delay shall take place in this matter. I trust, then, that I have been able to show that the force of arguments that were put forward in support of separating franchise from redistribution has been diminished by what has taken place during the past few months. After all, those arguments dealt only with a question of procedure. The hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who, with a brutal frankness, often knocks the right nail on the head, has said boldly—

> "Irrespective of Party tactics, it is unquestionable that the production of the Franchise Bill and Redistribution should go together."

But if we turn now for a moment from the arguments that have been alleged in favour of separating franchise from redistribution to those we have endeavoured persistently to put forward on behalf of their being simultaneously pressed on the attention of the House, the House will see that our contention has never been based on procedure or tactical considerations, but based entirely and solely on principle. They will see, further, that nothing whatever has occurred during the Recess to modify in any way the conclusions at which we arrived, or the grounds on which we support them. We have desired, and we have always put forward our desire in the plainest terms, a complete measure. We desire it because we think it would be fair and just to all parties and to all classes. We desire it in the interests of peace and order, and of the early settlement of this question; and we desire it because we believe it is the only settlement which would provide a permanent strengthening of the foundations of the Constitution. We know hon. Gentlemen opposite say—"Oh, but your contention has been put to the country, and the country has decided against you." How? and when? and where? [An hon. MEMBER: Hyde Park.] We have not yet been taught it is any part of the Constitution of this country that questions of great political importance should be decided by a show of hands, or even by manhood suffrage. When a deadlock upon a political issue arises in this country we believe the only way to decide it is by a reference to the constituencies. But that is just what you want to avoid. Certainly, so far as we have been able to form any judgment from the proceedings of the Recess, there has been nothing to make us in any way hesitate in the belief that the country thoroughly understands and appreciates the position we have put forward. [*Ironical Ministerial cheers.*] I am glad to hear hon. Gentlemen opposite cheer. Let us take a test case. There are many hon. and learned Gentlemen sitting on that side of the House who belong to the Profession of Law, to which I once had the honour to belong. Many of them are possessed of the greatest and highest attainments, and are well qualified for a seat on the Judicial Bench. How is it that with these Gentlemen of great merit and with that wide area of choice almost every vacancy on the Judicial Bench is filled from the outside? I suspect the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Richard Grosvenor) could supply an answer to the question. Then, a more effective and less logical attempt to answer our case is in the form of an attack on the House of Lords, ranging from the vulgar and coarse attack of the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) to what I may call the deprecatory style of the Prime Minister. The Prime Minister deprecates the attack on the House of Lords. That reminds me very much of what we used to observe when we visited the Righi Hotel. There is a notice at the hotel to the effect that visitors desiring to see the sun rise must not wrap themselves up in their blankets. So the noble Lord the Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury told his constituents in Wales that it was the greatest mistake to suppose that the Liberal Party was in favour of the abolition of the House of Lords. That remark was taken up by the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), who commented upon it in this way—

> "I do not think the noble Lord meant what he said. I take his words in the non-natural sense. What he meant was—'Do not nail his ears to the pump.' Taking it in that sense, I think Lord Richard Grosvenor really intended to encourage us to go on with great meetings like this."

And the meeting at which he spoke thus was one for the abolition of the House of Lords. But this is beside the question. When the time comes it will be perfectly easy to show—indeed, it cannot be denied—that the House of Lords has acted in a thoroughly Constitutional manner in the course it has followed, and that, in the words of the Duke of Argyll, written not very long ago—

> "There is no conceivable constitution of a Second Chamber which would not include the power of withholding its assent from particular measures where there is any real doubt of public opinion until after an appeal to the constituencies."

But, as I have said, this is altogether beside the question. Grant that the House of Lords is wrong, unconstitutional, and foolish, yet that does not affect our position in this House; and we, the elected Chamber, representing public opinion, are entitled to protect popular rights, and are bound to insist on the fullest information and the amplest guarantees before we allow this great scheme of Reform to become law. What information and what guarantees have we received? Shortly before this Session began there was a rumour that the Government intended to produce a Bill dealing with redistribution, and that as soon as the Franchise Bill passed this House the Redistribution Bill would be introduced. I confess that I never credited that rumour. It did not seem to me at all possible. If it were so, I should, indeed, congratulate the House of Lords that it had escaped the servile condition to which this House is apparently to be reduced. But even if a Bill had been introduced, I think it would have been easy to show that it would have afforded no real security either to us or to the House of Lords. The essence of redistribution, as the right hon. Gentleman has said, is in the details of the measure. It would be impossible for the Government to pledge itself that any Bill which they laid on the Table and which went to a second reading would be anything like the Bill which would emerge from the House; and even if they desired to pledge themselves to it, I question very much if they would have the power to fulfil it. We have had a statement to-night from the Prime Minister, who has again discussed the general principles on which he thinks the Redistribution Bill ought to be framed. I presume that on this occasion the right hon. Gentleman speaks, not only his own individual opinion, but also the sentiments of his Colleagues, because there was great inconvenience in the course he adopted on the former occasion. I hope we are no longer to be put in a position of having a statement made by the Prime Minister which expresses his own individual opinion only. But we want much more than that. We want not only the statement of opinion on the part of the right hon. Gentleman and on the part of his Colleagues, but we want that statement to be put in such a form, on the authority of the Government as a whole, that we shall be able to deal with it and to consider it. I note a very remarkable omission in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He has told us nothing on the subject of boundaries. Can anyone doubt, if you are going to pass an adequate Redistribution Bill, that we must have some inquiry into boundaries? If such Redistribution Bill is, as has been said, to be passed within measurable time, some steps ought to be taken to inquire into the boundaries of boroughs. But the fact is, the Government are still fencing with this question of redistribution; and I cannot help thinking the country is beginning to ask—"Why, if you have all these fine general principles, do you not produce your Bill?" If it is such a fair Bill that even the Tory Party will not specially quarrel with it, why should you be afraid of the country seeing it? I am of opinion that, with one or two exceptions, the right hon. Gentleman has thrown very little additional light on the subject by what he has said to-day. Amid a good deal of vague statement, he has enunciated one principle which we have heard with satisfaction —namely, that he wished to make the Bill just between different classes and different pursuits. That is going further than the principles he advocated when he introduced the Bill last Session, and we are glad to welcome that advance. But, in estimating any suggestions made by the Prime Minister for the drafting of a Redistribution Bill, we are obliged to reduce them to this test—namely, that we must always keep steadily in view the principle on which we have been throughout acting. Bearing this in mind, have the suggestions of the right hon. Gentleman done anything to meet and assist us in dealing with the question? Our principle always has been that this measure must be considered as a whole. But we have not had the smallest assistance or suggestion from the right hon. Gentleman that he will move one single step to help us in that matter. It is said that we upon this side of the House have been accustomed to look upon this question with a view to the interest of our own Party. We should be more than human if we did not consider that to a reasonable extent; we should be untrue to our constituents if we did not consider very carefully any scheme in its bearing upon the prospects of the Constitutional Party. But I want to consider the matter from a higher point of view. Let us, free from the glamour of Party prejudice, ask ourselves this simple question—What do we desire when we set to work to reform our Constitution—what object of national importance do we set before us? I assume that, in the first place, we desire to make the House more perfectly representative. The right hon. Gentleman said the other day that he wanted a House better calculated to understand the wants of the country. That, I think, is a most inadequate description. What we want is a House of Commons not only better calculated to understand, but to represent the wants of the country. We require for that a system of representation varied according to the requirements of the different parts of the Three Kingdoms, and so adjusted to its needs as to afford an opportunity for the expression not of all opinions, for that would be ridiculous, but of all substantial bodies of public opinion. Is there anything in this Bill that gives such an assurance? There is nothing of this sort either in the Bill or in the speech of the Prime Minister with the exception of a single sentence, which I was glad to hear, and there is no guarantee that one class will not be wholly swamped by others. Important interests and important classes are altogether effaced by this Bill. One class—the agricultural labourers — are, I know, likely to be better represented. That is very desirable and very reasonable. Not that I admit that their interests have been neglected. I do not think many hon. Members will agree with the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade when he spoke of the wholesale robbery of the agricultural labourers—an evil, by-the-bye, which, since he has been a Member of the House, the right hon. Gentleman himself has never lifted even his little finger to prevent. I may call as a witness the Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman—namely, the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who, in his annual speeches delivered in the last Parliament on the enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer, used to bring forward special grievances and wrongs of that class, and to tell the House that they required to be redressed. It is a remarkable fact, however, that, after about three or four years, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster withdrew that contention, acknowledging frankly that the particular grievances to which he had been wont to point had all been dealt with by the House, and, he might also have added, by a Conservative Government. But, even assuming it was true that the interests of the agricultural labourer were neglected, it only strengthens my case. The more we have allowed his interest to be overlooked amid the pressure of other matters, the more important is it that we should now take every security when we enfranchise the peasant that his votes shall not be swamped by the artizans who are already fully represented. Again, I presume that we wished to make the House a more efficient engine for doing the work of government. None of us, I suppose, hold that the legislation of 1867 has been particularly fortunate in that respect. But let us put the saddle on the right horse. Everybody knows that it is not the constituencies who tell their Members to be silent. Many of the constituencies, so far from thinking that their Representatives stated their grievances or expressed their views too much, consider rather that they fall short in that respect. If I might venture to say what are the chief dangers ahead they are these. First of all there is a danger of this House becoming too sensitive to public opinion. That is a danger already in existence, and I could quote cases in point. Even at the present time safeguards, which most of us believe to be desirable in the true interests of the country, are lightly abandoned because of the pressure of outside opinion, mainly uninstructed and influenced by vague clamour. There is a possibility that that danger will be indefinitely increased. Then there is a considerable danger that political convulsions will become more severe, and that the swing of the pendulum of public opinion from side to side will be dangerous to the true interests of the Empire both at home and abroad. But if we desire to moderate the swing of the pendulum—if we desire to check by wholesome restraints the violent oscillations of public opinion, is there any other way that we can do this than by taking care that minorities are fairly represented? If we desire to enable this House to resist unreasoning and unreasonable clamour, we must take care to protect the independence of individual opinion, and provide adequate guarantees that, in the adjustment of political power which we propose, it shall not all fall into the hands of the wire-pullers. These are very grave questions; and in my humble opinion not only the true interests and liberty of the people, but even the existence of the Empire, depend upon our looking facts fairly in the face, and upon our not allowing ourselves to be led into deliberately accepting an incomplete scheme of electoral reform blindfolded, and in the dark. First, we want more information, and then we want some substantial guarantees, that this great question of electoral reform shall not be put before us piecemeal, but that we shall have an opportunity of considering and dealing with it as a whole, and providing that it shall come into operation as a whole. It is because we have been unable to detect in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, or in the Bill, any guarantee of a substantial character for securing these important results that it is my duty now to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, any measure purporting to provide for the better Representation of the People in Parliament must be accompanied by provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas."

MR. ECROYD, in seconding the Amendment, said, he rose under a feeling of sadness at the unexpected intelligence of the loss of a public servant whose high character, great ability, eminent courtesy, and temperateness in the examination of all public questions had been, he was sure, appreciated in every part of the country, and not the least by those who sat on the Opposition Benches. He was sure that, under the circumstances, every man must feel less disposed to say one word upon that discussion which would add to the bitterness of Party controversy. He sincerely hoped that in discharging the duty which had fallen upon him he might, at least, avoid saying anything which would be likely to raise any additional obstacles in the way of a fair settlement of the question. He believed that there was no serious difference of opinion between any part of the House in regard to the main lines of a fair and equitable settlement of the great questions of Reform; but he could not help regretting that they were puzzled and nonplussed by the ill-judged separation of that question into two portions, neither of which could be completely examined unless the House was in possession of the other. All that the Conservative Party had to fear in connection with that was an unfair arrangement of the question of redistribution—an arrangement which, while it might in some respects appear to be just and impartial, would yet reduce to an absolute political nullity the voice of important interests in this country. He would not go over the ground of the relative claims of different portions of the country, as that was a question which did not touch the argument he wished to take. The Prime Minister had held out to them no solution whatever of the difficulty. His speeches held out no offer of accommodation. They were merely repetitions, in moderate and courteous terms, of a demand for absolute surrender. They were asked now to give up, under the mere name of a compromise, all that they considered vital to the interest of the constituencies. The experience of the last four months had been alluded to both to-day and on previous occasions; but he claimed that in that experience the Conservative Party had found no reason to doubt the wisdom of the position they had taken up. Although the country had been stirred up by Party managers from one end of it to the other, hon. Members opposite could not point to one single convert from the Conservative ranks. In the ranks of the working men who supported the Conservative cause they found most energetic supporters of the stand which had been made on the subject. They had learnt the result of an election in a constituency which already possessed household suffrage; and, in his opinion, that election could not be pointed to as any evidence of a change of opinion favourable to the Government. He would rather, however, ask hon. Gentlemen opposite to consider how absolutely useless and impossible, from the Conservative point of view, must be the means taken on the platform and in the Press to make them recede from the position they had taken up. What would be their position in the eyes of their constituents if they were to do so? They would never again be able to face them. No; they might be fairly beaten at the General Election, or by some other means they might be overruled; in that case they would be able to know how to take it; but, at least, they were bound to prove themselves faithful to the trust committed to them by their constituencies, and to maintain that to alter the franchise in the way proposed would tend to political injustice which it was impossible to exaggerate. To pass the present measure without redistribution would aggravate the existing inequalities of the franchise five-fold. They were told that the effect of the Franchise Bill was simply to place householders in counties in exactly the same position politically as in boroughs. As a matter of fact it did no such thing. Let them take the case of a large population which had been made the subject of remark and discussion during the last few months—the case of Accrington. There were many householders there who were also holders of rateable property, and who were anxiously looking for a reform which should place them on a par with the property-owning householders at Blackburn and Burnley. What he wanted to point out was that if Accrington was made a borough under a Redistribution Bill, the provident men there would enjoy twice as much political power as their less thrifty neighbours who were not property-owners. But if Accrington was left in the constituency of North-East Lancashire these men would enjoy the glorious distinction of being made householders in the same hour in which they would be disqualified as owners of rateable property. That would show the absolute necessity of taking the two questions of Reform and Redistribution together. Then the Prime Minister had warned them lest, in separating the two questions, they should bring forward another question besides that of the franchise. But they were not left to choose whether an attack was to be made on a part of the Constitution or not; all that they had to choose was whether that attack should be an open and declared one, or veiled and disguised in some other form. For his own part, he infinitely preferred an open attack; and if the House of Lords was to be deprived of its real place and power in the Constitution, he hoped it would be by open attack and by fair discussion in the country, and not by a side wind. Not by the adoption of measures which would reduce the House of Lords to a mere nullity—to the shadow of a name—and which would for ever eliminate it from a real place in the Constitution of the country. They had been reminded of the danger of raising a great Constitutional question; he thought that it was evident that the very method of bringing forward the Franchise Question, and the action which had provoked hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House to opposition, was in itself raising a Constitutional question of the first order. They considered that Constitutional questions had been raised not only by the manner in which the Franchise Bill had been treated, but still more by the way in which it had been introduced; and on that point he would like to ask the attention of the House to the peculiar circumstances under which the Franchise Bill was examined by that House last Session. It had been brought into that House cut and dried by the Prime Minister, and it had been understood that no alteration of that Bill was to be permitted in its passage through the House. They all knew that, whatever might be the opinions of many hon. Members opposite as to its details, the expression of those opinions, to a large extent, by speech, was limited, and by vote almost entirely forbidden. They all knew that under the pressure of the Party system very important matters, which ought to have been the subject of considerable discussion, had been passed over; and the only reply to remonstrances was that it was necessary, for the enfranchisement purposes of the Government, that the Bill should pass substantially as it stood. Were they to have questions of the first Constitutional magnitude brought solemnly before that House, and then practically withdrawn from discussion? Was not that a curtailment of the duties and privileges of the House? That was a matter more important than the mere passing of a Bill; and he said, with the most positive knowledge, that in any large constituency such as he represented, where there were great bodies of working men attached to the Constitution, this symptom was regarded as a most serious one. It was not merely that the Privileges of the House of Lords were in danger, but those of the House of Commons. If this Bill were to be passed through the House with little real examination or discussion on important questions of detail, as in last Session, a most important diminution in the powers and privileges of that House would have been silently accomplished. The Franchise Bill was not a simple measure; and the point to which he had drawn attention, the exclusion of the property vote, was of the gravest importance both in its social and political aspects. As the hon. Member for Liverpool (Mr. S. Smith), stated the other day, the working classes of this country were divided into two classes, one not unprosperous, who protected themselves to a considerable extent by their own organizations, and thus maintained their position with great and increasing ability, but outside these there were the incapable and incompetent classes, who could not readily obtain employment. If they were to give no predominance to the provident over the improvident class of working men, they would be taking from the hands of the class most capable of influencing them for good one of the fittest instruments for that purpose. The only reply he could obtain from the Prime Minister on this important subject was a brief speech of two minutes' duration; and in the same way many other points were, upon the slightest pretext, withdrawn from the consideration of the House in such a manner that they might well ask whether this was the Bill of the House of Commons or the Bill of the Executive. This question was the question to be considered, and was considered by the masses of intelligent working men in this country, and was of such importance as to overshadow the importance of any Franchise Bill whatever. The anxiety of those who had long been associated with the great masses of population in this country, who knew their habits, their wants, and their feelings, their great and prevailing anxiety was that the better part should prevail. That was the way to insure peace and social order among that portion of the working classes who at present were so difficult to raise. If they were to take away such an instrument as this for the exercise of political influence, for the solution of great social questions, and the advancement of the lower orders of the people, those who could best exercise it would not be able to do so; and they would then be striking a fatal blow at the future political safety of this country. In the name of those for whom he spoke, owners of property—men entitled to be heard—men who knew how to raise themselves, he must express an earnest hope that the House would not, in important matters like these, sacrifice the highest interests of the country to any circumstances, however pressing, or however important, in the eyes of the Executive. He would only add, in conclusion, with regard to the whole matter, that, in his opinion, the real differences between the two Parties were so small that half-a-dozen thoughtful men drawn from each side could have framed a solution that would have been generally accepted; and he hoped they would still, every one of them, use their influence to bring about a peaceful settlement of the question. But he could not say, after the speech of the Prime Minister that night, that he saw much prospect of a compromise. The speech of the right hon. Gentleman was in tone and temper a most moderate and courteous speech; but in its essence was there one single note of accommodation? Was there anything that could be offered to them as a solution of the difficulties that pressed upon them? The Conservative Party throughout had been absolutely prepared to join in a reasonable and fair settlement of the question; but the doubt on the Conservative side was with regard to the question of Redistribution. They could not submit to a settlement of the question which might put them in this position—that the scheme of Redistribution would be so arranged that certain populations would be thrown into the mass of the county population for the sake of putting them into an area that properly should have no influence at all. The Government must either trust their political opponents and disclose their intentions, or, if they refused to do that, they could not call upon the Conservative Party to place that confidence in them which they themselves refused to extend to their opponents.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, any measure purporting to provide for the better Representation of the People in Parliament must be accompanied by provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas,"—(*Mr. E. Stanhope,*)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

MR. GORST said, he was disposed to think that the differences between the two sides of the House were now so small that half-a-dozen sensible men might easily settle all that was between them in a few minutes. He could not agree with his hon. Friend (Mr. Ecroyd) that this was a question on which there was no possibility of compromise. From the appearance of the House, it was very evident that the House in general, and the Conservative Party in particular, took very little interest in the discussion of this Amendment; and that was not surprising, because it was only the old question which had been brought forward by the noble Lord the Member for North Leicestershire (Lord John Manners), and it had been discussed *ad nauseam.* He, therefore, defied anybody to say anything new on the subject. He was in favour of the Amendment as an abstract Motion; and if he could support it without impeding the progress of the Franchise Bill, he should be perfectly ready to follow the hon. Gentleman into the Lobby. He wished, however, to point out that since this question was discussed last Session a great many things had happened. In the first place, they were defeated in the House of Commons by a very large majority. If Parliamentary government was to be carried on at all, there must be some questions upon which the minority must yield to the majority; and if there was any question upon which the minority should yield to the majority, he should say it was on a question of procedure. He had taken no part in the agitation of the autumn; but, as a looker on, he could discover no very clear evidence on the part of the country that it desired to disassociate itself from the vote of the House of Commons. The Leaders of the Conservative Party were just as anxious as the Government to agree to the extension of the franchise, and that had always been their position in times past. [*A laugh.*] Well, for 10 years he had found himself in perfect harmony with his Leaders on this question, and he was always in favour of extending household suffrage to the counties. But not only was the Conservative Party anxious to extend the franchise; the Government and their supporters were equally anxious to pass a Redistribution Bill. That was the situation between them. What guarantee had they that the Government would carry their promises out? He was as suspicious as most people of the pledges of the Government; but he confessed that, on this particular matter of redistribution, the Government were as solemnly pledged and bound as they could possibly be, and that they could not go back from the pledges they had given to the country without laying themselves open to a charge of gross breach of faith. If they had a security that some Bill would be brought in by the Government, what security had they that the Bill would be a fair Bill? Well, in the first place, he did not see any radical difference between the two Parties as regarded redistribution and the principles which should be applied to it. They were all agreed that the change must be in the direction of representation in accordance with numbers, without rigid mathematical apportionment. There must, of course, be anomalies, unless they had equal electoral districts. When the Prime Minister enunciated the principles of his redistribution scheme, he observed that they met with the general assent of Members on the Conservative side. Therefore, he supposed that in these principles enunciated by the Prime Minister there were no points of difference that ought to create a great crisis. There was one point, however, on which the Prime Minister did not touch, and that was the representation of minorities; but that was not a Party question. Then, as to the charge that the Government might manipulate the redistribution of seats so as to gain an advantage for their own Party, he said boldly that that was a task they could not perform. He did not say it was impossible to manipulate a scheme of representation with regard to small boroughs, for which men could be returned at the will of some nobleman. If there was any talk of retaining boroughs of the kind, he did not deny that there would be room for some manipulation; but if they were going to construct large and important constituencies, with an adequate number of electors, he defied the cleverest election agent in the world to manipulate a scheme of the kind. This, however, was a point with regard to which there was much nervous timidity on his side of the House; but he did not see it in that light. Both Parties were often mistaken as to the effect a particular provision would have upon their respective interests. Two instances would show this. In 1867 there was a great Party struggle as to whether the urban element should be drawn within the boroughs by an extension of boundaries, or left in the counties. Both Parties believed the new voters would be Liberal, and the Conservatives feared they would swamp the existing county voters. The Liberals had their way; but the result had been that the new voters had proved one of the most Conservative elements in the State, and the Metropolitan counties, which consisted almost wholly of that class, had returned Conservative Members from that time to the present. Again, in the case of the minority vote, which was inserted by the House of Lords on the Motion of Lord Cairns, and which affected seven counties and five boroughs returning 36 Members, according to the majorities these places should return 21 Conservatives and 15 Liberals, whereas the actual representation was 18 Conservatives and 18 Liberals. But the most powerful security against an improper manipulation of the seats, even if that were possible, was the dread of the Government of public opinion, which assuredly would resent any attempt on the part of the Government to break its pledges. If there was one thing which had been made more clear than another by the agitation of the present autumn it was that the majority of the people desired a complete measure of Reform to be passed in the present Parliament; and he believed that public opinion would punish whichever of the two Parties in that House tried to defeat their wishes. He had heard it said that the Government wanted to pass the Franchise Bill and then to dissolve; but if they carried out that intention it would be a most disastrous thing for themselves. If they were to carry out such an intention, they could not take the opinion of the country under more unfavourable circumstances. They would be appealing to boroughs which were condemned by anticipation, and to counties which their *laches* had deprived of their just share of representation, and they would be appealing to people who were indignant at their breach of faith. All these securities for the passing of a Bill for the redistribution of seats being in existence, what was the position of the two political Parties at the present moment? The Tory Party were no longer in the position of having to dissimulate their love for the extension of household suffrage to the counties, while the Liberal Party were pledged up to the hilt to the introduction of a fair measure for the redistribution of seats. The difference between the two Parties, therefore, was very small—it having been reduced to a mere question of procedure. In such circumstances it would be most discreditable to our Parliamentary system if the two Parties could not agree upon some mode of procedure by which their mutual objects would be attained. But, unfortunately, there were obstacles to that agreement. The first of those obstacles was furnished by the speeches delivered on platforms in the country, and, he was sorry to say, even in that House, by hon. Members who had no desire to come to an agreement, who wished to keep the wound open, and who had motives which went far beyond the passing of the Franchise and the Redistribution Bills, and who desired to stir up dissension in the constituencies. These were the men who rubbed the sore when they should bring the plaster. He hoped, however, that the House would discourage all such persons, and all such speeches. The next obstacle to a satisfactory settlement of the question was that the Leaders of both sides of the House were unwilling to trust Parliament to legislate with freedom. They wanted to have a rope round the neck of Parliament. The Leaders on his own side of the House were, he was sorry to say, using the 2,000,000 of capable citizens, whose right to enfranchisement they had admitted, as a sort of lever, to force from the Government a Redistribution Bill, when no compulsion was necessary to attain that object. He had rather a strong opinion with regard to the wisdom of using the rights of those 2,000,000 of persons for that purpose. In his humble judgment, the Conservative Party had got hold of a very ugly and dangerous edged tool in this matter. It was not impossible that the 2,000,000 of capable citizens might resent their rights being made use of in this way for the purpose of putting a screw upon the Government; and he thought that they would probably look to the votes of hon. Members on the second reading of the Franchise Bill rather than to their speeches. If he were a county Member he should be sorry to have to face the newly-enfranchised electors whom they had deprived of their privileges until they had got concessions from the Government on the mere question of procedure. He did not acquit the Prime Minister in this matter, because he had been attempting to use the Franchise Act, when passed, as a lever to force the passage of a Redistribution Bill by a Parliament quite willing to pass it without force. He thought that the solid sense of the country would repudiate any attempt to coerce Parliament, or to induce them to act otherwise than with perfect freedom. He hoped that the determination to repudiate all kinds of coercion would find an echo on both sides of the House. Holding those views, his desire would be to pass the Franchise Bill *nem. con.* through the House of Commons. Why should any Party in that House desire to make enemies of the new voters? They could not keep them out if they would, and they would not keep them out if they could. As he had said, the people would look more to their votes than to the speeches of hon. Members; and he believed that Members on the Opposition side who might hereafter become candidates for populous constituencies would find it very hard to explain their conduct in voting against the second reading of the Franchise Bill. They might profess a desire for the enfranchisement of the county householder; but they would find a great number of people, both in boroughs and counties, who would say—"If they voted against the franchise they do but flatter with their lips and dissemble in their double hearts." Why should the Conservative Party run their heads against a stone wall upon a mere question of procedure? If there was to be a Tory Party in the future they must rely upon that solid Conservative sentiment which history had proved existed among the masses of the people of this country. The days of privilege and of exclusiveness had gone by for ever. The Opposition had a great case to bring against the Government before the constituencies. They had a case of disaster in our foreign relations, and of indifference to our Imperial interests. If they were so ready to impeach the Government, why not impeach them before the country at large—why should they make a futile attempt to pack the jury and make enemies by alienating those whom they could not get rid of by any chance? Supposing that the screw was put on the Government, and violent measures were used for the purpose of inducing them to proceed with their Redistribution Bill, he believed that the passing the Franchise Bill, in the way he had suggested, unanimously through the House of Commons would give the Opposition an enormous lever with the constituencies. A great number of the Members on the Government side of the House, he believed, would very cordially approve of that course. Whatever might be the fate of the Bill in the other House, he, for one, hoped the Government would give hon. Members every opportunity of doing their duty. That duty, he understood, was to make the most rapid progress they possibly could according to the procedure indicated by the Government with a complete measure of Reform which the country desired to see passed. He regretted very much that the Prime Minister in his speech did not announce any definite intention of introducing and proceeding with the Redistribution Bill as soon as the Franchise Bill had passed that House; and he hoped that Her Majesty's Government would take into consideration the possibility and the propriety of adopting such a course. If the Government did adopt that course, he would promise to give them the most cordial and candid assistance. He believed that on both sides of the House there were a large number of Members who were sincerely desirous of seeing this question settled; and he hoped that both a Franchise and a Redistribution

Bill would become law during the present Session.

Mr. FIRTH observed, that it was a most interesting question how far the admirable speech which had just been addressed to the House by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was inspired, and how many followers he had in the House. It was to be regretted that, so far as was at present known, the hon. and learned Gentleman had not yet persuaded his Leaders to adopt his views on the subject under consideration. Those views were only new as entertained by a Conservative, for the Liberals had been placing them continuously before the country during the last three or four months. The anxiety of the Conservative Party to pass the Franchise Bill was one of the most remarkable features of the present situation. It was now said that the question at issue should be left for the decision of the constituencies. He did not know why they should not be satisfied with the reference to the constituencies in 1880. There was one point in the tactics of the Conservatives which led him to doubt the reality of their anxiety for the Franchise Bill. He could not understand their tactics, because if the Franchise Bill were passed and redistribution were brought forward, a great number of difficulties would arise which would give their opponents the opportunity of dividing the Liberal Party. It might be asked why the Government did not introduce a Redistribution Bill at once. The answer was—and it seemed to him an excellent one—that the difficulties attending redistribution were such that many Members might take advantage of them for the purpose of throwing the Franchise Question over altogether. It was perfectly evident that if the Government were to introduce any Redistribution Bill whatever until the Franchise Bill was passed there would be such opposition directed against it from various points as to enable the franchise scheme altogether to be destroyed. Redistribution took a much longer time for discussion in 1832 than the Franchise Bill; and he ventured to say that if a Redistribution Bill proposed only to disfranchise Bridport, Eye, and Woodstock, the whole time of Parliament, having regard to the capacity for discussion of the Representatives of those constituencies, would be taken up by those Members alone. Having regard to their experience of the time occupied by the Franchise Bill last Session, it was very surprising to find the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon stating at Newcastle that the Redistribution Bill could easily have been passed together with the Franchise Bill last Session. It was said that if the Franchise Bill was passed without redistribution it would create a number of anomalies; but those anomalies would not be greater than the present ones. He was glad to find that the Prime Minister had adopted so firm a tone; and he hoped that, having taken up their present attitude, the Government would maintain it, and would not introduce a measure of redistribution until the Franchise Bill was safe through the House of Lords.

Mr. DALRYMPLE said, he gathered that the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down thought the present Parliament could not deal with the question of redistribution; and he further contended that no measure of redistribution ought to be introduced until the Franchise Bill had passed through the House of Lords. He (Mr. Dalrymple) inferred from that, that if the Government then found themselves face to face with the inherent difficulties of redistribution, which had been so graphically described, they would decide not to deal with that question, but to go to the country on the Franchise Bill alone. He was not disposed to complain of the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who had a perfect right to his independent opinion, which he always expressed in the House. But if he were inclined to complain of it at all, he thought the hon. and learned Member had been sufficiently punished by the effusive and laboured eulogium of the hon. Member for Chelsea (Mr. Firth). He (Mr. Dalrymple) could not help thinking, when the hon. Member for Chelsea denied the possibility of dealing with the complete question of Reform in one Session, that it would not have been so very impossible if only the Government, in the Session in which they intended to deal with the question before, had not brought forward a great mass of other legislation with which they did not seriously intend to deal. He referred, of course, to such measures as the Bill for the Government of London, which certainly was a question not suitable to be introduced in a Session in which Parliament was to be asked to deal with the question of Reform. Unlike the hon. and learned Member for Chatham —with many of whose remarks he found himself in considerable agreement—he intended to support the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope). He was always sorry, in reference to the Franchise Bill, if a construction were put on a vote in favour of such an Amendment that it was a vote against the Bill, and there was none who felt that more keenly than he did, for it so happened that he enjoyed the singular privilege of being the only surviving Conservative Member who voted in 1874 with his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan). It was true, as he explained in a subsequent year, that he did not think it wise, year after year, to press the question on a then reluctant Parliament, and he gave effect to that opinion by a vote in, he thought, 1876. At all events, having always considered that an extension of the franchise was a necessary corollary of the legislation of 1867, he had no difficulty in resuming in the present year the attitude which he formerly took up when the question was not quite so popular as it was now. He could not help noticing, in passing, when reference was made to the conversion of Members of the Conservative Party on this question, the number of conversions that had taken place on the other side of the House. When they heard the Conservative Party charged with being secretly opposed to the extension of the franchise and with distrust of the people, he could not help remembering that, in some of those years when the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster brought forward this question, his right hon. Friend complained that he had three great opponents to contend against—the Prime Minister of that day, *The Times* newspaper, and what he then described as the late Solicitor General. The late Solicitor General to whom he referred was the present Home Secretary. So that if there had been conversions on the Conservative side of the House, conversions on the other side had been equally notorious, and not of so very remote a date. But passing from that, he agreed with the hon. and learned Member for Chatham in what he said as to the approximation which had taken place between the opinions on both sides of the House with reference to this question. It was admitted that the principle of the extension of the franchise was now accepted by both sides; but he presumed still to hold that the question which they had urged both in and out of Parliament was also of paramount importance—that they should have the whole measure of the Government scheme of Reform before them. He saw two maps the other day in an able evening journal, which professed to give an account of the number of meetings held in the country on the one side or the other during the Recess. He did not know that he attached special importance to the number of meetings, or to the number who attended the meetings, on one side or the other. He should think from the nature of the case it was highly probable that a greater number of meetings was held in favour of the Franchise Bill, because if they asked people to believe the Franchise Bill was in danger, undoubtedly they could get numerous and largely attended meetings in support of the Bill. Many of those who got up the meetings knew perfectly well the Franchise Bill was not really in danger, and that what was contended for on the Conservative side was not that the Franchise Bill should not pass, but that they should have the whole scheme of Reform before them. He had heard with satisfaction much of the speech of the Prime Minister to-night. He recognized not only the conciliatory spirit of that speech, but he regarded with satisfaction the sketch of the scheme of Redistribution which the right hon Gentleman had put before them. He recognized in that sketch something of the sketch which the right hon. Gentleman put before the House last Session. But why, if the right hon. Gentleman was anxious to advance his scheme of Reform, as he believed the right hon. Gentleman was, did he not go one step further, and having shadowed forth the scheme of Redistribution, undertake to lay it on the Table of the House after the Franchise Bill had passed this House? If he had done that it would not only have been conciliatory, it would have been much more; it would have shown the House and the country that he was anxious to meet the fair demand which the Conservative Party had made—a demand which was according to precedent—and by so doing he would have found he would have greatly facilitated the passing of the measure of Reform. He sometimes wondered if hon. Gentlemen opposite seriously disputed the contention which the Conservatives made. It was difficult for him to believe that they did not feel the force of that contention, especially as it was well known that they only contended for what had been granted in former times—namely, the exhibition of the full scheme of Reform —a contention which, when the last measure of Reform was before Parliament, was advocated by two men who were now Members of Her Majesty's Government at the present time. They had heard a good deal about a crisis at the present time. He had sometimes been inclined to question what the nature of the crisis was. It was not seriously stated, he thought, that it was a crisis of the country; but was it really a crisis of the Franchise Bill? Could that, for one moment, be said to be true? If it had been said hitherto, it could not be said after what had passed to-night. He believed, if crisis there were, it was a crisis of the Government. The difference of opinion which existed was not a difference of opinion between the House of Parliament and the country. It was a difference between the majority of the other House and the Minister of the day. As he had said, he believed if the Minister of the day—a phrase he used in preference to the Ministry of the day—had gone one step further than he did to-night, and had promised to lay on the Table of the House a scheme of Redistribution on something like the lines which he had described, he believed the right hon. Gentleman would have found that much of the difficulty with which he had to contend would disappear. He agreed entirely with the spirit of part of the remarks of the Prime Minister when he spoke of dealing with this question, not in a partizan or Party spirit, but in a wider and more generous spirit. He (Mr. Dalrymple) did not envy the man who had hoped, out of this present excitement with reference to the Reform Question, to catch the passing breeze of partizan support. He did believe, as had been said more than once, that there was nothing in the issue between them which could not easily be settled if only there was a disposition to settle it. But, as the hon. and learned Member for Chatham pointed out, there was an element which rendered the settlement of the question a difficult one, and that was, that there was a number of Gentlemen in the House, and a certain number of persons outside the House, who were looking beyond the present controversy, and were endeavouring to import into it notions of a more extended change than had anything to do with it. He had a doubt whether, in the event of the passing of this measure, those persons would easily be disposed to part with their cry against the House of Lords. But, be that as it might, he could only say that while he supported the Amendment of his hon. Friend with the utmost heartiness, believing that the Conservatives were contending, as they were in the early part of the year, for what was absolutely just—namely, that they should see the complete scheme of the Government—he did sincerely desire, as there was a considerable approximation of opinion between the two sides of the House on this question, that there might still be found a means of reconciling the differences which remained; and he believed it was quite within the power of Her Majesty's Government, if they were so disposed, to introduce a scheme of Redistribution which would strengthen the representative institutions of the country, and which would give satisfaction to both Parties in the State.

Mr. GREGORY said, that, while recognizing the conciliatory speech of the Prime Minister as one worthy of himself and of the occasion, the real question was whether the right hon. Gentleman could not go one step further than he had done. He could not help thinking that the right hon. Gentleman spoke, not from an abstract idea of the question, but from a concrete one—that he had, in fact, a complete scheme in his own mind, and if it was not actually framed, yet it was in such a condition as would shortly enable it to be laid on the Table. He (Mr. Gregory) was as anxious as any hon. Member to pursue a conciliatory course on this occasion; and he would, therefore, seriously entreat the Prime Minister, if he had such a scheme as that suggested, to lay it at once on the Table. They were very much in the position of litigants who approximated closely to each other on material points at issue, and who only needed the interposition of one or two judicious friends to arrive at a complete settlement. If the Prime Minister would communicate the details of his Bill to some hon. Gentlemen of moderate opinions, whose weight and authority were recognized by the Conservative Party, and if its details were discussed on both sides, some settlement might be arrived at, and a measure might be produced acceptable generally to the country. The Prime Minister was bound to lay before the House the details of the measure which he had shadowed forth, and to do so before he called upon it for a final vote in regard to the measure now before it.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, that in the speeches to which the House had already listened it was manifest that what was in the mind of every speaker was really the subject of Redistribution, and not that of Franchise. He thought no stronger evidence could be adduced of the wisdom which dictated the policy of the Government in separating these two questions. If they had the two subjects before them, Members would have passed from one subject to the other, and it would have been almost impossible to maintain an orderly debate. He thought that, if they might judge from the speeches that had been already made, the Conservative Party had become reconciled to the passage of the Franchise Bill. That being so, he could only wonder that this measure should be again delayed, and that the Conservative Party did not co-operate in getting it out of the way so as to make progress with the serious question of Redistribution. He had had many opportunities of judging public opinion as shown at large meetings in various parts of the country; and he did not hesitate to say that no issue could be so destructive to the power of the Conservative Party as a repetition of the action of the House of Lords with regard to this Bill. If it were again rejected, it would be almost impossible for the Conservative Party to stand up against the odium which would be generated throughout the country during the winter. He maintained that the Bill which they were now discussing was in itself a compromise. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) had expressed a wish that the Prime Minister had gone a step further, and given them some assurances as to the Redistribution Scheme, and had said that under those circumstances the Bill would have had an easy passage through that House. But even if the Liberal Party were disposed to bring in a one-sided Redistribution Bill they would be powerless to carry it. If they were to attempt anything like jerrymandering, they would lose all their popularity and power in the country. He hoped the Conservative Party would do all that was necessary in influencing a noble Lord who exercised such an influence in "another place." He was satisfied the longer the settlement of this question was put off the more drastic would its nature be. For his own part, he should prefer that there should be a general understanding come to, by means of which the present measure should be allowed to pass through both Houses, and by which a Redistribution Bill might be placed on the Statute Book as soon as possible. As to the Redistribution Scheme which the Government would propose, he feared it was not such a scheme as would be acceptable to the Advanced Liberal Party. The words of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) should be well weighed. He believed the Liberal Party had done with compromise, and he trusted the Government would not move one step further in that direction, and he did not hesitate to say the country would ratify the course they had taken.

MR. BIDDELL: Sir, when I came into the House, I, as an independent Member, did not know on which side I was going to vote, for I felt convinced that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone) would have suggested some practical course satisfactory to both Parties; but though he has spoken with great suavity and gentleness—to use his own term—yet he has done nothing of the sort; the Bill, therefore, is no forwarder than it was months back. In the Recess the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Hartington) made a most statesmanlike, conciliatory speech, which I was delighted to read; but I much regret that nothing has come of it. After all, what do the Lords require? Simply that they should have a general knowledge of Part 2 before they pass Part 1 of this great Reform Bill. I think, seeing how the two Parts so intimately affect one another, their request a reasonable one. But for the sake of argument let us assume that it is a whim or prejudice of the Lords; it would then be well for the Government to humour it, for the purpose of speedily passing the Bill. The right hon. Gentleman would then show that his anxiety to pass the Bill was greater than his apparent dislike to the Lords. The Government has argued against such a course; but, under the force of circumstances, they could most honourably pursue it. We are told that the Redistribution Bill is now ready; but the Government practically tells its supporters that if it lets them know what it contained, they would not pass the Franchise Bill. A more unjust reflection could not be cast upon them, for more faithful followers no Government ever had; for, indeed, hardly one faithless Member can be found amongst them. The Government views could easily be made public, without formally placing them on the Table, either of this or the other House. I cannot appreciate the secrecy of the Government, for, if I mistake not, our countrymen hate secrecy, but will fully value openness and candidness. Statesmanship is shown in devising good measures, and proclaiming them to the country. The Premier has indicated that he would give more information respecting the Seats Bill, but it has not been asked for. I would now ask, are boroughs of less than 10,000 inhabitants to lose their Members? Are those of 40,000 to be winged by losing one Member? Is grouping of large towns to be carried out, thus preventing the counties being swamped by town population? And is the anomaly to be continued of county residents being unable to vote for their property in the boroughs, while the residents in the latter are still to vote in respect of their freeholds in the counties? Even now, if the Government would pursue this course and treat the House with confidence and adopt a conciliatory course, my vote shall not be found in opposition to them.

Mr. SAMUEL SMITH said, he warned hon. Members opposite not to be misled by the quiet tone within the House into thinking a similar state of feeling prevailed without. In the country the agitation had reached a point which might be described as alarming. It was no satisfaction to him to see such a growth of sentiment out-of-doors, as he desired to see great Constitutional questions settled in a Constitutional manner, and not by a wild demagogic agitation. Out-of-doors this question was coming almost exclusively to be regarded as a struggle between the two Houses, and the issue was which should prevail—the elective or the hereditary? Was that the state of things which Conservatives could regard with much satisfaction? He had no desire to see the agitation assume a revolutionary character, which it would certainly assume if it continued much longer. He could foresee during the coming winter a state of things which they would all deplore if the Franchise Bill were thrown out a second time. There was great distress prevailing, and serious questions as to the soundness of our social system. If the Peers invited this agitation, it would not only be directed against the Upper House, but against the aristocracy and the holders of property generally. He felt deeply afraid that there would merge out of the strife a new Party like the Social Democrats of Germany, and that the guidance of Parties would pass from the hands of wise statesmen into that of extreme and violent men who were watching their opportunity. It was considerations of that kind which made him, as a moderate man, desire to see a speedy settlement arrived at. True Conservatism would best be shown in the effecting of a speedy settlement of this question. If the irritation which existed led to the wrecking of this measure, history taught them that in a few years a much stronger one would have to be assented to, and that either the Tories or Liberals would have to pass a Bill for manhood suffrage and equal electoral districts. All men must see that was the goal to which they were drifting. There were many hon. Members on that side of the House who had no desire to swamp Conservative feeling, and who would not be parties to any unfair scheme of Redistribution, if such were proposed, which he was certain the present Government would not do. He could not conceive that any lines of redistribution could be drawn more fair or more just than those shadowed forth by the Prime Minister in his opening speech. It would be a hopeless task to try and pass the two measures combined. The Government possessed no means of driving this complicated measure through the House, except the certainty that the Franchise Bill would pass into law at a given time. That being the fact, he could not conceive the excessive unwillingness there was to permit the Franchise Bill to pass. The statesmanlike speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) gave great comfort to him (Mr. Samuel Smith) and to others, and it held out some hope that this great controversy might be brought to a close without a violent dislocation in the country. Terrible times were in store for them if this question was kept open for a year or two. He hoped the two Houses of Parliament would soon join in passing this Bill, which preserved the ancient character of our Constitution.

MR. A. F. EGERTON said, he thought a rather one-sided view had been taken of the agitation which had raged throughout the country during the Recess. He did not wish to minimize the importance of the agitation. It had doubtless intensified Radical feeling; but he doubted whether the Conservative working men had been affected in the slightest degree by the agitation. He spoke with some knowledge of working men, as he employed 5,000 of them in Lancashire, and he represented a constituency the great mass of which consisted of colliers and other working men. As far as his own experience went, he found no diminution of the Conservative feeling which undoubtedly did exist before the autumn agitation. He would appeal to his right hon. Friend's (Sir R. Assheton Cross's) testimony with regard to the meeting held at Wigan a short time ago. The colliers in South Lancashire were, to a very great extent, Conservatives, and the colliers were a very fair representative class of the working men throughout that county. He did not know what the agitation might be worth in other parts of the country. There had been a great deal of sound and fury in it, and large meetings had been held both by Liberals and Conservatives. The real question before them was, whether the Conservatives were justified in their contention that redistribution ought to be considered in connection with the extension of the franchise? The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) might be quoted in support of that contention; but when the right hon. Gentleman was quoted he generally retorted that the quotation was a lie, or used words to that effect. When, however, his contradiction was analyzed, it simply amounted to this—that a quotation which applied to a state of things when the Conservatives were in Office was totally inapplicable to a state of things existing when the Liberals were in Office. He might also quote in support of the Conservative contention the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) and the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Fawcett) whose loss they had now to deplore. However, he would not go into that question, because he thought it had been debated sufficiently. He believed that the Conservatives had made out their case, not only in the House and in "another place," but also in the country; and the more the country examined the justice of their contention the more, he was convinced, would it be convinced of the justice of their arguments.

MR. ELTON said, he thought that on his side of the House sentiments had been expressed with which the other side perfectly agreed. It afforded him great pleasure to recognize the spirit of conciliation and good feeling which the Prime Minister had shown in his speech. Throughout the excitement of the autumn he (Mr. Elton) had been one among the small minority who had always thought the question in dispute was a thing that ought to be settled; and as we belonged to a nation remarkable for its common sense, he had always believed that it would be settled, and he could not give up that belief. The Prime Minister laid down certain principles which would animate him in dealing with redistribution, and though they differed from the principles which the right hon. Gentleman personally laid down on a previous occasion, he thought the differences were in some respects for the better. What had frightened the Conservative Party on a former occasion was the idea that there was to be one rule to apply to Ireland by which the same number of Members were to be given to her as she had now, and another to apply to Scotland by which she was to have more, the result of which two rules would be that England would suffer. He thought, however, from what had been said, that the different portions of the United Kingdom would be regarded from the same point of view. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had asked on a former occasion, "What is it you Conservative Gentlemen fear?" The fear was two-fold; one was that there would be a General Election on the present constituencies without redistribution, so that the agricultural interest would be swamped; and the other was that there would be a Redistribution Scheme, as to which, though they could not exactly define the fear, they had distinct warning that it would be one which they would never pass except under pressure of time. But those two fears had been somewhat allayed by the conciliatory tone of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. He thought they should know a little more about the rules of redistribution, something that would not consist in mere generalities. Those rules could be drawn up by any three sensible men on either side of the House, and when they were drafted the victory of the Conservative Party would have been won. They wanted to come to business, and they wanted to come to figures, and he was quite sure that if they did so their unanimity would be wonderful.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, that after the observations of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who stated that he had "made a vulgar and coarse speech about the House of Lords," he felt bound to say a few words. These words if used by ordinary men or newspapers would not affect him at all. He had never made any attack upon individuals, and had always referred to classes and Parties. If he had cared to have done so, he could have amused his audiences over and over again with what he knew about individual Members of the House of Lords. He could even have told of an ancestor of the hon. Member himself who was known as "Jacobin Stanhope" and "Citizen Stanhope," the friend of Horne Tooke and Hardy, and who probably, if he had not been a Peer, would have been put into the dock beside them. He had never called the Leader of the Opposition the "Moloch of Mid Lothian," nor called a Member of the Opposition a "pinchbeck Robespierre," nor talked about "snivel and drivel." He had known many Members of the House of Lords who were ornaments of the Order to which they belonged. But what he said was that, collectively, they had not only been of no use, but had been unmitigated mischiefs. For 250 years, and for 250 years only, the House of Lords had been a political power in England, and he challenged anybody to find that during that time they had ever done a single just act or expressed a single generous sentiment. Some one had attempted to defend the House of Lords, on the ground that they interposed between Fox's India Bill and the King, but, in his opinion, so far from that being an action to be applauded, it was one of the basest acts in their base history.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is referring to the other branch of the Legislature, and I am bound to remind him that he must speak with respect of the House of Lords.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS said, he would withdraw the expression at once. He would simply refer to the facts of the case, and he would say now, what he would probably say again, that a great many Members of the House of Lords ought not to be in any House of Assembly at all. Might he not remind hon. Members that Bills were constantly being brought into that House to settle the estates of noble profligates?

Mr. FINCH-HATTON: I rise to Order, Sir. I wish to call your attention to the words just used by the hon. Member, after he has already been reproved for similar expressions.

Mr. SPEAKER: The remarks of the hon. Member are, I think, regrettable, and I do not see that they are relevant to the Question now before the House—namely, the Franchise Bill.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: As the hon. Member has referred to observations of my own, I must direct his attention to the particular point that was in my mind. I was alluding in particular to the speech of the hon. Member wherein he compared the House of Lords to Sodom and Gomorrah, and to the collective abominations of an Egyptian temple.

Mr. THOROLD ROGERS repeated, that what he said then he said now, that during the whole period of the existence of the House of Lords he could discover no righteous act and no generous sentiment that had ever been advocated by them. In order to make plain what he meant to his audience of working men—who probably knew their New Testament better than hon. Gentlemen opposite—he had said that of such a record as that of the House of Lords he thought he could say, in the words of the New Testament—"It will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the Day of Judgment than for the House of Lords." He was bound to say that he was not at all inclined to retract anything he had said. He did not intend to allege the identity of the House of Lords with the cities of the Plain; he simply said that collective misconduct was to be interpreted under the principles of collective judgment. Having explained the expression he had made use of, he hoped, to the satisfaction of the hon. Gentleman (Mr. E. Stanhope), he would like to say a few words on the subject before the House. He gladly recognized the fairness of the Prime Minister's desire to bring about a generous understanding, on the points at issue, between all Parties; but he could not help entertaining the opinion that the Franchise Bill would leave untouched certain institutions which called for reform. For example, it was hard that the gentlemen known as "freemen" were still to flourish. He knew a borough in which the freemen sold their votes collectively to one candidate, and they might generally be regarded as constituting the worst possible form of manhood suffrage. Then when they misconducted themselves they were never punished. He lived in a borongh (Oxford) which boasted the presence of a Dean and Chapter, and all such boroughs were corrupt. The only explanation he could suggest of this was that the Deans and Chapters set up a standard of impossible virtue, and that the mass of the population rushed into the opposite extreme of degrading vice. Be that as it might, it was hard upon the ratepayers of Oxford that they should have been compelled to pay several thousands of pounds for a rotten Election Commission, which let off all the real culprits, and that not one single shilling should have come out of the pockets of the freemen. In 1832 the freemen were disfranchised by that House, but were restored to their position by that august and noble Assembly which met in an adjacent Chamber, just as that Assembly would always restore any mischievous and scandalous institution.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! I must remind the hon. Member that his remarks are contrary to the principles of amenity which should guide the conduct of Members of this House in speaking of the other House.

MR. THOROLD ROGERS said, that he did not mean to say anything uncivil of the other House; but there were occasions when one's feelings got the better of one's judgment. He objected to the enjoyment by one man of a plurality of votes. He (Mr. Thorold Rogers) possessed that most mischievous and noxious franchise known as the University franchise, and he had other votes besides. Why should he have more than one? He should be quite content with only one. A great many hon. Gentlemen on his side of the House were disinclined to swallow many of the things which the Prime Minister had placed in the Franchise Bill, in a spirit of conciliation, but for the sake of peace and compromise they had elected to accept them. It would be a mistake, however, to suppose that these things would be permanently settled on the lines which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had laid down. He felt sure that public opinion would oppose the system of the plural vote, and all fancy franchises. Neither would it be made to believe that any reason existed why members of a University should have votes, when members of the Inns of Court, of the Apothecaries' Company, and of the City Companies had none. It was idle to suppose that the people, whose minds had been stirred to their very depths by the facts that had been brought before them during the last three months, would remain quiet for ever after the passing of the Bill. They would, he felt sure, keep on agitating in order to bring about a really fair representation of the English people in Parliament.

MR. GUY DAWNAY said, that he did not think it necessary to reply to the extraordinary and painful speech which the House had just heard. The mere fact that the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) rose professing his habit of using gentle and generous language, and had then made so ill-conditioned a speech that he had been called to Order three times for speaking disrespectfully of another Chamber, was sufficient comment upon it. After the speech of the hon. Member they would be curious to hear whether Billingsgate was to be made a separate constituency under the new scheme of Redistribution, He had no desire to detain the House long on a subject so monotonously one-sided, or on a point so thoroughly threshed out, and, on their side, so amply proved, as the necessity of combining the operation of a Redistribution Act with the present measure for the extension of the suffrage. He could understand easily enough, of course, that, for the satisfaction, and with the applause, of an uneducated or prejudiced audience, the subject was capable of being distorted by a skilful use of the *suppressio veri*, and by a reckless employment of the *suggestio falsi;* and that, at least, they had seen demonstrated with all the weekly regularity of Saturday afternoon agitation. He could understand the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) amusing himself by playing with the intelligence of a Welsh audience, and smiling as they swallowed fallacy after fallacy amidst gulping cheers; but he could not understand how, amongst hon. Gentlemen occupying seats in that House, after the manner with which the measure had been turned inside out during the many heavy months that the discussion had endured, there should be any disposition still to deny the necessity of a Redistribution Bill being brought in contemporaneously with the Franchise Bill. One of the most notable features of the discussion had been the disposition of hon. Gentlemen on this particular point to swallow their own words—to repudiate them without mercy and without apparent memory either. In saying this, he had no wish to refer to all those bygone accusing pages of *Hansard* or of the daily Press that bore witness to the political acrobacy of various right hon. Gentlemen. It was to a very recent exemplification of this reversibility of reasoning he wished to allude, and he would like the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) to give the House some explanation with respect to the chief argument he had used the other day, when he went to sound his Ministerial war-whoop in Wales. He (Mr. Guy Dawnay) might, however, be wrong in using the word "war-whoop," because the right hon. Gentleman had explained that he expressly deprecated on the part of his audience any of that violence which, he reminded them, had been so useful on former occasions. He did that merely from his natural love of historical reminiscence; and, after that, any subsequent rioting could not, of course, be laid to the charge of the speaker, any more than, in the well-known instance, already alluded to that evening, of nailing a certain person's ears to the pump, that brutality was perpetrated in spite of the impassioned protest of another maligned and misconstrued orator. The right hon. Gentleman commenced his speech at Denbigh, a month ago, by declaring, with more modesty than waste of accuracy, his own inability to twist and turn and change his opinions, like the Tories. He accused us of changing every full moon, elated by the proud consciousness that it had taken him some 10 revolving moons to deliver himself of a brand new and totally opposite set of opinions as to the value of redistribution. And he then proceeded—

> "Now, ladies and gentlemen, this question of the franchise is one which is especially interesting for the people of Wales. You have nothing to gain in any case from redistribution, although, if Lord Salisbury had his way, you would have a good deal to lose; but with regard to the franchise, it is altogether a different matter. Will you be content that these men should be deprived of all their rights, that this unjust and unreasonable disqualification should continue?"

Now, he would ask the House to compare those words with the opinions expressed by the same right hon. Gentleman in Birmingham last year. He then said—

> "But, gentlemen, there is a more important question before us than the extension of the franchise. We have to see that an equal valne is given to the vote. It is no use increasing the number of voters, if you water them and minimize the political influence which the vote confers. It is no use putting 1,000,000 in the place of 100,000, if the 1,000,000 have no greater power than the 100,000."

He would like to hear from the President of the Board of Trade how it was that an increase of voters without a corresponding increase and readjustment of the influence of their votes was condemned by him as absolutely useless last year, while this year the slightest delay in making that absolutely useless increase was denounced by him in inflammatory language as altogether unreasonable and unjust? Would the right hon. Gentleman, who so greatly deprecated inconsistency in others, condescend to explain this sudden alteration of his views between Wales and Warwickshire, between 1883 and 1884? Or was it possible that his views and logic were both somewhat warped by his eagerness to pay off that old reckoning of his with the House of Lords, and by his eagerness, by consulting a new, even if a watered, electorate, to avoid the chance of adding yet another "ejected Minister" to the records of his line? The Prime Minister made a direct statement in the House that evening which he had made also in Mid Lothian, and which had been likewise made lately by the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Forster)—namely, that the extension of the franchise even without redistribution was in itself and by itself a good thing. Now, it appeared from the Return obtained by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) that 20,000,000 inhabitants in the counties of the United Kingdom, with nearly 3,250,000 electors, would return 283 Members, while the boroughs, with something more than 13,000,000 inhabitants and 1,920,000 electors, would return 360 Members; that was to say, that the counties, with 1,250,000 more electors and over 6,000,000 more inhabitants, would return 77 fewer Members than the boroughs. That meant that the voters in the boroughs would each possess more than double the influence, in a future Election, of the county voters, and the county Members would, in a new Parliament, have only half the influence which they ought to possess as against the borough Members, and which they would be required to exercise in maintaining the rights of the counties against those of the boroughs, either in settling a Redistribution measure, or on any other point on which the interests of borough and county might diverge. Nor was that all. The right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had said that in 30 county constituencies out of 95 this Franchise Bill meant an entire transfer of power from the rural to the urban element. That was to say, that in nearly one-third of the county constituencies they would give the whole of the electoral power to the boroughs, on the ridiculous pretence of widening the franchise of the counties in which the boroughs were situated. Therefore, they were giving to the boroughs not only double, but treble, the power they ought to possess, and with that enormous predominance of borough-elected, or virtually borough-elected Members, they proposed to settle the Redistribution Question, in which the interests of town and county were diametrically opposed. How the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) could honestly persuade himself that the urgency of adding to the electorate, even without waiting for redistribution, had suddenly in 1884 become so great that it was worth running the risk he had foreshadowed, or how the scruples which hon. Gentlemen on that (the Opposition) side of the House avowed as influencing them and forcing them to insist on the safeguard of a suspensory clause could be denounced as a baseless subterfuge for delay, he could not understand. Never was there a question on which the real point at issue was more deliberately disregarded, or a controversy which in itself was more easy of solution. There was no doubt in this dispute as to which of the Parties should give way—the Party which looked upon this as a mere point of procedure, or the Party which regarded it as a vital question of principle. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) had told the country that this was a mere matter of procedure. They (the Opposition) did not so consider it. They said it was a matter of principle; and that in resisting even the possibility of the extension of the franchise without, at the same time, readjustment and reapportionment of electoral power, they were loyally doing their best as a minority in that House, though —as he believed—not a minority in the country, to prevent a fatal blow being dealt at their whole representative system, and, through that, at the real liberties of the country.

MR. RAIKES said, he was not going to follow the hon. Member for Southwark in his justification of the attack which that hon. Gentleman had made on the House of Lords, because the language used by the hon. Member was not likely to form an interesting subject of discussion either in that or the other House of Parliament. But the hon. Member was good enough to indicate a wish that in any scheme of redistribution the University franchise might be extinguished, and he went on to enforce that by saying that he had a vote for the University of Oxford. In reply to that he entreated the House not to think his constituents were to be judged by the sample they had come across to-night. But, coming to the main question, it was impossible to deny that those who sat on the Opposition Benches had listened with very mingled feelings to the speech in which the second reading of the Bill was moved. No one would dispute that that speech was very much more in accordance with their views than the last which they had heard from the same quarter. They could not forget that the third reading of the Franchise Bill in July was introduced in a speech which certainly had been considered as conveying to the other House of Parliament, if not a menace, at any rate an intimation of some terrible consequences which would follow upon their exercising their own judgment upon this measure. To-day they heard that the language then used not only by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, but his Colleagues, had been rather the language of a kind host, who, perceiving his own house to be in flames, had invited his guest upstairs to descend before the fire reached him. It appeared to him rather like the language of a man who went about brandishing a torch in his hand and exclaiming to the inmate—"If you do not come out of the room you will find the house blazing about your ears." He did not see any reason why they should take any exception to the language or the spirit of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks in his speech on this question to-night; but he was afraid when they came to analyze the view he put before the House they would find that, excepting language, they had not gained very much. He had hoped against hope that they should have heard from the Prime Minister something that would give substantial effect to his evident desire for conciliation. The right hon. Gentleman still told them that the question of the Franchise cast the question of Redistribution into the shade, and that he could not deal with the question in the same or even in simultaneous Bills, otherwise the House would lose control over its own Business. He would have gladly seen the right hon. Gentleman in his place, for he wished to call attention to a reference which he (Mr. Gladstone) had made to a speech of his own. He had no exception to take to the verbal accuracy of the quotation; but he wished to point out how entirely the Prime Minister—no doubt, through misadventure—had misrepresented what he stated. He quoted the speech as saying—

> "If the Redistribution Bill was introduced next year, it was very doubtful whether it would receive the Royal Assent before the 31st of July."

He had used that argument to show how difficult it was to pass the two Bills separately, and he said it was absolutely impossible to pass a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill in one Session, if you separated the one from the other, unless you came to an understanding with the Opposition. The Redistribution Bill which saw the light the other day proposed the disfranchisement of 110 seats, of which some 70 were occupied by Liberals. The Government passed the Franchise Bill by a majority of 130, as they were always telling the House, with the assistance of those 70 Gentlemen. Did hon. Members suppose that if their majority remained in other respects the same those 70 Members would vote for a Redistribution Bill which put their own seats in peril in the same way that they voted for the Franchise Bill? If they left the Redistribution Bill to take care of itself, Heaven help it among those 70 Members. The result would be that the course the Government took, while it secured the enthusiastic support of their more advanced adherents, would not please the moderate section so much. The position of the Government was not unlike that of a man who had to drive a cart heavily laden with all sorts of parcels of different sizes up a hill, and who, in order to please the spectators, cut the traces and galloped his horse up the hill as hard as he could, leaving himself to carry up his load as best he might—or, to take another illustration, suppose you wished to hit a mark you would naturally make up a cartridge for that purpose; but do you think it would be prudent or wise to expend all your powder in fireworks and *feux de joie*, leaving the bullet to propel itself by its momentum? He had always felt that in attempting to deal with redistribution alone, the Government had immensely increased their difficulties. Moreover, he believed that the object of a Reform Bill was to fulfil its title, and a Bill which aggravated every injustice and remedied none was not worthy of that title. They had heard some valuable statistics from his hon. Friend with regard to the enormous injustice done to the new constituencies by leaving them without redistribution. They found that the new constituencies in the counties would have something like twice the number of voters they had before, and the boroughs would thus have a double share of representation in comparison with the new county constituencies. People had talked about the question of Reform as if it was the only one which would be likely to occupy the attention of the House in the next two years. What would be the position of the country and the House if a change of Government was brought about in the course of 1886 by any other event, and they had a Minister called to power who would be entirely unable to command the majority in the existing House of Commons, but who would, under ordinary circumstances, have the Constitutional remedy of a Dissolution? Such a Minister would be debarred from exercising that Constitutional remedy, and would not be justified in going to the country without a much more certain means of forming a judgment of the position of his Government than any which he could possibly possess. That state of things meant that the present Government, if the House passed the Franchise Bill without Redistribution, was to be kept in Office for a whole year without the possibility of the Queen, or the House, or the country securing a change in the Administration. Thus they were placed in a position wholly and absolutely without precedent in this country or in any other country in the world, and one which could only be pregnant with the most serious evils and misfortunes, resulting from a state of affairs in which there was no possible way of ascertaining the real feeling of the English people. The Prime Minister, in speaking of the question of Redistribution that evening, said there were five principles which must underlie the question. The right hon. Gentleman said that the scheme must be large, that it must be framed so as to give satisfaction to those who believed that population should be represented, that it should not be complex, that it should be equitable to the different divisions of the country, and that it must be equitable between different classes and different pursuits. He thought it was hardly worth while that the Prime Minister should come there that evening and tell the House those things which were written in the very copy-book of politics. The points mentioned did not go one step further towards the root of the matter. He thought they might have heard some indication as to the limit to be fixed with regard to the return of Members, and as to whether they were to have an absolute extinction of small boroughs, or a grouping of boroughs. He also looked for some remarks with reference to the representation of minorities. No information, however, was given on any of those points; but, notwithstanding that, they no doubt would be told that the Prime Minister had displayed almost a too eager spirit of concession and conciliation in endeavouring to meet halfway a perverse and recalcitrant Opposition. No concession had really been made, though at the same time they gladly admitted the alteration in the tone of the right hon. Gentleman, and the more moderate spirit in which his remarks were made. The House might be quite prepared to give a just extension of the franchise, or even to go as far as the present Bill in swelling the existing county constituencies; but had the time not arrived when they ought to consider whether they should not retain for the future some portion of the representation which minorities had hitherto enjoyed? It had been stated that the present constituency of East Cheshire numbered 6,000 or 7,000; but that the new constituency, taken under the scheme of the Government, would be about 30,000. The existing constituency, therefore—that was to say, the persons who possessed property and who paid any appreciable amount in the shape of rates—would be absolutely submerged in the flood of the new electors. In the face of such a fact as that they ought to have regard to the right of representation put forward by minorities. He appealed to the Government not to put this question aside without some consideration and declaration. If he thought that the Government intended to accompany their Franchise Scheme with some measure that would give a just representation to the minorities in the large towns, he should regard the Bill now before the House with very much less doubt and anxiety than he did now. He entirely discountenanced the idea of making that House a branch of the Executive and the representative of the majority only in the constituencies of the country. He hoped that the Government would, before the House passed the Bill, state their views on the pressing question of the representation of minorities. Before concluding he desired to refer to a speech made by the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), which contained the celebrated sentence, advising that any Franchise Bill which did not deal with Redistribution should be repudiated without mercy. The right hon. Gentleman, when he was asked whether this placard faithfully represented what he had said, was pleased to say that it was a lie, or used language equivalent to that. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman on that statement. In 1876 Mr. Lowe quoted this very passage in the House in the presence of the right hon. Gentleman. The passage was to be found in a speech delivered by the right hon. Gentleman in 1859 at Bradford, and was to be found in the 182nd volume of *Hansard*, page 1,715. When Mr. Lowe cited the passage on April 19, 1866, the right hon. Gentleman was unable to deny it. Would he deny it in 1884? He ventured now to say it was a lie. That occasion ought not to pass without the right hon. Gentleman explaining in his place what he meant, or did not mean, by the letter in which he denied the quotation. Whatever might be the character of that House in other respects, nothing was more precious than the absolute veracity of its Members. He would conclude by repeating his perfect conviction that if the Government wished to endanger the progress of the Franchise Bill and to delay the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 of persons, they could not do better than separate the two measures. From a speech made at Westminster the other day by the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), it would appear that the Government were almost thirsting to receive suggestions about redistribution. But he would suggest that that was a matter for the Government, although he could assure them that any measure on the subject would be received by the Opposition with the fairest consideration.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, he did not agree very much with the right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken; but he did so in one respect—namely, in the opinion expressed by the right hon. Gentleman that the question of redistribution of political power could never be settled in that House, unless there was a certain measure of consent between the two Parties. He did not propose to enter into any matter of detail, because he concurred in the views which had induced the Prime Minister to commend to the House a Bill which would otherwise have been thought of too Conservative a character. The hon. Member for the North Riding of Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay) had kindly alluded to a Return which had been ordered by the House at his (Mr. Arnold's) request. He felt it his duty to express his thanks to Her Majesty's Government for the readiness with which they had accepted the labours which it had been his privilege to devote to that Return. He did not agree with the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) or the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) in the reference they had made to the Amendment proposed to the second reading of the Bill, because he did not think any argument he or the most eminent Member of the House could adduce could be significant as compared with the overwhelming Resolution of the House itself. It had already declared its preference for dividing the subject into two separate parts; and it was idle, in the face of that overwhelming decision, for any private or official Member to argue the question. It was altogether beside the question for the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge to quote the opinions of even so eminent a Member as the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), because the question had been settled once for all by the House. They must all regret the cause which had led that evening to the absence of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill); but apart from that lamentable cause, any hon. Member who felt an interest in the political career of the noble Lord, would be disposed to congratulate him on not having been in his place that evening to move the Amendment which stood in his name. [Mr. GORST: Hear, hear!] He had not expected the hon. and learned Member for Chatham to cheer that sentiment; but he thought when the noble Lord read the most able, logical, and undoubtedly successful speech of the hon. and learned Member, the distress under which he was suffering would receive considerable relief. There was one other reason why the noble Lord should have been the last man on the opposite side of the House to bring forward such an Amendment. In one of his speeches, the noble Lord stated that it was absolutely impossible for any Government or political Party to present any really unfair measure of redistribution of political power. That was one great security which the House possessed; and having listened attentively to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), he could only express a hope that a Redistribution Bill would be introduced in the present Session, and be separated by as short an interval as possible from the Franchise Bill. He, for one, had always said, and was prepared to maintain, that there ought to be no needless separation between the two measures, and he would hail with pleasure the introduction of a Redistribution Bill this year. That, however, only could be done, of course, with due regard to the passing of the measure now under the consideration of the House. He had not been in the least degree surprised to hear the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) deprecate the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 of capable citizens. The deprecation of that important measure came well from the right hon. Gentleman, who had no connection whatever with the representation of the people. He was not, however, surprised that the right hon. Gentleman had dwelt with considerable emphasis on the importance of the redistribution of seats, because he hoped that the representation of the Universities would be dealt with. He (Mr. Arnold) would rejoice if circumstances permitted the Government to introduce a Redistribution Bill during the present Session, and he could only suppose that that might be possible if Her Majesty's Government could obtain assurances for the satisfactory and secure progress of the Bill now under the consideration of the House. He thought there was great truth in the observation of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) in his interesting speech that evening—that the people of this country would be disposed to punish any political Party or person who obstructed the passage of this important measure. Every hon. Member must be aware that in the agitation which had taken place during the autumn the people had made very great sacrifices. He did not say the people of one Party or of the other; but it would be familiar to the minds of every hon. Member that hundreds of thousands of persons, and mostly working people whose time was of great value to themselves and families, had already made large sacrifices for what they believed to be the interests of the community. Those sacrifices had not been lightly made; and certainly he was disposed to agree with the hon. and learned Gentleman that the people of this country would visit very severely upon any political Party the offence that would, to their minds, be committed by any obstruction being interposed in the way of this great question. The people of the country, no doubt, felt keenly that a class, and that the smallest, but, at the same time, endowed with political rights infinitely larger than those of any other class in the country, should set themselves in opposition to the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 of their fellow-countrymen. That fact had produced a profound impression in the minds of the people of the country, and the possible consequences had been alluded to in suitable terms by the Prime Minister, although not in terms calculated to give offence to hon. Gentlemen opposite. There could be no doubt that the progress of this Bill towards enactment ought to be speedy and secure. He had read that day in a paper published for the information of Parliament, that the House of Lords had assured Her Majesty that they would give their most careful consideration to this matter. He had read also, in Her Majesty's own words, that she had been most graciously pleased to receive that pledge on the part of the House of Lords. He hoped that that careful consideration would be given, that it would be given in a more genuine manner than last Session, and that it might lead to the speedy accomplishment of this very great and most dutiful work.

MR. R. N. FOWLER (LORD MAYOR) said, he was anxious to say a few words on this question, because he had not had the opportunity which many of his hon. Friends on that side of the House enjoyed of speaking upon it during the Recess. In consequence of the position he occupied, he had thought it better not to address any meeting outside his own constituency, and he had not, therefore, had an opportunity of expressing his feelings. No one, however, could say that, being the Representative of a great constituency, he was not fully within his right in desiring to say a few words on this most important question now before the House of Commons. He had seen it stated that there were only two persons who opposed this Bill on principle—namely, his right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) and himself. The right hon. Gentleman was well able to speak for himself, and, therefore, he (Mr. R. N. Fowler) would not speak for him; but, speaking for himself, he would say that he did not believe there was any feeling existing in this country which rendered it imperative for the Government to bring in this Bill. The country was, he believed, perfectly satisfied with the state of things that now existed, and there was no necessity at the beginning of last Session for introducing the Bill. He did not mean to say that when the question had once been brought under the notice of the country its solution could be any longer delayed. Her Majesty's Government had brought in their Bill, and it now became the duty of men of all Parties to consider what the best solution of this most important question was. He wished to point out most strongly that if it was necessary to deal with the question at all, it was desirable that it should be dealt with as a whole, and that they should have the Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill, without having a small portion of it brought into the House. He knew it had been alleged by hon. Gentlemen opposite, and even by the eminent authority of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister himself, that the whole question could not be dealt with in one Session—that time did not permit of its being brought in and disposed of by the House in one Session. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman possessed a very great power of persuading himself that any view which he, for one moment, entertained was the correct view. Therefore, he believed the right hon. Gentleman was perfectly sincere when he said so; but if it were not for the respect he felt for the right hon. Gentleman he should certainly consider that statement to be simple nonsense. Let them look back to the history of the last Session of Parliament. Parliament was called together at a period later than usual. He believed the House met some four or five days later than the usual time. It would have been quite open for Her Majesty's Government to have called Parliament together two or three weeks earlier. That would have been quite possible last year. He knew there had been great complaints of the delay which had taken place in regard to the debate on the Address, and a Notice had been given by the hon. Member for Scarborough (Mr. Caine), the object of which was to get rid of the Address, in future, altogether. But if there had been great delays on the Address, he attributed it to the conduct of the noble Lord the Secretary to the Treasury (Lord Richard Grosvenor), for whom he entertained great personal regard, and with reference to whom he wished to speak with the greatest possible respect. Hon. Members would recollect the time when the position now occupied by the noble Lord was filled by Mr. Glyn, and Mr. Glyn invariably gave facilities to private Members for bringing on their Motions. Notwithstanding the regard he felt for the noble Lord, he felt bound to say this—and he thought private Members opposite who recollected the time he spoke of would agree with him—that they had not received the same facilities from the noble Lord as they did from Mr. Glyn. Mr. Glyn always endeavoured to keep a House on Tuesdays and Fridays; but the noble Lord had never felt himself called upon to do so. That being the case, it was not to be wondered at that private Members, finding it impossible to obtain facilities on Tuesdays and Fridays, felt that the only course open to them was to bring on their grievances upon the Address. Therefore, the delay which now arose in debating the Address was a necessary delay, and must be accepted as an accomplished fact. That being so, it would have been easy for the Government to call Parliament together at the beginning of January instead of the middle of February. But what did Her

Majesty's Government do when Parliament met? Not only did they bring in this Franchise Bill, which was to be the great question of the Session; but they overburdened the Session with other measures. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) brought in a great Shipping Bill, which was so important a measure that the right hon. Gentleman in charge of it thought it necessary to make a speech of four or five hours in moving the second reading. Then, again, another right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary (Sir William Harcourt) brought in a Bill with regard to the Government of London. Now, one thing was obvious, that if these great questions—the question of the Merchant Shipping, was a most important subject, and interested many hon. Members on both sides of the House; while the question of the Government of London, it must be admitted by hon. Gentlemen opposite, was one on which a good deal might be said, especially upon its details in Committee—if those two questions were to be dragged through the House, it was quite evident that there would not be time for the consideration of a Reform Bill. If, on the contrary, Her Majesty's Government, when they called Parliament together, last year, had devoted their whole time and attention to the question of the Representation of the People in Parliament, he believed there would have been no difficulty in laying a complete Bill before the House. Every precedent was in favour of that course. References had been made by the Prime Minister, in the course of his speech, to the events which occurred in 1831 and 1832. There was no doubt that on both of those occasions the Bill which was brought in, and ultimately passed, was a Bill dealing with the whole subject. The late Earl Russell repeatedly brought Reform Bills into Parliament, and they were always complete measures. He knew that the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury was at the time a Colleague of Earl Russell, who was called up to the House of Lords, and the Bill which he himself introduced, in 1866, was a Franchise Bill ultimately supplemented by a Bill for the Redistribution of Seats. The Act under which our electoral system was now constituted was brought in by Mr. Disraeli in the following year, and was also a complete Bill; and he wanted to ask what would have been the difficulty in the way of Her Majesty's Government if they had brought in a complete measure in the early part of the year, and had devoted the whole power of the Government towards getting it through? There could have been no difficulty whatever in passing a satisfactory measure through both Houses of Parliament last Session. Why, then, had they only introduced a partial measure? He believed the reason was this—Her Majesty's Government did not want a complete measure. He was of opinion that the Liberal Party wanted no full Bill. He believed the idea of those who regulated that Party behind the right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury—namely, the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) and his Friend Mr. Schnadhorst—was to bring in a Bill dealing with the Franchise only; to pass that Bill, and then to find excuses for diosolving Parliament before a Redistribution Bill was passed. ["Oh!"] He did not believe that that was the desire of the Prime Minister; but he believed that it was the real idea of the wire-pullers of the Liberal Party who wanted a Franchise Bill, but who did not want a Redistribution Bill. This Bill seemed to him to be a Bill to make the right hon. Gentleman a pseudo-Mayor of Paris. If the right hon. Gentleman was to be succeeded in that high position by his hon. Friend the Member for East Worcestershire, (Mr. W. H. Gladstone), as Pepin, succeeded Charles Martel, there would not be very strong objection to it; but he did not hear that his hon. Friend was mentioned in connection with that high position, and he therefore apprehended that the Successor would be found from below the Gangway. That was his idea about the Bill; and he believed the game of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to be this—to have a Franchise Bill passed, and then to offer one excuse after another—and it was always easy to find excuses at the close of a Parliament for dissolving Parliament—which would have the effect of giving the Liberal Party another six years' lease of power. They could not hope that the right hon. Gentleman would continue to be Prime Minister many years longer, and probably the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) would be able, six years hence, to bring in a Redistribution Bill, and to make the same appeal to the country which was being made now—namely, "The majority of the House of Commons have passed the Bill, and it is very wrong and unjustifiable for noble Lords in 'another place' to interfere with it." Under those circumstances, he certainly thought hon. Members on that side of the House were bound to give the Bill their most strenuous opposition. The agitation which had taken place during the Recess had not been directed so much against the Conservative Party in that House as against its Friends in "another place." They had been told that the House of Commons was the popular House, and that noble Lords in "another place" were bound to bow to the decision of the Representatives of the people. If Her Majesty's Government had brought in this Bill in the year 1881, he should have thought there was a good deal in that argument, although certainly, in that case, he should have been prepared to maintain that the country had not really been consulted on the questions involved in the Bill. When the country was appealed to in 1880, the Parliament had almost come naturally to its end. It could not have lasted, and right hon. Gentlemen opposite made their appeal to the country against the wicked foreign policy of the Earl of Beaconsfield's Government. They made their appeals against the wars in Afghanistan and in South Africa, and against the European policy of the Government, and they called upon the country to dispossess the Conservatives, and place them in power. The country responded to that appeal. He was not going into the question whether the result of the change had been to strengthen their Empire in India, to bring them honour in South Africa, or to increase their position in Europe. That was not the question to consider on the present occasion. What he did maintain was, that this question of Parliamentary Reform was very casually alluded to at the time of the Dissolution. It was merely a bye-question, and hon. Gentlemen opposite were elected, as regarded the question, in the same way, as, going back some 25 years ago, they would find that hon. Gentlemen pledged themselves to support the Ballot, believing it not to be a practical question. He was of opinion that hon. Gentlemen opposite, in the same way, had pledged themselves to an extension of the Franchise, believing that it was not a practical question. ["No!"] Hon. Gentlemen said "No!" He was only giving his own opinion, but he thought there was substantial evidence in support of what he said. He believed he was correct in stating that in the Prime Minister's Mid Lothian speeches, only two lines were taken up with this question; and when hon. Members took up the Franchise Question, although, to a certain extent, they pledged themselves to it, it was not the question upon which they fought the Election. If it had been, it would have been the bounden duty of the Government opposite to have taken the question in hand in the year 1881. Nothing of the sort was done; but, on the contrary, the question was deferred to the tail end of the Parliament. After Parliament had been sitting for four years, and then with a Dissolution impending, the Bill was brought in as a cry to go to the country upon. That was his opinion in regard to the present Bill. He maintained that if, four years after the election of the Parliament, the question was to be discussed, the time had come when this very important issue ought to be submitted to the constituencies. It was not a question to be decided by a moribund Parliament, but by the people of England. He knew they were told that the people had held meetings throughout the country in favour of the Bill. Hon. Gentlemen opposite had held many meetings, and had been supported by large demonstrations in Hyde Park and Aston Park, in Birmingham, and in other places; but it seemed to him that there was but one Constitutional appeal to the people of England—namely, an appeal to a General Election. They were told by hon. Gentlemen opposite that they did not fear that result; but it appeared to him that if they did not fear that result, they would resort to it with greater willingness than they were now displaying. If they were as confident as they professed to be in that House, they would more heartily appeal to the people of England, and welcome the result of such an appeal in giving them a new lease of life. When he found Her Majesty's Government proclaiming by their acts that they dared not face the present constituencies, the conclusion forced itself upon his mind that they were afraid of the result of an appeal to the people; and it was because they feared an appeal to the present constituencies that they were endeavouring to pass this Bill through a moribund Parliament. They had heard a great deal of abuse of the other House of Parliament. It seemed to him that when that illustrious House declined to pass a Bill until they knew what the whole scheme of Her Majesty's Government was, they were not only taking a Constitutional course which no one disputed, but they were simply doing their duty to the people of England. They had heard not only menaces, but a great many warnings held out to that illustrious Assembly, that if they did not choose to bow to the will of the House of Commons they must take the consequences. Now, he said most sincerely that if that Assembly was to fall, he should like them to fall like gentlemen. He should like them to fall fighting for a good, great, and Constitutional cause, and not simply to submit to the dictation of a Government and a subservient majority in the House of Commons. What was it that hon. Gentlemen were doing? They asked the House of Lords to pass this Bill; and what was to be the result of their refusal? They said—"If you do not pass this Bill, you will raise great Constitutional questions which may threaten the very existence of the House of Lords." If the House of Lords submitted to that degradation, and if, under that threat, they consented to pass the Bill, the result would be that they would place themselves in this position—that whatever the House of Commons sent up, no matter at what period of the Parliament it was sent up, no matter whether it was a new Parliament, a Parliament fresh from the constituencies, or a Parliament which had been sitting for many years, and no matter whether it was a question on which the constituencies had not been consulted, they would have to submit to the dictation of the House of Commons. They were also warned not to raise the question of a Second Chamber. He knew that hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway opposite were prepared to maintain that this country should be governed by one House of the Legislature only. He saw that an eminent Member of the House—the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley)—had publicly advocated that course, and that other hon. Gentlemen were prepared to follow the views of the hon. Member; but he apprehended that many of them were of opinion that a Second Chamber should be constituted of men of experience in the law and in other matters. Did hon. Gentlemen really believe that if they were to have a Second Chamber at all, if they were to get men of position and eminence in that country to sit in such a Chamber, that they would consent to be a mere Parliament of Paris, to register the decrees of a Louis Quatorze, or of the Prime Minister of the day. They might depend upon it that any alteration of the constitution of that Second Chamber would only make it a more powerful Body than it was at the present moment. He maintained that if that illustrious Assembly—[*a laugh*]—hon. Members opposite sneered at the idea of the House of Lords being an illustrious Assembly; but he apprehended that the eloquence of that Assembly would not be disputed if hon. Members would take the trouble to walk to the other end of the Corridor and listen to a debate. He was prepared to say they would find that the eloquence of that Assembly would vie with anything in the House of Commons, and probably, with the exception of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, there were five or six noble Lords in the other House far superior to any orators in the House of Commons. What he was going to say was that if that illustrious Assembly was simply to become a registering Body of the decrees of the House of Commons, they would much better consult their honour and their dignity by not consenting to fill such an ignominious position. They were told to avoid questions of this kind, and to avoid a great Constitutional crisis, and yet the way in which that was to be avoided was by lowering their own dignity, by consenting to degrade themselves, and by condescending to become the mere subservient tools of the Government and the majority of the day. He hoped the House of Lords would never consent to occupy such a position, and that position could not be brought about except by great Constitutional changes.

He did not see how such Constitutional changes were to be brought about without a civil war, which he was quite satisfied the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had no wish to bring about. He trusted that if ever such a dire calamity were threatened, the House of Lords would be heartily supported by the great Conservative Party which sat in that House. He would say, in conclusion, that if that illustrious Assembly could be so false to its honour and its interests as to give their consent to this Bill at the dictation of Her Majesty's Government, then good-bye to the greatness of the British Empire.

Mr. GRANTHAM said, that hon. Members must have been very much struck with the difference between the manner and the matter of the observations which had been made that night. As far as the matter was concerned, it might be supposed that they were on the eve of a Revolution, yet he was happy to say that no desire to draw the sword was evinced either on the part of his hon. Friends, or by anybody on the other side of the House. Hon. Members, not only in the House but throughout the country, had been discussing the question as if the House of Lords were placing themselves at the present time in the same position of antagonism to the wishes of the people as they did in 1831 and 1832, and that the same feeling of anger, which was undoubtedly felt against them then, was felt and experienced against the House of Lords now. Moreover, that the same feeling that would have induced 100,000 men to march from Birmingham upon London, not for the purpose of expressing their feelings, but if necessary to give effect to those feelings by blows, animated the minds of the people at the present moment. It was idle to say that the anger referred to a short time ago by the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) was anything of that kind. The only anger which existed had been stirred up by the false statements which had been made at the meetings called in behalf of the Government. The hon. Member for Salford had said very truly that the only chance of carrying a Redistribution Bill in that House was by endeavouring to get the Government to take the matter in hand, and to deal with it as if they desired the benefit of the country at large, and not of a particular Party in the State. But he wanted to know what chance there was of having the question dealt with by the Government in a friendly spirit if the Conservative Party were to be met as they had been that night, and during the whole of the Recess? Hon. Members on that side of the House were anxious that not only the question of redistribution, but that the entire question, instead of being dealt with as a Party question, should be dealt with as a whole, for the benefit of the country. Hon. Members opposite contended that the franchise portion of the scheme must be dealt with as a Party question. To use the expression of the Prime Minister, a claim was made that it should be dealt with by the majority; and the moment the majority had driven their bargain, and dictated the character of the Franchise Bill, and the Conservative Party in this House, and in the Lords, had unconditionally surrendered on that part of the question, then they would take Parliament into their confidence, and ask it to join with them in carrying a Redistribution Bill for the benefit of the country. He did not think that was the way the Opposition should be dealt with, if it were really desired by the Government that the whole question should be dealt with by the present House of Commons. He would remind the House of what took place in 1866—of what took place prior to the settlement of 1867. The propriety of extending the franchise in the boroughs had been the common topic of debate in that House, and had been considered by various Governments, from 1850 down to the time of the Bill of 1867, not the question of the franchise accompanied by redistribution, but the simple question of the reduction of the franchise. Every successive Government experienced the same difficulty in dealing with that question. They failed to settle it; they all treated it as a Party question; and it was not until 1867, when Mr. Disraeli took the question in hand, and appealed to the House to assist him, and placed the matter in the hands of the House, that the question of the franchise in the boroughs was settled in a way that was satisfactory to the country. That being so, he was entitled to appeal to the past history of the question in the House of Commons in order to ascertain whether the Government were really in earnest in their desire to settle the question by endeavouring to ride rough-shod over the minority of the House by insisting that their mechanical majority should decide one part of the question, but not the other. When the House of Commons gave way upon that branch of the subject, Her Majesty's Government would then agree to take it into their confidence in regard to the redistribution of seats. The hon. Member for Salford alleged that the people were very angry, that they had made very great sacrifices, and that they would punish those who prevented the passing of the Bill. Why were the people angry? No doubt, the constituents who returned the hon. Member for Salford might be angry. Why was that? It was because they had been misled, and had had false statements made to them by hon. Members opposite, who were the chief sinners on this head. He defied them to refer to a single speech made by the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) at Birmingham in which he had put before the people the real question at issue, and made them understand that the question was not whether they should have the franchise or not, but whether the Franchise Bill should be passed in conjunction with a Redistribution Bill or not. In every speech made by the right hon. Gentleman he had told the people that the real fight the House of Lords were making was to prevent them from having the franchise altogether, and not that all they insisted upon was in having what the Liberals had told them a very short time ago was the necessary sequence and a part and parcel of this question of the franchise—namely, a redistribution of seats. No doubt, under these circumstances, the people would be angry. He believed they would vent their resentment upon hon. Members opposite when they found out how, for Party ends, they had been deceived. If the hon. Member for Salford had been as guilty—he did not say that the hon. Member had been anything like as guilty as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) — of misrepresenting the facts of the case, it was very likely his constituents would express their anger with him by sending him about his business. With regard to the speech of the Prime Minister, he had not been surprised at the language the right hon. Gentleman had used. Of course, that language was courteous; but the right hon. Gentleman had expressed his determination that there should be no surrender at all on the part of the Government. He had practically told them the same thing in his speech on the Address; but what had struck him (Mr. Grantham) most was the declaration that it was absolutely necessary to keep the two measures of franchise and redistribution separate, and that it would be fatal to bring them forward together. If it would be fatal, as the right hon. Gentleman argued, to the franchise and to redistribution to bring both Bills in together, why had the right hon. Gentleman sketched out and shadowed forth the principles on which the Redistribution Bill was to be framed? It was very much like a sop in the pan, or the children's game of "cherry bob," where the cherry was allowed to touch the lips, but never to enter the mouth. If, as the right hon. Gentleman said, the only question to be considered now was the question of the franchise, he had no right to tell the House anything whatever about the redistribution scheme, and to raise their hopes and fears as to the character of the measure. The right hon. Gentleman had admitted, at the beginning of last Session, that his plan was not confined simply to the franchise. If he had not made that admission, the right hon. Gentleman knew very well what would have happened. All the Press throughout the country would at once have said—"This is not dealing fairly with the people; the Government have no right to force a Franchise Bill through the House until we know what their redistribution scheme is going to be." But then the mere statement by the right hon. Gentleman of the heads of a redistribution scheme was not evidence at all that that would be the redistribution which would be ultimately carried in the House. It was known very well, from the statement made at the beginning of last Session, when this question was first introduced, that the scheme propounded by the right hon. Gentleman at that time was not the scheme of the Cabinet, but a vague sketch shadowed forth as the individual view of the right hon. Gentleman intended to tickle the ears of the country. If the right hon. Gentleman was right in withholding his scheme of redistribution, he had no right to refer to it at all, or to mislead the House and the country into supposing that they were in earnest upon that question. The only way to show their sincerity was by placing their Bill upon the Table of the House; by allowing it to be brought in as something like a tangible measure, which would enable the House to know what they were about. There was another observation he desired to make in reference to the speech of the right hon. Gentleman—namely, upon his remarks upon the question of a compromise. They knew that the question of a compromise had been discussed by all those who were anxious to avoid a collision between the two Houses of Parliament, and they had been told that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) had made various offers of compromise, both publicly and privately, to Members of the House of Lords. But how could that be so, if that night they were told by the Prime Minister that the matter was one about which there could be no compromise at all? What was the meaning of this? For weeks and weeks they had been misled by the idea that if they would only accept the suggestions made by one of the leading Members of the Government no difficulty would arise; but because the terms offered were not considered acceptable by those to whom they had been offered, the right hon. Gentleman came down now and repudiated everything that had been done with the remark that it was a matter about which there could be no compromise at all. If that were so, what prospect could there be of the Conservative Party being able to accept any compromise in future?—because it showed that, unless it was done in such a way that the right hon. Gentleman could manipulate it as he liked, he would repudiate it when the time came, and nothing would enable him to act fairly or honourably by the country, or the House of Lords. He had no wish to detain the House too long upon this question; bat he thought it was a very important one for the country to consider. He believed that, as far as the people were concerned, if, as the hon. Member for Salford (Mr. Arnold) said, they felt angry on the subject, it was because they had been wilfully misled by the speeches which had been made to them by Liberal supporters of the Government. But, as far as his experience was concerned, the people of the country were not angry with what the House of Lords had done. He thought the majority of the thinking and intelligent people of the country were thoroughly satisfied with the action the House of Lords had taken in the matter. ["Oh!"] Hon. Gentlemen said "Oh!" He presumed they believed the statement of the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) the other day, when he said the Conservative Party had not held an open meeting, and that they had never dared to hold an open meeting during the Recess. He did not know where the right hon. Gentleman could have been during the Recess. He supposed the right hon. Gentleman was so devoted to himself and to his own constituency that he had paid no attention to what went on elsewhere. All he (Mr. Grantham) would say was that he had addressed open meetings where Radicals were free to come in, and that at those meetings Resolutions had been carried by enormous majorities in favour of the House of Lords. Therefore, the people of the country were not all of one way of thinking; and he believed they were, as a matter of fact, in favour of the action of the House of Lords. Reference had been made to what took place in 1831 and 1832. At that time it was true that 100,000 men could have been found to march from Birmingham to London, and he did not believe 100 men could have been got together to march on behalf of the House of Lords against the people of Birmingham; but if 100,000 men could be found now to march against the House of Lords, with the right hon. Member for Birmingham at their head, he (Mr. Grantham) would undertake to say that he would find no difficulty in getting 200,000 men from Middlesex or Surrey to march against them. That showed the difference in the feeling now. In 1831 and 1832 it was impossible to find anybody among the people prepared to support the House of Lords; but in the present agitation it would be found that one-half of the people of the country—and that the thinking half—were ready to do so. He wanted to know by what right the Liberal Party were threatening to destroy the House of Lords, when they had shown no desire to refuse political power to the people as they had in 1832; and when all that was in dispute was merely a matter of procedure, which ought to be, and might be, amicably settled? In 1832 the people were fighting for grim death because they had no representation and no political power, and unless the House of Lords gave way they had no chance of obtaining representation. That was not the question now. Therefore, it was idle to compare that time with the present, when the House of Lords was acting in the interests of a large minority of the House of Commons, and especially in the interests of a large minority of the people of the country, if not in reality of a majority of the people of the country. Under these circumstances, he had no fear of the result. Hon. Members opposite might threaten as much as they liked. They might threaten to destroy the House of Lords, and to do away with a Second Chamber altogether. One hon. Member—the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley)—thought that because he had come to the conclusion that one House of Legislature was sufficient, that, therefore, the country would, of course, come to the same opinion. But those who had strongly developed the pride of intellect were not generally good statesmen; and he (Mr. Grantham) had no fear that the country would be misled by the egotism of any individual, however eminent he might be; and if the Government were determined to write on the forefront of their banner "No Surrender," they must be prepared to accept the inevitable consequences of ultimate defeat and certain disaster to the country.

**LORD GEORGE HAMILTON**: Sir, I should not have risen but for the remarkable fact that, although the subject is of the greatest importance, not a single Member of the Government has taken part in the debate. We have been informed that their object is to curtail as much as possible the proceedings with regard to this Franchise Bill. For my own part, I can say I have never known a more extraordinary course adopted in dealing with an important question, or one more calculated to protract the debate; because if Members of Her Majesty's Government will not reply to our arguments they only produce a state of irritation on the part of those who have brought forward the arguments, which must have the effect of extending rather than of curtailing the debate. My hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), in a most clear and forcible speech, has again stated the arguments which were adduced in the course of last Session, and which have never been answered by the Government either in Parliament or on the platform. All they have done has been to maintain a policy of silence in this House and of misrepresentation abroad. In the hope that some Member of Her Majesty's Government will follow me, I will re-state our cause in a shape which I hope will make it clear what it is that we maintain. The Conservative Party are not opposed to the principle of the extension of the franchise. [An hon. MEMBER: Oh!] I think I am better able to interpret the views of myself and my hon. Friends than the hon. Gentleman who interrupts me. The Conservative Party are not opposed, I say, to the principle of the extension of the franchise; but they object to the novel and unprecedented procedure which the Government has adopted—a form of procedure which would place an instrument in their hands which would be of great advantage to them during the impending Election. We say to them that they may give us whatever promises they like, but that it will not be to the interests of the Liberal Party to carry a Redistribution Bill if this Franchise Bill passes. It would be outside the competence of the Government to carry a Redistribution Bill, and the reasons which induce me to arrive at that conclusion are very simple. The hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) differs from hon. Members on this side of the House, and has made the astounding statement—a statement, I will undertake to say, that would not have been cheered if it had not been made by a Conservative—that if the Government were to dissolve on a large constituency without redistribution they would be at a great disadvantage. Now, if there is one thing more certain than another it is that under no scheme of redistribution will the Liberal Party be so favourably situated as they would be with an enlarged Register in the present constituencies without redistribution.

The matter does not admit of an argument. The Liberals hold at the present moment two-thirds of the boroughs, and the Conservatives hold two-thirds of the counties in England. For the first time in the history of Parliamentary Reform the franchise is proposed to be extended to one constituency alone—the county constituency—and for the first time the franchise is not to be connected with the redistribution of political power. The result will be that these county constituencies, enormously unrepresented as they now are, would be still more unrepresented. If an Election were to take place without redistribution on the existing franchise we should be in this position—that every county Member would represent over 12,000 electors, while every borough Member would represent less than 6,000 electors. What would be the position of myself and my hon. Colleague in the County of Middlesex? The County of Middlesex possesses between 40,000 and 50,000 electors, and returns two Conservatives. It is proposed by this Bill to double the constituency, and two Gentlemen are coming forward to contest the representation—one, the noble Lord the Member for Haverfordwest (Lord Kensington), a small fishing village in Wales; and another from the borough of Scarborough (Mr. Caine), which now returns two Members to Parliament with an electorate of 4,000. These two boroughs are to return three Liberals; and Middlesex, with 70,000 voters, is to return but two Conservatives. What is the object of giving a man a vote except to enable him, and those who hold the same opinions to obtain representation in this House?—and that is why almost every Liberal authority has always maintained that the redistribution of seats is more important than the reduction of the franchise. There has been a melancholy rumour in the House, which I find is unfortunately only too true, that we have been deprived by death of one of the most able and upright of our Members. I was only looking this morning at a most remarkable article on the question of Reform, written by the right hon. Gentleman the Postmaster General, whose sudden death everyone deeply regrets. It was written at the time of the last General Election, and published after the Election had taken place. In that article the right hon. Gentleman went minutely into the redistribution of seats and the reduction of the franchise; and, being fresh from an election representing one of the largest constituencies in the Kingdom, he arrived at the conclusion that there were two questions which were so inseparably connected that they should not be kept apart—namely, a reduction of the franchise accompanied by redistribution. He stated that he was in favour of a measure that would give equal representation to every man in the Kingdom, and that redistribution in any other form would be worse than the present system. The right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) has been accused of making certain statements which he has certainly declared to be untrue. I believe them to be true, for I have verified them. In 1866 he made a statement which puts our case into a nut-shell. What the right hon. Gentleman then said was this—

> "I would frame a measure which would give a vote to every man in the Kingdom, for under redistribution framed under any other form the representation would be infinitely worse than it is at present."

Well, that is exactly our case. All we ask is that the Government should give us some reasonable guarantee that a redistribution scheme should be effected before the reduction of the franchise comes into operation. Is that unreasonable? What conceivable objection can there be to it? I listened carefully to the arguments of the Prime Minister; but he never adduced one single argument in reply to that request. He indulged in high-flown language as to the majority giving up the control of their own business; but surely it would be the fault of the majority if it could not control its own business. By associating the two measures the majority would not be giving up the control of its own business, but would be absolutely expediting the question of Reform. If there be this earnest desire on the part of the people for the reduction of the franchise, of course the Government would have a tremendous lever by which to work a Redistribution Bill, if there were nothing more than to show that it was the sole impediment to the Franchise Bill coming into operation. Once, and once only, was the Prime Minister betrayed into making use of an incautious expression, and it constituted a complete reply to the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). Addressing a meeting of Radicals, and thinking it probable that he would not be reported, the right hon. Gentleman gave us really to understand what the Redistribution Bill was to be. I will call attention to what the right hon. Gentleman said at the meeting at the Foreign Office. He said—

> "I affirm to you positively and absolutely that you will not, and cannot, pass a Redistribution Bill unless the Opposition have some motive for allowing it to pass. The goodwill on the part of the Opposition which we want, and which we require, in order to give a Redistribution Bill a chance, cannot be had unless they knew that the extension of the franchise is to take place, and that if they will not have it with redistribution they must take it without."

Now, what does that mean? It means this much—that the Opposition were to be placed in the position of having either to take such redistribution as was offered, or else to go to the country on the existing franchise without redistribution at all. Now, I maintain that that is an unfair and an improper position in which to place the Opposition. Supposing the Prime Minister were to meet us in the same spirit, and were to give us a guarantee that they would put a clause in the Bill to provide that the measure should not come into operation unless it is accompanied by a Redistribution Bill, what difficulty would arise? Suppose the House of Lords should throw it out, what would the position of the Liberal Party be then? During the whole of the Autumn campaign your arguments have been based on presumption and assumption; but if the Conservatives were to block and obstruct your Redistribution Bill you would no longer have to found your arguments on assumption; but you would have facts to deal with, and you would be able to go all over the country ten times stronger than you are now. Moreover, you would be justified in asserting that the Opposition were not in favour of a reduction of the franchise, because they were now taking every conceivable means to prevent this Bill from coming into operation by blocking and obstructing the Redistribution Bill. I suppose there is not a single Member who has spoken at any political gathering during the Autumn Recess who did not in his observations make some allusion to the Reform agitation of 1832, to the deep feeling evoked, to the danger there was of popular feeling coming into collision with the law, and, in fact, of a revolution occurring. What was the cause of the collision between the House of Lords and the people in 1832? Has any hon Gentleman taken the trouble to ascertain, because it is a little curious? The history of Reform in 1831 and 1832 is simply this —Earl Grey's Government brought in a Bill in 1830, the second reading of which was carried by a majority of one; and in the unreformed Parliament General Gascoyne carried an Amendment in Committee which was hostile to the Bill as interpreted by the Government. Earl Grey dissolved Parliament, and appealed to the country; and the next Parliament passed the Bill by a large majority, and sent it up to the House of Lords, who threw it out in 1831. In 1832 the House of Commons sent the Bill up to the House of Lords by a still larger majority, and the House of Lords then passed the second reading; but the Government subsequently resigned on account of an Amendment proposed by Lord Lyndhurst. Does any hon. Member know what that Amendment was? He proposed the very procedure for the settlement of Reform which the Government now support. He proposed to postpone the Redistribution Clauses until the Franchise Clauses had been settled; but the Government of Earl Grey declared that that Amendment was absolutely prejudicial to the settlement of Reform, and rather than accept it they resigned. Well, now, 50 years after, the Liberal Party are going about the country stirring up the people just in the same way against the House of Lords, because they are adhering to what has been the invariable practice in connection with previous Reform Bills, and are really acting on the advice of the Reformers of 1832. Let me take another point. We are told that if we persevere in the line we are taking we may raise a more organic question; and the Prime Minister has told us, in terms of warning, what that organic question is. But the unfortunate part of the controversy is that the Government have already raised this great organic question by a side wind, and in its most unpleasant form. The principle the Prime Minister is contending for is, that whenever there is a difference between this House and the House of Lords the majority of the House of Lords is to give way. That is to deprive the House of Lords of their functions as an independent Legislative Assembly. Everybody admits that the House of Lords must give way to the will of the people, when the people have decided that they are in the wrong. What is the question raised out-of-doors, and raised in a much less dangerous shape than the principles which the Government are contending for? Out-of-doors, with the single exception of the junior Member for Newcastle (Mr. John Morley), the demand is not for the abolition of a Second Chamber, but for getting rid of the hereditary principle which now exists in that Chamber. Now, I contend that it would be much more dangerous for the Government to ask us to consent to a course of procedure which would practically deprive the Second Chamber of its independence than to leave the Second Chamber with its functions unimpaired, attacking only its hereditary character. What the Government are practically trying to do is to deprive this country for ever of an independent Second Chamber. Once deprived of its independence of action, that independence of action can never be restored, no matter what the composition of a Second Chamber may be. Let me point out the danger of attempting, in this insidious way, to deprive the country of an independent Second Chamber. How are you to limit the power of majorities in the House of Commons if the only Party who can resist them effectually is put aside? The Prime Minister made use of strong words in laying the foundation stone of the National Liberal Club. He gave his audience clearly to understand that that which was for the advantage of the Liberal Party was for the national interest, and that everything they did to promote the interests of the Liberal Party was done to promote national interests. Then, why should not the right hon. Gentleman himself be retained in Office by a special Act of the Legislature for the next 10 years? The present Prime Minister is absolutely essential to his political Party; why, then, should the Liberal majority not save the Prime Minister the trouble of going to a General Election by extending the existence of Parliament for 10 years. They know quite well that if they do appeal to the country their majority will be largely reduced; and I may remind the House that it was in some such position as this that the Septennial Act was passed. A Parliament, which had been elected under the triennial system, found itself so unpopular that it was certain it would not be retained; and under the view that there would be certain elements of danger produced by getting rid of them, they passed an Act for the purpose of prolonging their existence. The principles for which the Prime Minister is contending are most dangerous and unreasonable. Has the agitation during the last two months been conducted in such a manner as to induce or entitle the Opposition to yield to it. What has been the weapon which has been used during the past Autumn? At the commencement of the agitation I called the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to the avowed object of the agitation. It was to organize the intimidation of the House of Lords. The right hon. Gentleman exercised great ingenuity in parrying my question; but he never uttered a single word against the course proposed to be pursued. What has been the course pursued during the Recess? I do not hesitate to say that the Liberal Party have done everything in their power to calumniate and malign the House of Lords, and especially the Marquess of Salisbury. Let me take one statement as a substantiation. I do not think I could refer to the speeches of any man who combines with the filling of a high official position such an amount of recklessness of language as those of the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain). I will take two statements by two Members of the Cabinet—first, one by the Earl of Derby, a Colleague of the right hon. Gentleman. This is what the Earl of Derby says, and it is a description of the conduct of the House of Lords—

> "No doubt, no one who has heard or read the debate here will be likely to suppose that you object to the extended franchise; but do you suppose that the classes who have power—the present electors, or those who are to be electors—read long debates? Not they. If anybody tells them that the Opposition Leaders have said they were not fit to be trusted with a vote, they will swallow it to a man.—(3 *Hansard*, [290] 391.)

That is what the Earl of Derby said.

He states distinctly that it was untrue to suppose the House of Lords objected to the extension of the franchise; but he implies that if unscrupulous persons make such an accusation against them the electors will swallow it. And now, what did the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) say at Birmingham?—

> "The Franchise Bill has been assassinated; its murderers wear masks, and the chief conspirator shrinks from the confession of his crime, and in the presence of the assembled Thanes he cries—'Thou can'st not say I did it.'"

Then we are told that the people of the country are in a dangerous temper, and that terrible consequences may ensue if a protracted opposition be offered to the Bill. But have not some hon. Gentlemen opposite been a little too confident in their predictions of evil? One of the hon. Gentlemen who cheers me has, I think, been guilty of a little imprudence in respect of a statement which was circulated the other day circumstantially in an Irish newspaper to the effect that the working classes in Birmingham are ready to commit a gross personal outrage on my noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). The gentleman who supplied the information has been accused of fabricating it; but it afterwards appeared that the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings) was his authority.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Perhaps I may be allowed to say that I distinctly deny that statement. I gave no permission for any man to make any such statement. As far as I know, I have never spoken to the gentleman in question, and certainly do not know him. No permission was given, and the statement is absolutely untrue.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Of course, I am ready to apologize if the hon. Member says he made no such statement; but certainly I do not understand him to say that he never made the statement.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: If the noble Lord will say what the statement is, I will say whether I made it or not.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: I do not wish to pursue the conversation if the hon. Member says he made no such statement, which is that if the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock goes down to Birmingham, the working men there are so incensed against him that they have made up their minds to horsewhip him.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: I absolutely deny that statement.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: If the hon. Member denies it, I of course apologize. As to the violent language alluded to, it has all come from above, not from below; it has not emanated from the working people of the country, but from a number of politicians who have gone about endeavouring to stir them up to fever heat against the House of Lords. Although I have not been present at any very large meetings, I have attended and addressed a large number of smaller meetings, and I have letters from working men describing themselves as Liberals, who tell me that the position taken up by the Conservative Party with regard to this question is perfectly fair and legitimate; because, as they say, the Conservatives have not objected to the principle of the Franchise Bill, but have taken objection to the novel procedure which, for the first time in Parliamentary history, the Government are adopting. Under these circumstances, I hope that some Member of Her Majesty's Government will endeavour, in some shape or other, to answer the arguments which I have put forward. I and a number of my hon. Friends, during the last Session, stated and re-stated those arguments, and the only reply from the Treasury Bench was that we made the same speeches twice over. That, I submit, is not the proper way of dealing with the arguments of reasonable men. If Her Majesty's Government cannot meet the case, let them say so. I have always felt that whenever the proposal of the extension of the franchise to the counties comes forward it is one which cannot be opposed. ["No, no!"] An hon. Gentleman says "No;" but I assume that I know my own thoughts better than the hon. Gentleman, whose remark is an illustration of the method of mis-statement by which our opponents have throughout carried on the argument. Speaking for myself, I have always said, and I say it again, that whenever the proposal shall be made to make the county franchise similar to that in the boroughs, as established by the Earl of Beaconsfield, it will be a proposal that cannot be opposed. And for this reason—I doubt whether the working people of any country were ever subjected to a more severe test than have been the working people of this country during the last 15 years. Rarely has the transition from exceptional prosperity to exceptional adversity been greater than from 1873 to 1880, during which period there was much distress, and many were reduced to absolute privation. Side by side with that, the Education Act has come into force, and the working people are deprived of the labour of their children at a time when that labour is most valuable, and they are compelled not only to part with the value of that labour, but to pay the fees for their children's education. They have nobly responded to the calls made upon them, and the fact that during the depression of trade and commerce the deposits in the savings' banks have increased shows that the working people of the country are taking their lesson to heart. Therefore, because they have shown under these exceptional circumstances the best qualities of citizenship, and as a considerable number of the working people in the counties are unenfranchised, I feel it is impossible to oppose the extension to the counties of the franchise existing in the boroughs. I believe that the longer this controversy goes on, the more will the position of the Conservative Party towards the Bill be seen in its true light. Wherever they have been allowed to state their case, and have not had their meetings broken up, they have succeeded in satisfying their audiences. They do not pretend to be able to compete in noise and violence with their opponents, who, therefore, in that phase of the agitation, have had an advantage over them. But the great mass of the people of the country are law-abiding, and hate violence; they take note of those who incite to it, and although there may be a continuation of the inflammatory speeches which have marked their opponents' proceedings during the Autumn, I am confident that the more the Party opposite resort to violence and unfair play the greater will be the rebound in favour of the position taken by the Opposition with regard to this measure. Therefore, if Her Majesty's Government cannot answer our arguments in the House of Commons they are not likely to convince the people out-of-doors, and I am tolerably confident that in the long run the Conservative Party will gain, because whatever cause cannot stand discussion—and apparently the cause of Her Majesty's Government will not bear that test—is, in my opinion, doomed.

Mr. HUGH SHIELD desired to say a very few words in answer to that part of the speech of the noble Lord in which he dealt with what was called the "leverage argument" of the Prime Minister. The noble Lord had said that the Prime Minister had candidly avowed that one of the reasons which influenced the Government in declining to combine the measure of franchise with that of redistribution was the necessity of having this leverage at their disposal. But he would point out to the noble Lord that it was not alone the Prime Minister who had avowed the necessity of having the means of putting Parliament under some pressure in order that a Redistribution Bill might be carried. The same position had been taken by the Secretary of State for War. The Marquess of Salisbury had stated that it was the deliberate purpose of the Government to establish a machine for controlling and coercing the judgment of the House of Lords, and that such an attempt had never before been made in their history, even under the most encroaching of Monarchs. He asked whether the observations of the Prime Minister which had been referred to deserved the comments which the noble Lord had made upon them? On the contrary, he maintained that so far from being the words of a cynic they were the wise utterances of a statesman, whose reasoning was that so difficult was the subject of redistribution, so numerous the questions of principle which clustered around it, and so multitudinous the wilderness of its details, that unless the opponents of any Redistribution Bill could be brought to approach it under some inducement to forego something of the obstructive power of their position it could never be passed. It was upon this reasoning that the so-called leverage argument was founded, and he asked whether it was fair to say that it out-did the encroachments of the most encroaching Monarchs? In 1831-2 they had a Reform Bill introduced by a Government thoroughly in earnest, supported by the people, who were thoroughly in earnest, and pressed forward against a reluctant Opposition; the Bill of 1832 was carried under the direst possible compulsion—almost on the verge of a civil war. Everyone knew—it was a matter of history—that the Prime Minister of the day went down to the House of Lords with the King's licence in his pocket to create as many Peers as were necessary to pass the Bill; and, therefore, with those facts in his mind, he did not think that the Marquess of Salisbury was entitled to say that never before had a Minister of the Crown assumed the right to exercise compulsion towards the House of Lords. But the Bill of 1867 was introduced in a very different state of things. Its supporters had not to press it against a reluctant Opposition; the real friends of Reform were then the Opposition. That Bill, no doubt, passed with the free assent of Parliament. But he thought he was correct in saying that it appeared from the Memoirs of the Earl of Malmesbury that even the Bill of 1867 was not passed by the free decision of the House of Lords, but under the threat that the Earl of Derby would resign Office. Therefore, he said, they might pass a Redistribution Bill or a Reform Bill with the free assent of Parliament, without compulsion, when the measure was backed by an Opposition as eager for Reform as the Government who promoted it; but that when they had to pass a measure of the kind against a reluctant Opposition, they were taught by history that it could only be passed under a pressure which brought the country almost to the verge of revolution. In lieu of such a pressure the Prime Minister sought to put Parliament under an inducement—the inducement of avoiding a consequence which they all deprecated—namely, an appeal to the old constituencies, inflated by the addition of the new voters before redistribution. Far from being the outcome of a despotic spirit, the Prime Minister's "leverage argument" was proof of his moderation and preference for peaceful methods.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Sir R. Assheton Cross.*)

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *To-morrow.*

## DEATH OF THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FAWCETT, POSTMASTER GENERAL.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker, I wish to take this opportunity of saying a very few words, and I am very sorry the House is so thin, for I am quite sure that what I am going to say reflects and expresses the feeling of the whole House — of both sides of the House. I wish to say one word to express the very great and strong sense we all have of the loss which the Government and this House have sustained by the melancholy event which was communicated to us earlier in the Sitting. All of us who have had the pleasure of sitting in the House for any length of time with Mr. Fawcett, and especially those who, like myself, have sat in the House the whole time that he has been a Member of it, could but have come to one conclusion—that there was no man who more thoroughly commanded and received the respect and the regard of the House than did Mr. Fawcett. From the first moment he entered the House he showed that he was determined to take a zealous and active part in its proceedings; and throughout his career he has been one who has been always ready to speak freely and boldly, and, if necessary, with vigour upon all questions that arose. But, at the same time, I do not think anybody can recall a single word that ever fell from him that gave unnecessary offence or pain to anyone. He was a man in whom, when he spoke against us—which, in regard to Members on this side, was most commonly the case—we always recognized a spirit of fairness and readiness to enter into the feelings and arguments of his opponents that gave double and treble weight to what fell from him. I could not refrain from taking this opportunity of saying just a single word to express what is the unanimous feeling, I am sure, of the whole House, and what I believe also to be the feelings of others far beyond this House—of all who knew and respected him.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, I am sure I shall express the feelings of all who sit on this side of the House if I rise to say a few words to thank the right hon. Gentleman for the kindly and sympathetic terms in which he has expressed himself for the great loss which has befallen the Government, and I think I may say the whole House, in the death of Mr. Fawcett. He commanded the respect, and I think I may say the affection, of the whole House. We have admired the courage with which he has confronted a most painful and distressing infirmity which would have prostrated the energies of most men. From the very commencement of his entrance into public life he commanded the respect of all who were brought into contact with him. The independence with which, when he occupied an independent position in this House, he was in the habit invariably of expressing his opinions, whether they were in entire harmony with the opinions of those with whom he usually acted or not, secured for him an amount of respect which very few Members of this House have ever been able to obtain. The energy with which he threw his remarkable intellect into the duties of the Office which he was called on to administer, and the invariable courtesy with which he met the wishes and representations of Members on all sides of the House, added to the respect previously felt for him. Sir, I can only say that we all most deeply regret the great loss that has befallen this House, and that we are greatly indebted to the right hon. Gentleman opposite for the very sympathetic terms in which, on the part of his Friends, he has expressed his sense of that loss.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY: Sir, I cannot allow the Sitting to terminate without saying, on behalf of those who act with me, that we join in the expression of regret which the whole House feels at the sudden and melancholy close of so promising and great a career. We, the Irish Members, have always respected and admired Mr. Fawcett's great capacity, exerted in the face of so terrible a calamity. We have always respected and admired his transparent integrity, and the manner in which, while expressing his own convictions, he respected and had consideration for an equally earnest expression of the opinions of others. For myself, I have known Mr. Fawcett personally for more than 20 years, and have felt nothing but admiration and friendship for him. I speak now on behalf of others as well as for myself, and I desire to join most sincerely in the common expression of the regret felt by the House.

## *QUESTION.*

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### AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON said, he should like to know from the noble Lord opposite (Lord Richard Grosvenor) whether the Government intended this Session to reappoint the Committee of Inquiry on the working of the legislation affecting Irish labourers? The matter was most urgent, and the Session should not be allowed to slip away without something being done to continue the investigation commenced last Session.

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR said, the reappointment of the Committee would be moved to-morrow.

## *MOTIONS.*

—o—

### CHARITABLE TRUSTS ACTS.

Select Committee of last Session, to inquire into the operation of the Charitable Trusts Acts, 1853 to 1869, and to consider and report how far it may be expedient to amend the powers exercised under them by the Charity Commissioners, *re-appointed*:—Committee to consist of Mr. DAVEY, Mr. COLLINS, Mr. HENRY H. FOWLER, MR. PELL, Mr. WALTER JAMES, Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Mr. BRYCE, Mr. YORKE, Sir JOHN KENNAWAY, Sir THOMAS DYKE ACLAND, Mr. MAYNE, Mr. BULWER, Mr. LONG, Mr. JOHN MORLEY, and Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, with power to send for persons, papers, and records; Five to be the quorum.

*Ordered,* That it be an Instruction to the Select Committee on Charitable Trusts Acts to inquire into the working of "The Allotments Extension Act, 1882."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

### LIQUOR TRAFFIC (LOCAL VETO) (SCOTLAND) BILL.

*Considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Resolved,* That the Chairman be directed to move the House, That leave be given to bring in a Bill to enable owners and occupiers in burghs, wards of burghs, parishes, and districts in Scotland, to prevent the common sale of Intoxicating Liquors, or otherwise to have effectual control over the Drink Traffic within such areas.

Resolution *reported*:—Bill *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. M'LAGAN, Mr. WADDY, Dr. CAMERON, Mr. MACKINTOSH, Mr. ERNEST NOEL, Mr. DICK PEDDIE, Mr. STEWART CLARK, and Mr. MUNRO-FERGUSON.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 28.]

### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (DURHAM) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. THEODORE FRY, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on

Sunday in the county of Durham, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Gourley, and Mr. Thomas Thompson.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 29.]

### SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (CORNWALL) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Arthur Vivian, Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Cornwall, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Arthur Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, and Mr. Acland.

Bill *presented*, and read the first time. [Bill 30.]

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday*, *7th November*, 1884.

The House met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at a quarter before One o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday*, *7th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.] — Select Committee — Westminster Hall (Restoration), *appointed;* Agricultural Labourers (Ireland), *re-appointed* and *nominated.*

Public Bills — *Ordered—First Reading*—Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Northumberland) * [31].

*Second Reading*—Representation of the People [1].

## QUESTIONS.

### PRISONS (IRELAND)—MOUNTJOY PRISON—VISIT OF THE POLICE TO THE CONVICT FAHERTY.

Mr. HEALY asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, The result of his promised inquiry with regard to Inspector Joyce and the Ballinasloe police visiting the convict Faherty in Mountjoy, and trying to get him to swear the deposition which they presented to him; if this inspector has yet returned the invoices, accounts, and letters seized by him eighteen months ago at the house of Mr. Matt Harris, Ballinasloe; and, what reply has been made to the application of Mr. Harris's solicitor at the Castle for the return of his property?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Faherty volunteered some private information to District Inspector Joyce, in reference to the conspiracy to murder to which he pleaded guilty. He was not visited by any member of the Ballinasloe police. He was not asked to swear or sign any deposition or statement, nor was any such ever presented to him. As to the matters mentioned in the second and third paragraphs of the Question, which have no connection with the preceding one, Mr. Harris's papers were seized 18 months ago. Mr. Harris afterwards left Ballinasloe, and remained away for seven months. Quite recently his solicitor has made an application for the papers. The application is being considered, and a reply will be shortly sent.

### EDUCATION (IRELAND) — NATIONAL SCHOOLS—HOURS FOR RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION, &c. — NEWTONARDS SCHOOL, CO. DOWN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is within the knowledge of the Commissioners of National Education that a member of their Board, the Rev. Hugh Hanna, in company with a Protestant prelate, visited a National School at or near Newtonards, in the county Down, and that, during the time set down in the School Time Table for general secular instruction, the distinguished visitors caused to be sung a hymn or psalm in which they took part; whether such religious exercise at such a time was not an open violation of the fundamental principles of National Education; whether any ruling on the matter has been made by the Board; and, whether it is true that, after three years' attendance at the Board Room, the Rev. Hugh Hanna pleaded ignorance of the Board's rules on the subject of religious instruction and religious exercise, in explanation of his action on the occasion in question?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, that he had ascertained that the Board of National Education had no official knowledge of the transaction referred to. He had a private letter, from which it would appear that some such occurrence took place; and he had asked the Commissioners to obtain Mr. Hanna's account of the matter.

### THE THAMES AND THE LONDON WATER COMPANIES.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether, in view of the fact that the stream in the Thames below Teddington Lock is already not sufficient to scour the bed of the river, and to carry away the sewage which is brought up with the tide, and that each successive year it has been reduced in volume, owing to the water taken by the Water Companies above the lock, he contemplates taking any steps to hinder these Companies from withdrawing more water from the stream than they do at present?

Mr. GEORGE RUSSELL: The five London Water Companies drawing water from the Thames are limited to taking a supply from the river not exceeding 20,000,000 gallons each per day. The five Companies which are entitled to take 100,000,000 gallons daily have been drawing at the rate of from 80,000,000 to 90,000,000 per day, which is rather more than one-half of the total supplied by these Companies to London. There appears to be no doubt that the volume of water in the river has not been so low for many years past as it has recently been. In the last month or six weeks the water flowing over Teddington Weir has been, on an average, about 300,000,000 gallons daily; while the average daily flow of water over the Weir in the month of July, during a period of 30 years, after deducting certain periods of special floods, was about 500,000,000 per day. The recent diminution in the volume is the result of the long period of drought, and is not to any appreciable extent occasioned by an increased draught by the Water Companies. In the four months ended October last, the quantity taken by these Companies was about 15,000,000 gallons per day over the corresponding period of last year, and 19,000,000 gallons per day in excess of that in the same months in 1882. The Companies are not exceeding their limits of draught, and the Board are not empowered to interfere. With regard to the evils which are occasioned by the sewage brought up by the tide, as the hon. Member is aware, the subject of the sewer outfalls of the Metropolis is now under the consideration of a Royal Commission, and it is to be hoped that the Commissioners will be able to suggest some remedy.

### THE CIVIL SERVICE—LOWER DIVISION CLERKS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether boy clerks are allowed to compete among themselves for vacancies in the Lower Division of the Civil Service; whether writers are employed in various offices upon the same duties as Lower Division clerks without receiving extra remuneration; whether the writers are allowed to compete among themselves for vacancies in the Lower Division; whether under Clause 12 of the Order in Council of 12th February 1876 writers, if thoroughly qualified by age and service, are not eligible for appointments to the Lower Division; and, whether, some time ago, a number of writers were discharged from the Local Government Board Office at a week's notice to make way for a number of boys who had passed the Lower Division examination?

Mr. COURTNEY: Boy clerks are allowed to compete among themselves for a certain proportion of Lower Division clerkships; but copyists have no special rights in this respect. It is contrary to the expressed and repeated directions of the Treasury that copyists should be employed upon any duties except copying and routine work under direct supervision, or special work, such as shorthand, for which there are special rates of pay.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: Will the Treasury make further inquiries on the points raised in my Question?

Mr. COURTNEY: That will be impossible. If the hon. Gentleman indicates any particular office, inquiry will be made.

### EGYPT—MILITARY AND OTHER EXPENDITURE..

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he will either state to the House, or present in a Return to the House, the amount of all moneys expended (inclusive of the value of stores, military or otherwise), in or on Egypt, which have been paid, or which are to be paid by this Country from January 1st 1878, until the recent arrival of Lord Wolseley in Egypt?

MR. COURTNEY: We have done our best to get such information as can be given in answer to the Question of my hon. Friend. It has been impossible to get figures for the current year, so we have stopped at the 31st of last March, and we have begun with the financial year 1878-9. With these limitations the net expenditure in and on Egypt, in the sense in which the Question is understood during the last six financial years, may be put in round figures at £4,250,000. Of this £1,877,000 has fallen on Army Votes, £1,809,000 on Navy Votes, about £64,000 on various Civil Votes, while £500,000 was contributed towards the expenditure of India on the Expedition of 1882.

LORD JOHN MANNERS asked the hon. Member if he would give the figures for each year—how much in one year, and how much in another?

MR. COURTNEY said, he had not got the figures by him.

MR. CHAPLIN: With reference to the reply given by the Secretary to the Treasury, I would like to ask him if he can state to the House when he will be in a position to give further information as to the whole amount of expenditure in Egypt up to the time of Lord Wolseley's arrival? I understood the hon. Gentleman to state the amount of expenditure as only up to the 31st March, 1883.

MR. COURTNEY: The information I gave was up to the end of the last financial year—that is, up to the 31st March of this year. It is impossible to obtain later information, because the Departments are not in a position to give it.

## IRELAND — MEETING OF THE NATIONAL LEAGUE AT CASHEL—INVASION OF THE TOWN HALL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, on Sunday the 26th ultimo, a number of persons in the employment of landlords endeavoured to take possession of the Town Hall at Cashel, which had been duly granted by the Town Commissioners for that day, for the purpose of a meeting of the local branch of the Irish National League; whether the Town Officers, because they resisted the attempt to take possession of the hall by force, have been summoned before the local bench by the aggressors; whether District Inspector Jones, of the Constabulary; Mr. Hartigan, a local magistrate; and one Mr. Mark Russell visited a tailor named Edward Kendrick, and informed him they would withdraw their custom from him if he did not dismiss from his employment a journeyman named Meany, whose offence was that he had attended the meeting of the local branch of the League; and whether Meany was accordingly dismissed from him employment; and, whether the Government will cause an independent inquiry to be held, with the object (amongst others) of ascertaining if the provisions of the Crime Prevention Act should be applied?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed that it is not a fact that a number of persons in the employment of landlords endeavoured to take possession of the Town Hall at Cashel on the occasion referred to. A meeting had been called at which it was expected that the question of preventing hunting would be discussed, and a counter-meeting to be held at the same place, but at an earlier hour, was organized by persons interested in hunting, such as smiths, horsebreakers, grooms, and others. These persons had obtained permission from some members of the Town Council to use the Town Hall. The town sergeant and his son, however, refused admission to the counter-meeting, and summonses have been taken against them by some of the persons who felt themselves aggrieved by such refusal. With regard to the dismissal of Meany, both District Inspector Jones and Mr. Hartigan emphatically deny that they acted in the manner alleged, nor does Mr. Russell appear to have done so either. Kendrick himself repudiates the suggestion. Meany was dismissed by Kendrick of his own free will and accord. I see no ground for instituting the inquiry suggested.

## AFRICA (WEST)—THE CONFERENCE.

MR. CARTWRIGHT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is the fact that the proposals of the German Government for freedom of trade, in connection with the Conference on West African affairs, are to be understood as having reference solely to the Basin of the Congo, and not extending to the Niger; and, if he can give any information to the House as to whether there is any foundation for a report that territory at Ambas Bay, in close proximity to the Cameroons, has recently been brought under British authority?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The first basis laid down in the invitation to the Conference received through the German Embassy is that of liberty of commerce in the basin and mouths of the Congo; the Niger is not mentioned. The second basis is that of the application to the Congo and Niger of the principles adopted by the Congress of Vienna. The question of the trade in the basin of the Niger is, consequently, not included among the subjects to be discussed. It is true that the territory at Ambas Bay has been recently brought under British authority.

### NAVY—H.M.S. "AGAMEMNON."

Mr. MACFARLANE asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, If he will lay upon the Table a Return showing the original estimated cost of H.M.S. *Agamemnon*, of the actual cost of the vessel, and showing the amount expended in each year during her construction? His object in asking this Question was to show the loss of money that resulted to the country from the dawdling over shipbuilding.

Sir THOMAS BRASSEY: There will be no objection to give the information required in the Return which is being prepared on the Motion of the noble Lord the Member for Chichester (Lord Henry Lennox).

### THE IRISH GOVERNMENT—MR. R. GOOD.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What official position is held by Mr. Richard Good, of Aherlow, Cork, which enables him to act as intermedium between the Irish Government and her suspended officials; and, what salary is attached to the position?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Mr. Good holds no official position whatever under the Irish Government, and is not in receipt of any official salary. I am not aware what ground can be alleged for supposing that he has acted as an intermediary between the Irish Government and any official of theirs; and the Irish Government repudiate any such suggestion.

### IRISH REPRODUCTIVE LOAN FUND—THE ROSCOMMON TOWN COMMISSIONERS.

Mr. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the cause of the delay in granting the loan of £1,500 out of the Irish Reproductive Loan Fund applied for by the Roscommon Town Commissioners on the 1st of August 1884; and, whether he is aware that the money in question belongs to the county Roscommon, and that the delay in granting the loan applied for by the Town Commissioners is inflicting a serious financial loss on the town of Roscommon, and delaying the carrying out of works of public utility to all classes of the population and of the county?

Mr. COURTNEY, in reply, said, the reason why this loan had not yet been settled was that the Town Commissioners had not yet answered a letter written to them on September 24 last. Perhaps the hon. Member might advise them to do so at once.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—TRIAL OF JAMES ELLIS FRENCH—COLONEL BRUCE.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the fact that Colonel Bruce, Inspector General of Constabulary, was examined on behalf of Detective French, as a witness to character, in the late trials at Dublin; whether it is the fact that Colonel Bruce held an investigation with respect to the charges against Mr. French in September 1883, and, on the strength of his inquiries, suspended Mr. French from duty a month before the appearance of the libel for which Mr. French proceeded against *United Ireland;* and, whether, on cross-examination by the Crown Counsel, Colonel Bruce was asked any question as to his investigation, or as to Mr. French's suspension; and, if not, for what reason?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker), in reply, said, that Colonel Bruce was examined on the trial of Mr. French by Mr. French's counsel with reference to this period of Mr. French's service in the Force. Colonel Bruce did not, on the strength of any inquiry held by him, suspend French from duty a month before the appearance of the libel in *United Ireland*. The article which first called Colonel Bruce's attention to the matter appeared in the issue of the 25th August. Colonel Bruce at once called French's attention to it, and required him to state what steps he would take in reference to the charge. Colonel Bruce also, as Head of the Force, commenced an informal private inquiry; but learning that French was about to bring an action, took no further proceedings. Nothing transpired before Colonel Bruce to establish guilt. French had gone on sick leave on the 6th of August, and as his action was about to be brought, he was directed not to report himself till called on. He was not in any other sense suspended. Colonel Bruce was not asked on cross-examination, and could not be asked, any question as to his inquiry, which could in any way establish Mr. French's guilt.

MR. O'BRIEN: Do I understand the hon. and learned Gentleman to say that Colonel Bruce was allowed to be examined as a witness as to character in the case, and was not asked a question as to the circumstances of the suspension of French?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) was understood to say such a question could not be asked.

MR. GIBSON: Is it a fact that Colonel Bruce was summoned in the ordinary way by the prisoner, and did not appear as a volunteer?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Certainly.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE DUBLIN SCANDALS—TRIALS OF CORNWALL AND KIRWAN.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, having regard to the verdict in the case of Cornwall and Kirwan, that "the Crown did not produce sufficient evidence," and having regard to the fact that, of thirteen persons charged by the Crown with connection with the felonious conspiracy in Dublin, only three have been brought to justice, the Government will utilise the secret inquiry Clause of the Crimes Act for the discovery of evidence; and, whether any steps have been taken to follow up the evidence elicited at the investigation into Mr. French's conduct held by Colonel Hillier in September 1883?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The first paragraph in this Question suggests inferences which are by no means admitted to be correct. The Government sees no reason for applying now the 16th section of the Crimes Act to the cases referred to. All the evidence that existed was obtained and produced. The second paragraph of the Question seems to assume that at an investigation evidence tending to establish guilt was elicited. No evidence was obtained which could establish guilt in French, or be used for that purpose.

## AFRICA (WEST COAST)—CONSULAR JURISDICTION.

MR. BUCHANAN asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, When the Order in Council with regard to British Consular Jurisdiction on the West Coast of Africa, promised on the 24th of July last, will be laid upon the Table; and, whether the subject with which it deals, namely, the facilitating of the apprehension of criminals outside the boundaries of European settlements in that part of the world, will be brought before the West African Conference?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There have been unavoidable delays in the preparation of the Order, but it is hoped it may be issued at an early meeting of the Privy Council. The subject with which it deals is not one of those for the consideration of which the Conference is summoned.

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BALLYFORAN MURDER—INCITEMENT TO GIVE FALSE EVIDENCE.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If the Irish Executive will cause an independent inquiry to be held into the truth of the allegations made in the statement of Thomas Nolan, read to the House on Wednesday last, charging Mr. George Bolton and other officials in Ireland with having endeavoured to incite or terrify the said

Thomas Nolan to give false evidence against the other accused persons in the Ballyforan murder case?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): There is no foundation for the suggestion that Mr. George Bolton, or any other official of the Irish Government, endeavoured to incite or terrify Thomas Nolan to give false evidence in the Ballyforan murder case. Nolan handed voluntarily a statement in his own handwriting to Constable O'Brien, and afterwards made a statement to the Resident Magistrate implicating two of the prisoners. Mr. Bolton never saw him at all. Nolan subsequently went back from those statements, and wrote that he had made the statements to fool the prosecutors. He now from America makes charges which are believed to be wholly false, and no further inquiry will be instituted.

### METROPOLIS—THE LORD MAYOR'S SHOW.

MR. FIRTH asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to the proposition of the Lord Mayor Elect to bring, on Monday next, a procession of camels, elephants, and other animals, past Charing Cross towards this House; whether, as Charing Cross is not on the route from the Guildhall to the Law Courts, there is any reason for this proceeding; and, whether precautions will be taken to secure the approaches to this House?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I really know very little about what the nature of this procession or demonstration is to be, but I feel quite sure that it will be of an entirely pacific character. Why the Lord Mayor is going to Charing Cross, or whether he is to take camels or elephants with him, I do not know; but the hon. Member must be aware that the Roman Emperors in their triumphs were attended by such animals. All I can say is that, of course, these processions do cause a certain amount of inconvenience; but they also cause a good deal of amusement, and the police will take care to keep the traffic as open as possible in this case.

### NAVY—H.M.S. "COLLINGWOOD"—ARMAMENT.

LORD HENRY LENNOX asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether H.M.S. *Collingwood* (*Admiral* Class) has been fitted with 43-ton breech-loading guns; and, if so, whether the intention of the Admiralty, as expressed by his two Predecessors, Mr. Trevelyan and Mr. Campbell-Bannerman, that the *Admiral* Class should be armed with 63-ton breech-loading guns has been altered; whether there are any, and, if so, how many 63-ton and 100-ton breech-loading guns have been manufactured and successfully tested; and, whether the 43-ton breech-loading guns now in the service are fitted with effective breech-loading arrangements; and, if not, at what date they may be supplied?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The *Collingwood* was designed for, and has been fitted with, 43-ton guns. The decision to fit 63-ton guns in the later ships of the *Admiral* class, which were the ships referred to by my right hon. and hon. Friends, has been adhered to, except in the case of the *Benbow*, which is to have 110-ton guns. There are five 63-ton guns and three 110-ton guns under manufacture, but not yet sufficiently advanced for trial. The 43-ton breech-loading guns now in the Service have been fitted satisfactorily with the exception of the breech screw mechanism, which, after several modifications, has now been completed. As has already been stated in reply to my right hon. Friend the Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith), the 43-ton guns for the *Conqueror* will be ready in four months and those for the *Colossus* in five months from the present time.

### EVICTIONS (IRELAND)—LONGFORD COUNTY.

MR. JUSTIN M'CARTHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been called to the following paragraph in *The Freeman's Journal* of Wednesday 5th November:—

> "Intelligence reached Longford yesterday that a large force of police had evicted three tenants in the parish of Carrickedmond. The tenants are—Edward M'Grath, Lisnacreeva, 6 acres of land, large family, and wife bedridden; Michael Macatee, a wife and nine small children, with 7 acres of poor land in the Doory Hall estate; and the Widow Macatee, of the same place; the unfortunate tenants, we understand, have no prospect before them but to go into the workhouse;"

and, whether the Executive will undertake to see that proper steps are taken for the shelter and protection of the evicted persons?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have seen the newspaper paragraph referred to, but I cannot say how far it may be accurate, as the hon. Member has not given me sufficient time to make inquiries. With regard, however, to the suggestion contained in the last paragraph of the Question, I may point out that the law provides the manner in which relief may be given to the evicted poor, and does not place the responsibility upon the Executive.

### ARMY—SENIOR MAJORS OF ARTILLERY.

MR. ARTHUR THORNHILL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the cases of the senior Majors of the Royal Artillery, promoted to that rank before the 1st of October 1877, had been on several occasions submitted by the Military authorities, with a view to an increased and special rate of pension being offered them, and having in view the fact that a corresponding number of junior Majors are now being compulsorily retired on completing seven years' service, and that an increase sufficient probably to induce such senior Majors to retire would represent in the aggregate a very small sum; and, whether the cases of these few Officers, who, as regards promotion, are much behind the Officers of the same length of service in other Regiments, will be again considered, with a view to a special and exceptional rate being offered to them?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: The case of the majors of Artillery referred to in the Question has been fully considered. Only nine are left, and they have so immediate a prospect of becoming lieutenant colonels, with many collateral advantages, that it is unlikely they would accept retirement unless great inducements were offered. The majors junior to them are removed after seven years' service in the rank; but they have the option of going to half-pay as lieutenant colonels, in which case they would probably be re-employed regimentally as lieutenant colonels on vacancies arising. The same thing happens in other arms of the Service. It is true that the majors referred to have longer service than corresponding ranks in other arms.

### EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.) ENGLISH LIABILITY.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether the House of Commons will have an opportunity to express an opinion upon any pecuniary liability with respect to Egypt on the part of this Country before any assurance be given that such a liability will be assumed?

MR. GLADSTONE: I rather think that this Question is covered by the declaration which I made before the close of the last Session of Parliament, and which certainly still holds good. The hon. Member is aware of what are the general rules with respect to contracting pecuniary obligations, and that no such pecuniary obligation can be contracted by the Government except subject to the approval of this House. I do not wish to say anything now on the question whether any such obligation is likely to be contemplated at all; but either the Government will not attempt anything of the kind, or, if they make such an attempt, it will be absolutely impossible without the reservation to the discretion of this House, which, I think, will meet the object of the case.

### DEATH OF THE RIGHT HON. HENRY FAWCETT, POSTMASTER GENERAL.

MR. GLADSTONE: Perhaps, by the indulgence of the House, I may now be permitted, as I was absent at the time last night, to say a few words on my own part, as well as on the part of my Colleagues, on the subject which was introduced with very great propriety and good feeling by the right hon. Gentleman opposite, and answered in the same spirit by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War—I mean the grievous intelligence which reached us last night during the sitting of the House of the lamented death of Mr. Fawcett. Sir, Mr. Fawcett's name is a name which is heard I know, in all quarters of the House, with feelings of the greatest respect. We have all been accustomed to regard with admiration his inflexible integrity and independence of mind, his absolute devotion to the Public Service, the marvellous tenacity of his memory, combined with his remarkable clearness of mental vision; and, I think, even above all these, if possible, the rare courage, the unfailing, the unmeasured courage, with which he confronted and mastered all the difficulties which would have daunted and repelled an ordinary man in connection with the loss of the precious gift of sight. From these and other causes he acquired a place in the hearts and minds of his countrymen such as is undoubtedly accorded to few; and I believe that he had won a place equally high in the esteem and respect of the House of Commons. I wish, Sir, in these few words to place on record, in the name of myself and of my Colleagues, our deep sense of the loss of a most distinguished public servant.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: Sir, having had the honour of filling for some years the Office now so unhappily vacated by Mr. Fawcett's unexpected and lamented death, I may, perhaps, be allowed to say two sentences in the same sense as those which the right hon. Gentleman has just spoken. Mr. Fawcett possessed not only those high qualities which must have struck everybody, and to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred, but I think I may venture to say that from those personal communications which I necessarily have had with him, it was impossible for any man to exceed in courtesy and fairness the eminent statesman whose loss we all deplore. Sir, I speak from the bottom of my heart when I say that I feel the death of Mr. Fawcett to be a personal as well as a public and political misfortune.

## AFRICA (SOUTH)—THE EXPEDITION TO BECHUANALAND.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is a fact that the troops and materials en route from Natal to Bechuanaland are being sent from Natal to Cape Town, and thence by rail to Hope Town; whether he is aware that as good landing arrangements exist at Port Alfred as at Natal, and that a Railway equally exists from Port Alfred to Hope Town; whether, if they were landed at Port Alfred, a saving of 450 miles of sea and 170 miles of rail would not be saved, which would make a very considerable difference in the cost of their transit; and, should it be the case, whether he will give instructions to land the troops at Port Alfred?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: This Question more properly concerns the War Department; but on inquiry, both there and at the Admiralty, I find that though, no doubt, by landing at Port Alfred or Port Elizabeth there would be a saving as regards mere distance, yet there would be no saving as regards time, and the cost would be much heavier than to disembark at Cape Town, where the ships would go into dock and the horses could walk ashore.

## LAW AND POLICE—LORD RONALD GOWER.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that Lord Ronald Gower lately committed an assault upon a sentry on duty at Buckingham Palace; whether the sentry, by order of his commanding officer, took out a summons against Lord Ronald Gower; whether that summons has now been withdrawn with the approval of the Commanding Officer of the regiment and sanction of the magistrate on Lord Ronald Gower having tendered an apology; whether the matter is to be allowed to rest here; and, whether he can state to the House the cause of the assault, and what offence the sentry had given to Lord Ronald Gower?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I know nothing of the circumstances referred to in the Question, except what I have obtained from the Report of the officer commanding the Scots Guards, and as that Report is a short one, perhaps I had better read it—

> "It appears that about 3 A.M. on Saturday, October 25, 1884, Lord Ronald Gower walked from Stafford House, St. James's, to the Ambassador's Court, St. James's Palace. It was a misty morning, and he stood in the middle of the said Court hesitating about going further. The sentry on that post, having orders not to allow anyone to loiter about, told Lord Ronald Gower to move on. This order was repeated, and no notice taken of it. The sentry then walked up to Lord Ronald Gower, touched him on the shoulder, and ordered him to walk on. Lord Ronald Gower then struck the sentry on the leg with his stick. The attention of a police-constable was immediately called, and Lord Ronald Gower's name and address taken. The sentry, by order of the commanding officer of the 2nd Battalion Scots Guards, took out a summons against Lord Ronald Gower. The summons was withdrawn with my approval and the sanction of the magistrate on the condition that Lord Ronald Gower tendered a personal apology, which he did on the 30th ult. I consider that the matter should rest here."

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—BAILIEBOROUGH PETTY SESSIONS.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been drawn to certain proceedings of Justices at Bailieborough (county Cavan) Petty Sessions on the 16th September and the 21st October last; whether, on the former date, two Justices, Robert Gibson and Thomas Chambers, both Protestants, heard a case in which a Protestant named James Jones charged four Catholics named Caffrey, Finegan, Halfpenny, and Ward with waylaying and beating him; and, although it was proved by a witness for the prosecution that Jones had first challenged Caffrey, struck him, and knocked him down, and that a fight had ensued between Caffrey and Jones, the others merely looking on, the Justices sentenced Caffrey to a month's imprisonment with hard labour, and the three spectators to a fortnight each; whether, on the same occasion, the Justices fined the Catholics brought before them for drunkenness ten shillings each, and the Protestants only half-a-crown, even in a case where it was proved the defendant had kicked the police; whether, on the 21st ultimo, Messrs. Chambers and Gibson, Justices, both Protestants, a young man named Keating, a Catholic, charged five men—one of them, James Hunter, a Protestant — with beating him; and, after the complainant had testified against the five men, Mr. Gibson, J.P. suggested to the accused man, Hunter, that he might have held Keating "only to save him," and this suggestion being adopted by Hunter, the evidence of the complainant was rejected, and, on the evidence of Hunter, one of the other men named Gogarty was committed and sent to prison for a month; and, whether the Lord Chancellor will cause inquiry to be had into these proceedings, and will examine the condition of the magistracy in the county Cavan, and particularly in the Petty Sessions districts of Bailieborough, Shercock, Kingscourt, Mullagh, and Virginia, in which there is not one Catholic Justice of the Peace?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: These cases have not before been brought to the notice of the Government, and the limited time during which the Question has been on the Paper has not admitted of satisfactory information being obtained. Inquiry has been ordered, and if the Government find that there is reason to think that there has been any irregularity or miscarriage in the administration of the law, they will not fail to refer the matter for the Lord Chancellor's consideration. His Lordship informs me that he has quite recently received, and has at present before him, a letter of complaint as to the mode in which the second case referred to was disposed of. The condition of the Magistracy in the county of Cavan has been and is at present occupying the attention of the Lord Chancellor, and during the present year his Lordship has been enabled to place six Roman Catholic gentlemen in the Commission of the Peace for that county.

## STATE OF IRELAND—POLICE PROTECTION, COUNTY CAVAN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether there is still any necessity of affording police protection in Glann, county Cavan, to Lord Annessly's bailiff, Mr. Thomas Whiteside; whether it is a fact that there is no check as to the amount of car hire he receives per month; whether he drives to the neighbouring towns to transact his own private business, and, on many occasions, without any business; whether he receives on an average at least seventy pounds per year for car hire and remuneration from the two constables engaged in the protection; and, if it is a fact that an emergency man, named John Evans, who came to Glann nine months ago from the neighbourhood of Belfast, dispensed with police protection owing to the peaceable state of the locality, and if he still transacts his unpopular duties without fear of molestation?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is believed by the local police authorities to be still necessary to afford protection to Mr. Whiteside. This protection is given from the free *quota*, and involves no expense to the county. There is a check on the car hire accounts, both locally and at head-quarters. I am informed that the nearest town to Mr. Whiteside's residence is seven-and-a-half miles distant, and that he is obliged to drive about, both on his own and his employer's affairs. He has never received £70 annually for the hire of his cars for the police. In the last 12 months £44 was paid for this purpose.

### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Will the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister tell us what is likely to be the course of Business on Monday next? We know that there are proceedings in the City which might possibly interfere with it.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I proceed on the assumption, which, I understand, is agreeable to the general expectation and arrangement made, that the debate on the second reading of the Franchise Bill will terminate this evening. In that case we shall propose on Monday that the Speaker leave the Chair, and that the House go into Committee on the Bill.

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

——o——

### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[Bill 1.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Amendment proposed to Question [6th November,] "That the Bill be now read a second time."

And which Amendment was,

To leave out from the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, any measure purporting to provide for the better Representation of the People in Parliament must be accompanied by provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas,"—(*Mr. E. Stanhope,*)

—instead thereof.

Question again proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

Debate *resumed.*

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: I think, Sir, that no speech has ever been more anxiously expected than that made by the Prime Minister the other night on the second reading of this Bill. I think it is only right to say that, as far as the tone and manner of that speech are concerned, there is nothing that anyone could wish to see altered. The right hon. Gentleman evidenced an anxiety to limit the debate, and to take out of it any vexatious question or anything that could excite differences of opinion. I wish I could say the same as to the matter of the speech. I am afraid that many who heard that speech must have felt a deep sense of disappointment when the Prime Minister sat down, having ended almost where he had begun, because we hoped, at all events, that he would have thrown some new light upon the subject, and, as the Head of the Government, would have shown us some way out of the present difficulty. But the words at the commencement of his speech, when he said that it was impossible for the Government either to take the two subjects of extension and redistribution in a single Bill, or simultaneously in two separate Bills, rather led us to believe that, as far as he was concerned, there was no hope of this matter being dealt with in a business-like and rational manner. Our only hope lay in the words that they would do nothing that, in their opinion, could tend to place the Franchise Bill in jeopardy. If we take these words of the Prime Minister into consideration they seem to point to something by which the difficulty might be got over; but as far, at all events, as his speech was concerned, we have had no foreshadowing of any such plan. Now, I think that the history of this county franchise is one which the Prime Minister ought to bear in mind. Some years ago, and, in fact, up to a very late period, the views entertained by a very large number of persons both inside this House and outside were such as are fully expressed in the speeches made last Session by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen). He has always held distinctive views upon that question, and these views have been shared by a large number of persons in the country. Nor must we forget that hon. Members opposite have not always been so unanimous upon the question. It was only in 1877 that the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War and the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary first voted in favour of the measure, and the Bill or Motion which was so constantly brought forward by the right hon. Gentleman who is now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster met a very varied fate in this House from time to time. It is instructive also to remember that the first time that measure went up to the House of Lords it was treated in a very different manner from that in which it had been treated in this House. The first time that it appeared before them in the last Session of Parliament the principle of that Bill was practically adopted, and, although the Bill did not become law, the Motion passed in the House of Lords distinctly accepted the principle of it. Where, then, is the danger to this Franchise Bill? How is it in jeopardy? I cannot help thinking that the danger has arisen in great part from the speeches made by right hon. Gentlemen opposite before the Bill was introduced. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade made use of language which seemed to point to a total redistribution of political power, and the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer made a reference to ancient times which frightened a great number of persons throughout the country. I need hardly refer to those statements of the President of the Board of Trade, all of which created great alarm and anxiety. There was another danger to which the Prime Minister thought that this Bill was subject, and which he pointed out in the speech which he made in introducing the Bill last year. It was this—that there was this great difference between a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill, that whereas a Franchise Bill was always treated in this House as an Imperial question, the question of redistribution was in danger of not being treated in the same spirit, but more as a local question, and one more likely to arouse the selfish interests of the Members of those places which were likely to be disfranchised. Those observations of the Prime Minister would only refer to the question of the Franchise Bill in this House; but as far as the House alone was concerned, the Prime Minister thought that there was that danger. In the speech which the Prime Minister made last night that danger seems to have disappeared. He told us that he thought that the important question in this House was the Franchise Bill, and not Redistribution; and, as far as I gathered from him, he was now in hopes that when we came to the Redistribution Bill he might produce such a Bill as would be passed, not by a majority, but by the whole House. Therefore, it is clear that his mind, whether from the observations he has been able to make, from the conduct of Members of this House, or from other consideration of the subject, is not apprehensive of that danger of local selfishness which pressed upon it last year, and which, therefore, may now practically be considered as having gone. The Prime Minister dwelt last night a good deal on the fear of finding that the majority in this House would not be able to enforce its own views, although "no doubt, as far as the principle of the Franchise Bill goes, the question of the extension of the franchise may be considered settled." Nobody will dispute that; it has been acknowledged here, and admitted "elsewhere." The majority of the House is quite able to express its will. But there is a great difference between the principle of the Bill and the procedure. No doubt, a particular mode of procedure proposed by the Prime Minister was passed by a large majority in this House; but I venture to say that if the Prime Minister had proposed another mode of procedure the majority of the House would have adopted that quite as readily. The Bill is in no danger on the question of principle, and it ought to be in no danger as regards procedure. But the will of the majority might be discovered in other ways than by the vote. We have been called together at a time which is inconvenient for many of us. We are ready, however, to do our duty to the best of our ability; but I am sure the feeling of a great majority of the House is that we should not come here for an idle and barren purpose. The majority of the House has expressed its desire in unmistakable terms that the Franchise Bill should be accompanied by a scheme of redistribution. [Several hon. MEMBERS: Followed.] I adhere to my expression, and believe that there is a general wish that the one should accompany the other. Would any man in his senses propose that we should first have an enlargement of the franchise, then an Election, and then a redistribution scheme, followed by another Election? No. The vast majority of the people would be entirely against such an arrangement. I regret very much to see that in the course of an election such a proposal was made by a candidate; but, except the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster), I have never heard any person approve of the proposal, and I think the President of the Local Government Board abandoned that idea some time ago. If no Government could propose such a plan, what is the use of finding fault with the action of a Party the sole object of which is to prevent that happening which no Government would propose. Supposing such a misfortune—I believe it would be a national misfortune were it to take place—what would happen? The present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster has always brought forward this question in the interests of the agricultural labourers, saying that those persons who live in the country are entitled to the same privileges and advantages as those persons who live in the towns; but as an example of what would happen in the event of a General Election occurring under the Bill without redistribution, take two divisions of my own county. Take, first, the division which is represented by the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington). There are living in that division out of towns represented in Parliament 238,000 people; out of this 238,000 no fewer than 147,000 live in places with a population above 10,000; so that the remaining population, comprising the agricultural labourers, would be swamped by the 147,000. In my own division of the county we have in places not represented in Parliament, 482,000. Of that number living in places with a population above 10,000 no fewer than 315,000, so that the rural population would be absolutely swamped by persons living in towns without some redistribution scheme is first passed. There are a large number of places not now represented which undoubtedly ought to be represented; and if there is one thing more than another which constituencies like it is having a Member to themselves; they are not willing to share one with other places in which they have no interest. I am not going to labour that point, because it is clear that great evils will undoubtedly follow —indeed, it would be impossible to imagine the mischief that would occur if one Bill passed without the other; and in addition to this, you would have a costly registration scheme which would have to be thrown aside directly the Redistribution Bill passed. The Prime Minister declared his opinion in his recent speech that in great legislative changes there should be the largest possible body of friendly and contented opinion. I agree in that opinion; but unless these two Bills are to come into operation together you cannot have that body of friendly and contented opinion which is necessary. If violent measures are resorted to, and if one Bill is passed and the other is not, you will create so much ill-will that you will find it impossible to secure that which you desire. What is this Redistribution Bill to be? If it be just and fair what is it that alarms the Government so much and prevents their producing it? This, at any rate, I think, is perfectly clear — that last Session, when the Franchise Bill was introduced, the Government did not know what their redistribution scheme would be. The Prime Minister gave us a sort of shadowy idea of it; but it is clear that no definite plan was before them, though I presume they have now framed one. For my part, I am not content that such a course as that should be taken. When you approach a subject of this magnitude you should approach it in all its parts, and you should show the whole of your plan. But now, at any rate, we have shadowed out by the Prime Minister some important principles of their redistribution scheme. The Prime Minister tells us that, in the first place, it must be large and of something like a permanent character. I do not suppose there will be any great difference of opinion upon that point; and we may hope that, when the Bills are passed, the Constitution will receive that form in which it will be left for many years to come. In the second place, the Prime Minister laid it down that there must be a considerable concession to the principle of numbers. Everybody has always assented to that. Then great respect was to be paid to those places at present represented, and the right hon. Gentleman mentioned other safeguards. In the third place, he said there must be no needless complexity—we shall all agree with that—and that it must be equitable and liberal as between the four divisions of the Kingdom—namely, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. I suppose the Prime Minister mentioned Wales specially in order to indicate that the people of Wales must be told they cannot expect quite so many Members as they have at present. I am sorry the Prime Minister did not say the number of English Members was not to be diminished. Scotland, he indicated last year, was to have more Members, and Ireland was to be let alone; while the additional Members for Scotland were to come from the South of England.

MR. GLADSTONE: No; I never said so.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: Last year.

MR. GLADSTONE: No.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. Gentleman said he could not entertain the question of increasing the Members of the House.

MR. GLADSTONE: Oh, no.

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE: Exactly the opposite.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I certainly understood that the Prime Minister had made some statement of that character. Then he said the arrangement must be equitable and just to the different classes and pursuits of the community, and the urban and rural populations must be kept distinct. It is essential, in our mind, that the urban and the rural population should be left distinct, and I gladly recognize in that last result laid down by the right hon. Gentleman a declaration that this principle will be maintained by the Government. There is, however, one matter which will have to be carefully considered, and that is whether we are to keep the minority vote, and whether that principle will have to be extended, and, if so, to what extent. That is a matter which will certainly demand serious attention. The difficulty I feel is that if I go into the details of the redistribution scheme I shall be called to Order, and I admit it would be evidently improper to go into any debate as to the principles of redistribution on the Bill now before the House. But we want the Government to get the House out of this difficulty. It is quite clear that we must discuss these things, and until they are discussed we are all at sea as to the intentions of the Government, and how far those intentions are to be carried out; therefore, I press upon the Government the necessity of giving some further opinion on that point. There was one word in the Prime Minister's speech which I am bound to say gave me a ray of hope; that word was "coterminous." We all know that the right hon. Gentleman is a master of language, and that words sometimes have with him a peculiar significance. I cannot help thinking that there is a difference in the Prime Minister's mind between "coterminous" and "simultaneous," although I cannot tell what it is. The right hon. Gentleman said that this question was "the nearest of all coterminous subjects." The only comfort that we draw from that is that the right hon. Gentleman recognizes this as a subject so coterminous that, if he can do it without jeopardizing the Franchise Bill, he will let us know what the Redistribution Bill is. I hope the Prime Minister will understand that there is no wish on the part of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House to delay this measure. There has been no unreasonable amount of speaking, nor am I aware that there is the slightest wish on the part of hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House to cover the Paper with Amendments when we go into Committee. I think the Prime Minister ought to take courage from these facts which show that his Bill is not jeopardized. He ought to meet us half-way, because we cannot meet him—[*Ministerial laughter.*] If hon. Gentlemen will hear the end of the sentence, I think most of them will be of my opinion. I was going to say that provided the Franchise Bill is not put in jeopardy — which is the only condition the Prime Minister makes — I hope he will join with us in securing some guarantee that the same Parliament shall deal with both questions. [*Cheers and counter-cheers.*] I thought I should get the approval of hon. Gentlemen opposite. That is all we have asked, and that is all we insist upon. It is not an opinion, it is not a prepossession; it is a principle, and I think it is a principle that ought to be followed out. Well, how do we stand with regard to this Bill at the present moment? It will probable be read a second time to-night. We shall go into Committee on Monday, and, so far as we can see, the Bill will be safe by the end of next week. Is not that a great step? Is not that something to show the Prime Minister that this Bill is not in jeopardy? And upon the question of Redistribution we have the authority of the Prime Minister that the danger to that measure is in local interest. What are we to be kept here for? I say that the time of this House is too valuable to be wasted, and if this Bill is to be through the House by the end of next week, what are we to be kept here for? As business-like men, I should say that we are here to see what can be done with regard to this Reform Bill; and, therefore, as business-like men, I should say that, now that the Franchise Bill is out of jeopardy, the sooner the other Bill is before us the better. If the opinion that the Prime Minister shadowed out last night is really the feeling of the Government—namely, that it is not desired to pass a measure of this kind by the majority overriding the minority, but rather with the assent of the whole House—then I say, in the name of all that is business-like, do let us set about it with all speed. Whether that is to be done by a series of Resolutions or by Bill I know nothing, not being in the secrets of the Government. But let us approach the subject, and see how near we can get to it. I am quite sure that if the Redistribution proposals are not designed to give any advantage to one Party over the other, they will certainly not meet with any factious opposition from this side of the House. It seems to me that this is just one of those occasions, one of those questions, where high statesmanship ought to come in, and where it is the duty of statesmen to take care that no ill-feeling is mixed up with the subject. I say it rests with the Prime Minister as to what he will do; but from the cheers I have heard on both sides of the House, I cannot help thinking that, whatever may have been the language used on Thursday, there is still a door open. If, however, difficulties should arise owing to the action of the Prime Minister or the Government, either through neglect in not producing their measure, or through—I hope I do not use the word offensively—some wilful determination not to let us see it this Autumn Session, or if the Government stick too closely to words and phrases which they may happen to have used, and stand by expressions made under other circumstances and at other times—then all I can say is, that the country will know, at all events, upon whom the blame ought to rest. And if it so happens that there is to be an appeal to the country, no one will more readily go to the country than we shall ourselves, feeling, as we do, convinced that the good sense of the country will see that all we have asked is that which is just and wise, and, I believe, necessary, and that we have asked for nothing else.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The general tone of the right hon. Gentleman's remarks is one upon which I think I ought to congratulate him and the House of Commons; but when he said, in almost his concluding words, that whatever the language used yesterday the door was still open, I could not help thinking that that was a sly reference to speeches on his own side, because we certainly have reason to complain of the tone of some of the speeches which we have heard on the other side. While thanking the right hon. Gentleman for his tone and for the several very valuable suggestions which he made, there were a few exceptions which I shall have to take to some of the statements he has made. He has told us that he hoped Parliament has not been brought together for another barren Session. If, unfortunately—and I cannot yet admit to myself the possibility of such a result—but if, unfortunately, this Session should be barren, I am sure that we, each of us, will not consider that it is our fault; and I am disposed to agree that the country will think that perhaps there are faults on both sides. The right hon. Gentleman has made one remark which I must accept with a certain amount of allowance. He said there was now a concurrence between both sides as to the principle of the franchise, and that the principle was generally admitted. That statement was made in almost the same words, but in a still more absolute manner, by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope). I have found in the course of this debate many proofs that this is not the case. Several Members have spoken from the other side and stated that they were not of that opinion. ["No!"] Look at the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), and he made the statement, not only for himself but for two other hon. Members. [An hon. Member: And the Lord Mayor.] Yes; the Lord Mayor said it himself, and the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge referred to it. He deprecated the modern changes which had taken place in the Government on this subject. It is hardly possible to exclude from consideration the question of the date at which various opinions are adopted, for sudden conversions will always be open to a certain amount of doubt. I, for one, however, am quite prepared to accept the results at which we have arrived without scrutinizing too narrowly the date of particular conversions. The right hon. Gentleman on this point made a little attack, by implication, on this subject. He said that one of our Colleagues had a doubt as late as 1876, and had only become converted in 1877; but the right hon. Gentleman himself doubted as late as March last. In replying to the Prime Minister, the right hon. Gentleman said—"No doubt the 2,000,000 would be admitted if it was true that they ought to have the vote;" and in replying to the right hon. Member for Birmingham, he said—"No doubt it was so, if these men ought to have the franchise." He regarded the matter as open to doubt. I am quite prepared to admit that there is now a general adoption of the principle of this Bill by the two sides of the House; but the adoption is not one of exactly the same kind, and this is very important for practical effects and results. We admit the right of the 2,000,000 absolutely, and the other side admit it conditionally upon getting their own view in certain other points. I admit there was nothing in the speech we have just heard calling for the remark I propose to make; but we have also before us such speeches as those of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope). They are speakers of great ability, and represent the views of their own side with so much eloquence and authority that their speeches cannot be passed over. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire made this frank admission as to the conditional nature of the support which he and other hon. Members opposite would give to the Franchise Bill. The hon. Gentleman said that the Conservative Party would keep the Franchise Bill in reserve until the Redistribution Question was settled. I am, therefore, justified in saying that, while on this side of the House the principle of the Franchise Bill is absolutely supported, on the other side it is only conditionally supported. Now, I am about to utter one of those words of warning which have sometimes been construed by our opponents into a menace; but I trust that I shall give no colour to such a construction being put upon my language. I will, indeed, adopt the words of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire himself, when he said that we were placed in a great difficulty on this question of Reform, because the enfranchisement of these 2,000,000 of new voters would not brook delay, and that there was great danger of exasperating those voters by resorting to political manœuvres which they were unable to understand. The right hon. Gentleman who has just spoken has thrown out hope to us of an agreement being come to between the two sides of the House; at least, that is what I understood from his speech. For my own part, I believe that it is possible that some agreement might be come to which would meet his views, provided it be one that without doubt or uncertainty would secure the enfranchisement of these 2,000,000. That is the point upon which it is necessary that we should be quite clear. That is the main point. In fact, it is the only point worth raising in this discussion. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the evident desire of the Prime Minister—to whose speech he did full justice—as evinced by the earlier portions of that speech to take out of this debate everything that could give rise to the use of violent or excited language; but he went on to remark that he wished that he could say as much of the other portions of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. For my own part, I wish I could approve of all the speeches which have been delivered by hon. Members opposite as much as I do of the right hon. Gentleman's speech. The right hon. Gentleman asked in a tone of marked courtesy for further information on the subject of redistribution; but the speeches of some other hon. Members on that side of the House lacked that courteous tone; and, indeed, some speakers last night asked for further information on the subject in a tone of menace, and held out a kind of threat that if their demands were not complied with, the Franchise Bill would be stopped or rejected in "another place." The right hon. Gentleman asked us whether, if we could give further information with regard to the proposed scheme of redistribution, without jeopardizing the Franchise Bill, we should be ready to give it? That question I answer most emphatically in the affirmative. I say that if you can make it clear to us that we can give you further information on the subject of redistribution without jeopardizing the enfranchisement of these

2,000,000 of new voters, that information shall be supplied. But information on the subject is not required by the other side alone. We, too, on this side of the House should like to ask for a certain amount of information, if such information could be conveyed to us from the other side without any fear that it would jeopardize the Franchise Bill. I am at a loss to understand, in these circumstances, how it is that we have not heard from the other side something like proposals that might form the basis of a general agreement, and an authoritative expression of their views with regard to the principles on which redistribution ought to be conducted. The right hon. Gentleman let drop the word "Resolution"—I do not know whether he used it with any intention—but I take that word as indicating a readiness on his part to arrive at a fair settlement of this question. I can only again assure the right hon. Gentleman that if we can give him any further information in reference to redistribution without jeopardizing the Franchise Bill, we shall be willing to do so. The right hon. Gentleman asked us another question. He asked us if we were certain that we could propose to this House a settlement of this Redistribution Question which should not be framed so as to give a Party bias to the scheme? Doubtless hon. Members opposite do not think we should frame the scheme of redistribution purposely so as to give it such a bias; but the suspicion which they seem to entertain is that, without intending to give it a bias in favour of our own side, we are likely to look at the matter from the point of view favourable to our own Party. The right hon. Gentleman wishes to meet that possibility, and he says that the settlement should be one arrived at by the House or by the country without any Party bias being introduced into it. For my own part I may say that I entirely sympathize with that view, and I believe that any Redistribution Bill that will pass this House must be a Bill which will satisfy both sides, and not one side alone. The right hon. Gentleman emphasized greatly in his speech the separation between the urban and the rural element in the constituencies, and I take that as an instance of what he meant. That is a subject of great interest and importance, and on which many of us as individuals may have great doubt, not in a Party but in a national sense; but still we may be willing to yield our opinions with respect to it in view of the enormous advantage which will result from a large measure of enfranchisement. The right hon. Gentleman made one statement which I must venture to contradict. He informed the House that last Session the Prime Minister said that by the Government scheme of redistribution a number of seats would be taken from the South of England and be given to Scotland. What the Prime Minister did say was precisely the opposite. He said that the question of the increase of Members in Scotland was to be considered in connection with a suggestion for an increase in the number of Members in the House itself, and when he spoke of Members in the South of England he spoke generally upon the existence of a great number of very small boroughs in the South of England, and said that any general redistribution must of necessity transfer a greater or less number of Members from the South-West of England, not necessarily to Scotland, but to the Metropolis and the North of England. I have already said that, in my opinion, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman was in most gratifying contrast to that of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), which almost concluded the debate last night. [*Cries of* "No!"] I shall give reasons in support of my opinion upon that point. The noble Lord made a great attack upon my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright), not my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade. The noble Lord charged my right hon. Friend with having desired in the past that a different course should be adopted from that which he now advocated in view of Party exigencies. I have read every word that my right hon. Friend has said upon the subject of Reform—and very valuable and interesting reading his speeches are—and I am satisfied that if any right hon. Member in this House has been consistent on the subject of Reform, it is my right hon. Friend. Other right hon. and hon. Members may have changed their views upon the subject; but my right hon. Friend has always told the House that the two subjects of the extension of the franchise and of redistribution must be dealt with in separate Bills, and he never contemplated their being both dealt with at one time. The noble Lord has tried to set Colleague against Colleague in the present Administration; but I am glad to inform him that his artifices of political warfare have been entirely unsuccessful. The noble Lord has asserted that he was converted to the principle of the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourer during his term of Office in the Education Department; but the only way in which he has shown that conversion has been by speaking and voting against the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourer on every possible occasion. In 1879 the Amendment to reject our proposal was moved by a noble Lord, a near relative to the noble Lord opposite, and on that Amendment no less than four Gentlemen bearing the noble Lord's name voted in the majority, and the noble Lord never made the slightest statement which led the House to believe that he was favourable to the enfranchisement of these people. I dwell on this question of sudden conversion, because these recollections of ours of the Divisions of the last Parliament are somewhat important, and have a considerable bearing on this question. For instance, the hon. Member for Buteshire (Mr. Dalrymple), in his speech last night, claimed to be the only surviving Conservative Member who voted for the extension of the franchise to the agricultural labourers when it was proposed in 1874. That is true, no doubt, but the hon. Member voted against it in 1876. The hon. Member said that he had stated in his speech that he voted against the measure in 1876, and he had explained why. The reason given by the hon. Member was that he did not like its being proposed to the House every year; but that was not support of a very effective kind. But all the support which the Conservative Party had given to this principle in the past for which the hon. Member claimed credit before the country, consisted in the fact that he and two others had voted for it in 1874, and that he had changed his vote in 1876.

Mr. DALRYMPLE explained that he merely referred to the vote and change of vote he gave in that Parliament for the purpose of pointing out that, at all events, to him there was no difficulty of conversion, because at so remote a date as 1874 he had supported his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and had only considered it undesirable to press on a reluctant Parliament from year to year a Resolution that had been defeated by so overwhelming a majority.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: The hon. Member has entirely confirmed my recollection of his action and remarks; and I can leave the matter with the mere statement that I, for one, should never for one instant deny the extraordinary facility of conversion that has frequently been displayed on the other side of the House. I wish now to make one or two remarks about some of the other speeches made last night, and especially those from the Front Bench opposite. We did not think it necessary to speak from this Bench last night, because we considered that this is a subject which, after the speech of the Prime Minister, was best dealt with by independent Members of the House. With regard, then, to the speech of the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who opened the debate, I could not help greatly regretting the absence of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), who had given Notice of this Amendment; for, although I think the noble Lord is a powerful adversary, I do not think he would have made exactly the sort of speech delivered by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire; nor do I think that that speech is likely to lead to a future and early settlement of this question. The hon. Gentleman's speech was hostile and violent in tone; and in it the hon. Member was very severe upon us for having asserted the argument of want of time with regard to the introduction of a Redistribution Bill and having then given it up. He quoted our argument of want of time, and said that it simply consisted in our statement that it was impossible to pass both the Bills in one Session.

Mr. E. STANHOPE: I did not say the Government had given up the argument, but that it had been given up by the force of circumstances. Circumstances have altogether changed.

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Well, if there were that general agreement as to the principles on which redistribution should proceed, which the right hon.

Gentleman who has just spoken seems to shadow forth in his speech, then it is possible that the two subjects might be dealt with within the compass of a single Session. What we argued was that it was impossible and hopeless to entertain the idea of dealing with the two subjects in one Session when we were confronted by a hostile and reluctant Opposition. But what did the hon. Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell) say on the subject? He said that if there was any subject on earth which needed long consideration it was that of a Redistribution Bill; and yet he afterwards told us that it was quite possible if the Franchise Bill were passed that the Prime Minister at the head of the Party on this side of the House would force a redistribution scheme without discussion down the throats of hon. Members who sat opposite. Then the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) made a general statement—a most startling statement—that every great issue which comes before the country ought to be decided—by whom? Not by the elected Representatives of the people, not by the House of Commons, not by Parliament, but by Dissolution and an appeal to the constituencies at the polling booths. That is a doctrine which far exceeds the ancient Chartists' doctrine of annual Parliaments. I should like to ask the hon. Gentleman how often he thinks Parliament would have to be dissolved and re-elected if an appeal is to be made to the country on every question on which there may be a difference of opinion? How could the Business of the country be carried on? Then the hon. Member told the House that the country thoroughly appreciated the position and doctrines put forward. I think if the tone of the speech of the hon. Member, and the tone of that of the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), had been the prevailing tone, the country would certainly have appreciated the doctrines put forward in them. The hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire also attacked the Prime Minister for not having dealt in his statemenf with the question of the boundaries of boroughs; but, curiously enough, the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down thanked the Prime Minister for the statement he had made on the distinction between urban and rural representation, and I think I have the authority of the Prime Minister for saying that the general expressions he made use of were intended by him to cover the various branches of that subject. The hon. Member went on to tell the House that we had neglected our duty, inasmuch as we had not made any inquiry as to borough boundaries. How does the hon. Member know that he is speaking as to that with any foundation; and what right has he to say so when he knows nothing as to what we have done on the subject? Then, again, the hon. Member attacked my right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Chamberlain) for having spoken, in connection with the franchise, of taking away the commons from the agricultural labourers; and he said that my right hon. Friend had not lifted a finger to prevent that spoliation. Well, we think that by this Bill we are lifting a finger in that cause, and we believe that the effect of this Bill will be to put a stop to the practices that have prevailed. Then, as to redistribution, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire not only asked for more information, but also for substantial guarantees, and went on to say that the speech of the Prime Minister gave no information on that point. Now, as to that, I think the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) was a very full and complete answer. He gave a catalogue of the guarantees and securities which the other side possessed for the settlement of this question of redistribution. In reply to the demand for information, the Government might demand additional securities. Securities were needed for the enfranchisement of 2,000,000 people who would be enfranchised by this Bill. The hon. and learned Member for West Somersetshire (Mr. Elton) made a very different speech from that of the Mover, because he spoke of the statement of the Prime Minister with regard to redistribution as being a statement in which all of us agreed; and I think we make very great progress when we get from hon. Members oppposite such an expression of unanimity. The hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Ecroyd) has asked whether the Redistribution Bill is to be the Bill of the Executive Government, or of the British Parliament? A measure so complex and involving so much interference with individual interests cannot possibly pass without becoming the Bill of the

House itself. The hon. Member for Preston told us that he believed that the Government would force a Redistribution Bill through the House without discussion. In reply to that, I can only say that any man who believes that the Government could do such a thing must be a Parliamentary baby in long clothes. The hon. Member for West Suffolk told us that he was thoroughly tired of this question. Well, I think a good many Members who sit for agricultural constituencies will soon be tired of this question, if by their actions they keep it open before the country. The hon. Member also told us that he was delighted with the conciliatory speech made by the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) in Lancashire some time ago. But what was the reply made to that speech by the leading Members of the hon. Member's Party. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) said at Bristol that the air was full of rumours of compromise, and that all these rumours came from the Liberal side, that he did not believe that the Leaders of the Conservative Party would be gulled by this talk of compromise, and that he did not know by what right the Members of the Liberal Party asked the Opposition to place implicit confidence in Mr. Gladstone. [Mr. WARTON: Hear, hear!] The hon. and learned Member for Bridport agrees with those views; but they do not represent the opinion of the House or of the country, which shares the sentiments of the hon. Member for West Suffolk, by whom the noble Marquess has been thanked for his remarks. The hon. Member for West Suffolk went on to ask us to humour the prejudices of the other House and to do something to please their "whims and fancies." But we really cannot deal with this important subject on the basis of pleasing the whims and fancies of any one; we must try to deal with it on principles which will commend themselves to the vast majority of the House of Commons. The hon. Member also told us that the Peers did not ask us to produce our Redistribution Bill, and that all they asked us to do was to give in a general way onr views on the question. In that statement he diametrically contradicted many hon. Members on his own side of the House who have spoken in the course of this debate, and who have declared that they will not be satisfied with that which would satisfy the hon. Member. That shows what an extraordinary divergence of views there is among hon. Members opposite. The hon. Member for North Yorkshire (Mr. Guy Dawnay) made a vigorous onslaught last night upon the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham, because that right hon. Gentleman had said that the people of Wales had nothing to gain by redistribution, and he tried to prove that there was a great difference of opinion between the right hon. Gentleman and the Prime Minister on this point. I can assure the hon. Member that the whole of this pretended difference rested upon an entire misconception of what my right hon. Friend said, for my right hon. Friend's reference to Wales in connection with the subject of redistribution only meant that Wales would not gain seats through redistribution to the extent to which Scotland was entitled to gain them. Then the hon. Member told us that the counties were much under-represented at the present time. But no one has denied that even the newspaper scheme of redistribution to which the hon. Member had referred —moderate as that scheme was supposed to be—would have entirely reversed the existing proportion between the borough and county Members of this House, and I cannot understand for what purpose the hon. Member argued at great length that the counties are under-represented at the present time, for no one denies the fact. The hon. Member concluded his speech by saying that there was no doubt which Party in this House ought to give in in the present controversy. Of course there is no doubt. There never has been a doubt in the minds of hon. Members opposite, for they always assumed that the majority ought, as a matter of course, to give way to the minority. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), referring to the draft scheme of redistribution which has been published, told the House that we should encounter great difficulty on our own side before we could pass such a scheme, because it would deprive the Liberals of 70 seats. He assumed that the majority of the small seats which were to be swept away were Liberal seats. Now I must join issue with him, for I find that the Conservatives and Home Rule Members together who would lose their seats under this scheme are exactly equal in number to the Liberal Members who would be displaced by it. I do not wish to say anything more in examination of the speeches that have been made in this debate. I will only once more express the warm satisfaction with which we have heard the speech of the right hon. Gentleman who preceded me. Such arguments as he used, and the tone in which he spoke, must conduce to a settlement of this great question. I believe that those who sit on this side of the House have great reason to desire an early settlement of this question, because they have made it peculiarly their own; but as regards its effect upon Party, I believe that this side has not so much cause to desire a settlement of the question as the Party opposite. From a Party point of view it would be no disadvantage to us if the question were to remain open for a little time longer; but it would be an enormous disadvantage to the country as a whole, and I, therefore, heartily thank the right hon. Gentleman opposite for the speech which he has made this evening.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I must apologize to the House for not having been in my place yesterday afternoon to move the Amendment of which I had given Notice; but an event of a distressing character to myself personally and to those with whom I am connected by family ties incapacitated me from dealing properly with the subject which I wished to raise. I should have thought that this would have been a sufficient excuse for my absence; but I observed this morning in an organ of the Ministerial Party that the excuses which my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) so kindly made for me were received with jeers. [*Cries of* "No!" *from the Ministerial Benches.*]

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: It was a mistake. It was not understood.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I only state what I saw in *The Daily News;* but I daresay that paper was not accurate in its account. It will be obvious to hon. Members that the sudden death of a near relative does not conduce to the frame of mind that an hon. Member ought to be in when endeavouring to deal seriously with a subject of this kind. I should have liked to have remained perfectly quiet in this debate, believing that in so doing I should have been following the rules of Parliamentary propriety, and I should have done so if it had not been for two events which have occurred. I wish, in the first place, to apologize to the House for a circumstance which was noticed by the Prime Minister, and for which I alone am to blame. I refer to the disappearance from the Notice Paper of the Amendment which I had put down. The reason of its disappearance was that I entirely forgot the operation of the new Rule passed in 1882, by which, if you do not renew a Notice of opposition, the Notice lapses; and I beg to apologize to any hon. Members who may have been placed in doubt as to the course which I intended to pursue by the consequence of my forgetfulness. The next event to which I wish to allude is the speech delivered by my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). It is well known to the House that there has existed between my hon. and learned Friend and myself a very close friendship, not only political but private, and we have acted together in this House so often and for so long that, if I were not to take notice of the opinions which he has expressed in this debate, it might very naturally be supposed that I was endeavouring, in connection with the subject before the House, to perform that operation which is called "sitting across a rail" in a more unscrupulous fashion than, perhaps, that operatian has ever been attempted before by a Member of Parliament. If, as may be supposed, I had at all persuaded my hon. and learned Friend to make that speech, or even known that he intended so to express himself, it would look as if I had been endeavouring to curry favour with the Tory Party on this side of the House by proposing this Amendment, and at the same time to keep open a refuge with other Members of the House who are opposed to the action of the Tory Party in this matter. That was a suspicion so intolerable and injurious that the House will allow me to explain exactly how I stand, and my reason for disagreeing with my hon. and learned Friend. The speech of my hon. and learned Friend was, no doubt, a great surprise to me, and I may say a very painful surprise. My hon.

and learned Friend said, at the commencement of his remarks, that he was in favour of the Amendment before the House as an abstract Motion. I venture to think that the Amendment before the House is not at all in the nature of an abstract Motion. It is one of the most precise, definite, and clear statements of policy which on any particular question it would be possible to frame. My hon. and learned Friend said that he would support that Amendment if he were sure it would not impede the passing of the Franchise Bill. I can reassure him on that point. So far from that Amendment obstructing the Franchise Bill, he may be certain that the discussion and Division on the Amendment will probably assist it. My hon. and learned Friend, with his purely legal mind, does not altogether understand that in political controversy, particularly in great and sharp political controversy, the Party which makes abject surrender is not the Party likely to attain its aim, or anything like its aim. In political controversy of the kind we are engaged in at present concession is not likely to be arrived at by surrender. It is only when a Party has, if I may so speak, its arms in its hands, when it is thoroughly united, when its forces are all marshalled inside and outside the House, when it is obvious to any observer that it is ready to struggle to the utmost—it is only then that a statesman in the position of the Prime Minister will allow himself to be convinced that the Party is animated by a great and honest principle from which it cannot and will not depart, and that he will endeavour, before the battle is hopelessly engaged in, if possible, to exhaust all chances and all possibilities of peace, and not only of peace, but of honourable peace. But, Sir, I do not think that peace would be secured by the attitude taken up by my hon. and learned Friend, because in that speech he threw away all his armour and prostrated himself before the Prime Minister; he counselled his fellow-comrades to an ignominious surrender; and he incontinently took to his heels and ran away in the vain and utterly futile hope that, by some possible chance, he might live to fight another day. I should like to ask my hon. and learned Friend what would be the position of the Tory Party if they gave up now, without any guarantee or consideration, as he advised them to do, all that opposition to which it is undoubtedly so deeply pledged? What would be the position of the Party then, and what amount of confidence would any portion of the people of this country be likely to repose in us in future? There is another thing which my hon. and learned Friend does not altogether appear to realize, and that is the immense transformation which has come over this question in the last nine months. There has been a total transformation—a transformation in the direction which hon. Members opposite approve of, and also in the direction of which we approve. What was the position of this question in February last, when the Government introduced it to the House? The Government brought in a Franchise Bill; they accompanied it by many other Bills of first-class importance. They proposed that the House should deal with all those subjects in one Session; and the programme, undoubtedly, was to deal with the Franchise Bill in 1884, coupled with the vague assurance that redistribution would be dealt with in 1885. At that time, undoubtedly, the Government were not ready with any scheme of redistribution. If they had been pressed ever so much they could not at that time have produced a Redistribution Bill. What would have been our position if we had agreed to the proposal of the Prime Minister, and had allowed the Reform Bill to pass through the House without opposition? The Bill would have been through this House before the end of February; the Royal Assent might have been given to it before the end of March; the Government might possibly have been defeated on the Egyptian Question in the middle of the Session; they might have prorogued Parliament; continued in Office for a short time while the registration was being made up, and taken a Dissolution on the enlarged but unredistributed constituencies. That was not only a possibility, but a probability, if we had fallen in with the suggestion of the Government in February last. But what was the position of the question in August last, when the House of Lords postponed the consideration of Reform? The Prime Minister said in the House that Parliament would be summoned in the Autumn to consider the Franchise Bill alone; and, in order that I may not misquote the right hon. Gentleman, I have taken the trouble to refer to the debate. I stated, I think, on the 10th of July, that the Prime Minister said he would call Parliament together in the Autumn in order that we might deal with the franchise and redistribution. Upon that there were cries of "No!" and the Prime Minister then got up and said—

> "I may perhaps be excused if I set the noble Lord right. It is quite possible I may have used the expression 'dealing with redistribution next Session,' but it was perfectly understood that I did not mean the Autumn Session."—(3 *Hansard*, [290] 702-3.)

Therefore, the position was that Parliament would be summoned in October to deal with the Franchise Bill, and the Franchise Bill alone. But what is the position now? Parliament is summoned to consider the whole question of Reform. The Motion which the Prime Minister made the other day, and which, very properly, gave him the whole time of the House, was framed so as to include "any" Bill dealing with the representation of the people, and we may be quite sure the Prime Minister did not insert that word "any" without good reason for so doing. But we know a good deal more. We know that Her Majesty's Government are ready with a redistribution scheme, and that they could produce it to-morrow if they chose; and we know, further, that in certain circumstances they will produce it. Well, I say that is a tremendous transformation, and a transformation which could not possibly have taken place had we followed the advice of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham. Sir, it is so large a transformation that a peaceable settlement of this matter, which in August last seemed perfectly hopeless, seems now, I really think I may say, without great danger, almost assured. But this I am certain of—If there is one thing which could destroy and shatter the hope of a peaceable settlement it would be the speech of my hon. and learned Friend, if it was supposed to represent the views of any large portion of the Tory Party. Because, Sir, the Government would think, and the Prime Minister would think, and very rightly, that they had nothing before them but a cowardly, vacillating, and disorganized Party; and the right hon. Gentleman would pursue, and very properly, whatever policy might be most in accordance with his own original ideas of what would suit his Party. My hon. and learned Friend last night elevated himself to a pinnacle of great superiority over the rest of the Tory Party. He said that he had always been in favour of assimilating the county and borough suffrage, and that opinion of his had lasted for 10 years. I was very much struck when I read that statement in the newspapers. I have known my hon. and learned Friend very intimately for some time, and it came upon me with all the force of absolute novelty. I find my hon. and learned Friend returned to Parliament in 1875 as Member for Chatham, and in 1875 the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) brought forward a Motion for the assimilation of the county and borough franchises. For it 161 voted, and against 268, and among the "Noes" was my hon. and learned Friend. In 1876, again, the subject came before the House, and was defeated by a majority of 99. My hon. and learned Friend on that occasion paired against the Motion of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. In 1877 the subject again came up, and my hon. and learned Friend did not vote. In 1878, also, the subject came up, and my hon. and learned Friend did not vote. The Motion was brought on in 1879 again, and my hon. and learned Friend did not vote. That is a very curious way of giving support to a question, to vote against it twice and to refrain from voting for it three times. The support which my hon. and learned Friend gave that question is singularly analogous to the support which he gives to the Tory Party. I, like my hon. and learned Friend, was greatly in favour of an arrangement on this matter last August, and so were many other Members on this side of the House. But when that arrangement was found, from one cause or another, to be impossible, when the battle appeared to be definitely begun, when the Tory Party was undoubtedly placed in a position of great difficulty, if not of absolute danger, and when other and much larger issues, involving almost the entire Constitution of the country, were dragged into the contest, then I did not follow the example of my hon. and learned Friend. My hon. and learned Friend boasts that he stood aloof from the agitation in the Autumn; but I venture to think that he would have done a great deal better if he had used his great abilities and powers in clearing up the position of his Party, and in clearing them from all the misconstruction, misconception, and misrepresentation to which they have been exposed. Certainly, I think he would have done better to have taken that course than to do what he did—namely, to prance off to the West Highlands of Scotland, and stir up among the crofters of Skye a great amount of bitterness and discontent with their position, which appears now to be degenerating into very serious riots. I have yet to learn that either the traditions of Party warfare or Party etiquette teaches one to desert one's Party and stand aloof from and refrain from giving assistance to it at a moment of crisis and of danger, simply because of the very inadequate and miserable reason that in one's own poor and very fallible judgment one does not altogether approve of the course which may have led them into that difficulty. [*Laughter.*] I am perfectly sure that hon. Gentlemen opposite, who laugh at that opinion, when they have disagreed with their Government, and their Government have got into difficulty, have not deserted them. My hon. and learned Friend has severed himself from the Tory Party because he considers it to be in a position of great danger; and to whom does he appeal? Of all people in the world, he appeals to the county Members, the country gentlemen, and the squirarchy of England to abandon their Leaders, the Leaders of the Tory Party, and to follow him in the advice which he has given. He says practically to them that if they take the course which the Leaders of his Party recommend them to take, and which they believe it to be their duty to take, the new voters will vote against them. My hon. and learned Friend, by that kind of appeal, seems to question their sincerity by appealing to their fears and by taunting them with the possibility of future defeat. That kind of appeal and those motives have never been of the slightest avail with the county Members. Whatever their faults may be—and I do not know that they have more than any other section—at any rate, this will be acknowledged—that they have always voted strictly in accordance with what they believe to be their duty without the slightest consideration as to what difficulties may follow personal to themselves. [*Laughter.*] I do not see anything to laugh at; I see nothing ridiculous; on the contrary, I think that if that independent line of conduct were a little more adopted on the other side of the House our deliberations would be more dignified, and, perhaps, more useful. At any rate, there sits the Prime Minister, who has been 52 years a Member of this House, and who at one time was among these county Members, and who has since that time baffled them and defeated them over and over again. The right hon. Gentleman can tell my hon. and learned Friend that his considerations were the very last considerations which would be likely to influence the county Members. Why, if the county Members of the Tory Party had considered these things in the manner in which my hon. and learned Friend thinks they ought to have done—namely, the immediate Parliamentary consequence of their action—they would have stuck to Sir Robert Peel in 1846, and probably have been in power from that day to this. But because they did not allow themselves to be influenced by such considerations, and insisted on doing what they believed to be their duty, regardless of what might happen to themselves, they abandoned Sir Robert Peel and kept their Party out of power for more than a quarter of a century. I do not myself believe that the action of the county Members in this matter will be misunderstood by their rural constituencies. I see sitting there the hon. and gallant Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), who made a speech in the Autumn which I happened to come across. In that speech the hon. and gallant Baronet welcomed with the greatest warmth and cordiality the admission of the agricultural labourers to the electoral roll. I do not believe that a single Member on that side of the House or on this side of the House, and I do not believe that even my hon. and learned Friend, would say or insinuate that there was a spark of insincerity in the speech of the hon. and gallant Baronet. And yet my hon. and learned Friend, talking of the county Members, and alluding only to them, said that "they flattered with their mouths and dissembled in their double hearts."

MR. GORST: I am very sorry to interrupt the noble Lord; but he was not here when I spoke, and did not hear what I said; and he has, unwittingly no doubt, misrepresented me. I can assure him and the House that I never addressed myself specially to the county Members, and never said of any hon. Members in this House that they flattered with their mouths and dissembled in their double hearts.

LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I know perfectly well that I have sustained an immense and irreparable loss in not hearing the speech of my hon. and learned Friend, and I am only able to judge of it from the reports in the newspapers, and which, so far as I can judge, appear to be of a full and accurate character. I wish now to examine, if the House will permit me for a few moments, what is our present position with regard to this question, and to try and find out exactly where we stand. I rather regret the speech just delivered by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board; because, although it was a very clever and interesting speech, and reviewed all the speeches which have been delivered with almost unnecessary minuteness, I was sorry the right hon. Gentleman did not set himself to work to gather up, as it were, all the different grounds of agreement which he might have found amongst all the various sections of the House, rather than set himself to find out all the different divergencies. I regret that he alluded to the speeches made in the Autumn, and particularly that he alluded to the reception given to the speech which was made in Lancashire by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War. I thought that that was a very unhappy allusion on the part of the right hon. Gentleman; because, whatever may have been the reception given to the speech of the noble Lord by the Members of the Tory Party, without any doubt whatever, the rudest and most ungracious reception that was given to that speech came from the President of the Board of Trade. The right hon. Gentleman would have done well, I think, if he could have kept the debate clear from all reminiscences of that character, and if he could have recognized and felt the intense anxiety of the Prime Minister to leave alone, if possible, these agitating and disquieting circumstances. As far as I can look at the present position—I do not know whether I am saying anything ridiculous or absurd—we appear to be on the high road to a settlement. I read the speech delivered by the Prime Minister last night, and deeply regret that I had not the privilege of hearing it; but I may be allowed to say this—with all respect to him—that it seems to be in every sense of the word a magnanimous speech; and I could not help drawing the strongest and most striking contrast between that speech and the speech which the First Lord of the Treasury delivered on the third reading of the Reform Bill last July. In the speech of the Prime Minister last night there was not a word that should not be full of hope to all those who are desirous of conducting this controversy to a satisfactory issue; and there was only one sentence that was calculated to cloud that prospect and raise anxiety. I wish to say a word about the Division that we shall come to at some time to-night. I think the Prime Minister rather misconceived the nature of the issue which the Amendment raises. The Prime Minister said that the Government could not assent to the demand for the union of the two Bills. Now, Sir, we have not put forward such an exorbitant demand as that. Curiously enough, when I originally drew up my Amendment it did contain the word "include" with reference to measures for the rearrangement of electoral areas; and when I submitted it to the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, he suggested that the word "include" was far too strong, and that it should be altered to the words "accompanied by." The union of the two measures is not the question before the House. I am not asking for anything so preposterous. I am asking for "accompaniment" only, and even that does not mean that the two Bills need be before this House simultaneously, or before the other House simultaneously. It only means that they should be before the whole Parliament; and the words "accompanied by" do not in the least exclude the possibility or desirability of following this Bill by the other. The only one sentence in the Prime Minister's speech which I thought was, I will not say of an alarming, but of a rather anxious character, was the following:—

"I believe I am not overstating the case—in fact, if possible, I am understating it—

when I say that while the Tories admit the extension of the franchise to be a good, they regard it only as a conditional good; and if the condition of attendant redistribution does not accompany the franchise, then the franchise is in their view not a good, but an evil. That is to me unintelligible. I do not think the country has been able at all to enter into that proposition so as to see that it has a serious meaning. I quite grant that within the limits of the Party it has been largely accepted and echoed. But I never can depart from the proposition that in our view the franchise is the main matter, and that though the extension of the franchise is a much greater good accompanied with redistribution, yet that it is a good in itself, whether redistribution accompany it or not."

That, I am bound to say, is a sentence which I should have liked not to have read in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, because, undoubtedly, it is a view which on this side of the House cannot be taken. It is a view which on the other side of the House has not been taken by many men of great position and influence. It is a view which was repudiated by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, when he said that an election with an extended franchise without redistribution would result in an unfair and improper representation of the people. I will give one example, and for the purpose I will rise above the ordinary level of human disinterestedness. I will take the case of my own borough, to which I am attached for many reasons; first of all, for having honoured me with a seat in this House; and, secondly, because it was my home. I take the case of Woodstock, with 1,000 electors; and I ask you whether an amendment of the representation of the people would be satisfactory, would be a great good in itself, that allowed Woodstock, with 1,000 electors, to return a Member to Parliament, and which only gave to the division of South-West Lancashire, with 74,000 electors, two Members? Of course, it is perfectly easy to give one example after another of that kind. I ask the Prime Minister whether he could consider that a fair and proper representation of the people? ["No, no!" *from the Ministerial Benches.*] Very well; but it is the fair and proper representation of the people you are aiming at; and how can it be a great good in itself to pass a Bill under which, if you take an election, you will have an unfair and improper distribution of seats? The Prime Minister has spoken two or three times in the House and out of it; but he has not explained his views on this point in detail. The only part of the speech of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham for which we are under the slightest obligation to him is that in which he expressed the hope that the introduction of the Redistribution Bill would follow the passing of the Franchise Bill in this House; and two or three of the newspapers concur in stating that that remark of the hon. and learned Gentleman was followed by an encouraging and friendly cheer from the Prime Minister. What I want to point out is this—that if the redistribution proposals of the Government are satisfactory to hon. Gentlemen on this side of the House, all necessity for means of pressure to be in the hands of the Government, and all necessity for guarantees to be in our hands, absolutely disappear. I am certain of this—that the Government can rely on the honour of the Leader of the Opposition in this House, and on the honour of Lord Salisbury in the other, as far as any agreement may be come to as to the principles of redistribution; and they also can rely on the great confidence which is placed in them by the bulk of their followers, and the control over their followers which that confidence rightly gives them. I think the Government know the wishes of the Tory Party and the general principles they would support with respect to redistribution. [*Cries of* "No!"] Hon. Gentlemen say "No!" of course. I cannot blame them; they constantly and persistently shut themselves off from the light of truth. If hon. Gentlemen who say "No!" had read the speech of the Marquess of Salisbury at Manchester, or the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) at Bristol, they would see that the general principles of redistribution which would be favoured by the Tory Party were, at any rate, thrown out with quite as much detail as any principles thrown out by the Government. For my own part, I believe that redistribution, which is based on the population principle, would be most likely to unite the two Parties, because in redistribution based upon that principle I cannot detect any possibility of unfair play, and I think it is the only redistribution which will give a perfectly fair representation of the people. The Prime Minister yesterday laid down four conditions. He said the Bill must be a large one; and with that I quite agree. The larger and the bolder it is the better will be the chance of passing it. The second proposition of the Prime Minister was that it should be a measure which would give a considerable satisfaction to the principle of population, and to that I have already alluded. The third condition was that, although there might be some difference in the interpretation, it ought not be of needless complexity, and needless complexity ought not to be introduced into any part of our electoral system. If the right hon. Gentleman here alludes to the question of proportional representation, I think there are many on this side of the House who would be prepared to support Her Majesty's Government, not from any dislike of the principle or idea, but from an absolute and ineradicable disbelief in the possibility of putting it into a shape which can be adopted in a Bill. This is a matter which the Government may leave open with the utmost confidence. I am perfectly certain that when the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) proposes his scheme of proportional representation, in the first place, the whole Party of 100 Members who favour the principle will fly to pieces through their disagreement upon the details of the speech; and, secondly, what remains of the Party will be scattered like chaff before the wind by a speech from the Prime Minister. I wish that that scheme of the hon. Baronet may come before the House. I have not the slightest doubt what the result will be. I hope the Government will allow no fear about that question to debar them from taking any practical course they think proper. Further, the Prime Minister said that he attached immense importance to the condition that the scheme must be equitable and liberal as between the great divisions of the country. I suppose the word "liberal" is contained in the word "equitable," and, without disrespect, I may almost say that it is redundant. That condition will be at once received with the greatest satisfaction. The fourth condition was that the measure ought to be just as between the different classes of the community, and the different pursuits to which those classes belong. In that I recognize a principle that finds considerable favour, both on the other side and on this. Whatever representation you give to manufacturing interests, and whatever you give to agricultural interests in accordance to their number, the constituencies in which they are represented should, as far as possible, be kept quite distinct and separate, on the grounds that the difference between them has been from time to time immemorably recognized by Parliament, and also on the grounds that the interests of the manufacturing and those of the agricultural classes are essentially diverse. [*Cries of* "No, no!"] How can hon. Members say "No!" when, in their own experience, time after time, divisions upon legislative projects have drawn the line sharply between the urban and the agricultural Representatives? Well, that is the position as far as I can make it out. If the Government, after the Franchise Bill has passed from the House of Commons, will place their Redistribution Bill before us, then I am certain there is no reason to disbelieve that before many months every one of these difficulties will be settled. The President of the Local Government Board promised us further information if we wanted it, and he has done so two or three times. But I would suggest that it is almost impossible to go beyond what the Prime Minister has said, except by laying the Bill on the Table. There was one feature of the debate of last night that I noticed, and it was that speaker after speaker got up and recognized the fact that whatever might be the former views of the Tory Party, they are now sincere in desiring an extension of the franchise. I would add, I do not believe that there is the smallest desire to trip up the Government with respect to redistribution. There is not the slightest *arrière pensé* in the demands pressed upon the Government. We do not think that a Bill for the redistribution of seats need be a measure which should raise a question of confidence or no confidence in the Government. We have got already to the discussion of general principles. Surely, having got so far as that, a consideration of dry details must naturally follow. In that discussion, when once the main principles are agreed on, from what has been said by the Prime Minister, I do not see any possibility of violent disagreement. I am perfectly certain in that discussion the great principle of give and take will characterize both Parties. I do not think the Division of to-night will do any harm to the possibility of an agreement. The Amendment which is before the House, which, I suppose, will be supported by hon. Gentlemen on this side, reiterates in the clearest and most distinct manner we can the position we have taken up; it confirms and strengthens our position in the country. I think it makes clear to hon. Gentlemen opposite our position before them. I honestly believe myself, in common with Liberal Members opposite, in common with many Members on this side of the House, that this question ought to be settled. I believe firmly that this question must be settled. I also have a profound conviction that this question can only be settled by a more or less close adherence to the manner and the methods we propose. The settlement of the question in that manner and by those methods will, at any rate, possess this inestimable quality which the Prime Minister seemed to desire last night—that it will be a settlement of a great national controversy, not by the voice of a faction, not by the will of a Party, but by the united and harmonious co-operation of the entire Parliament of the United Kingdom. Such a settlement, so effected, will contain within it elements of stability, of tranquillity, of finality and of safety, which no other settlement can by any ingenuity secure. It will, moreover, reflect the highest and the most enduring credit on those parties, who, after all, must be chiefly responsible in this matter not only to the country, but to posterity—I mean the Ministers of the Crown. I freely give them all, and more than all, the credit which they can gather from a settlement so arrived at. It is in the full and absolute confidence that the Division of to-night will not prevent such a great consummation that I dissent altogether from the pusillanimous considerations put forward by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham, and I give my voice and vote in favour of the Amendment which the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire has so ably put before the House.

MR. CHARLES RUSSELL said, the greater part of the speech of the noble Lord had been devoted to a censure of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst); but he thought the House would agree that the present quarrel would probably issue as all lovers' quarrels did, and when the present question was settled, they would be as firm and close friends as ever. He wished, however, to assure the noble Lord that the excuses made for his absence last evening by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) were not received in the jeering spirit which he imagined. He thought he could explain to some extent why it was that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham made his remarkable speech. It was because he thought he was, in truth, following the lead and teaching of the noble Lord. No doubt the noble Lord had drafted an Amendment originally intended to express the view of the Opposition that the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill should be conjoined, but subsequently altered the language of his Amendment. But the view his hon. and learned Friend apparently took was that the Amendment of the noble Lord must have been written under a temporary aberration and in forgetfulness of the statements which the noble Lord had again and again made in the House, and which amply justified the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. Early in the present year, on the Amendment of the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey) fixing a date for the commencement of the Franchise Bill, the noble Lord said that while the Opposition had no power to compel the Government to bring in one Bill dealing with the whole subject, yet, considering what had fallen from Gentlemen on both sides of the House, he thought they had power to persuade the Government to undertake that redistribution should be dealt with next year. That was the noble Lord's language then; but that was the very thing which the Government did undertake, and was the pledge given by the Government, upon which the hon. and learned Member for Chatham rightly laid such stress. But the noble Lord went on to say, still referring to the hon. Member for South Northumberland's Amendment, that the object of Conservatives who were in favour of Reform would be attained by the insertion of the date January, 1886, as the commencement of the Bill. If that were put into a Reform

Bill, the noble Lord saw no reason why the Bill should not pass into law, taking into account the declaration of the Government that they intended to introduce promptly and to pass a Redistribution Bill. His hon. and learned Friend, then, was true to the teaching of the noble Lord, and more consistent than the noble Lord had been that evening. But, in the meantime, the noble Lord found that he was being considerably blamed for the line he was taking, which was in opposition to the Party to which he belonged. On that very occasion he was taken to task by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour), just as the noble Lord had taken to task the hon. and learned Member for Chatham. While, therefore, the encounter between the noble Lord and the hon. and learned Member for Chatham was amusing, consistency was altogether on the side of the hon. and learned Member; and the House would agree with him that, however amusing these personal passages might be, the House would have been better pleased if the noble Lord had addressed himself to answering the speech of the hon. and learned Member. He (Mr. C. Russell) had listened carefully to the speech of his hon. and learned Friend; and, in his opinion, it was one of the most convincing which had ever been delivered in that House. The noble Lord's answer to it was singularly incomplete, and no attempt had been made to tackle the hon. and learned Member's speech. It must have struck everybody that there was a sense of hollowness and sham about the whole of that debate. It was not a real fight. The main question at issue had already been determined in that House, and there was no expectation that the vote of last Spring would be altered by the vote of the House that night. It was, therefore, obvious that the only purpose to be served by prolonging the discussion was to give some show of reason and some sense of support to the proceedings of the House of Lords. What was the question before the House? It was the second reading of a Bill which it now appeared the House unanimously accepted. It was almost resented if it was suggested that there was a lingering doubt in the bosoms of hon. Members opposite. Those lingering doubts appeared to be confined to the right hon. Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes), the Lord Mayor (Mr. R. N. Fowler), and last, but not least, the intrepid Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther), who had the great credit of candidly avowing his dislike to the Bill. If that was so, why was not the Bill carried? There were some features in it which he and many other Liberals did not like. He did not like plurality of votes, or the preservation of existing fagot votes, or the votes of freemen. But they were content to let these matters pass, because they recognized that the Government had honestly tried to bring in a Bill which would be as little as possible open to objection from the Conservative Party. Why, then, was it not carried? Because it was not accompanied by redistribution. But the Government had said they would not deal with the question in one Bill, nor in two Bills introduced simultaneously; and the House of Commons, the representative House, had indorsed that judgment, and, as he believed, the country had indorsed it. That was clearly shown by the public meetings held throughout the country in the Autumn. But the Party opposite said there were no such means known to the Constitution of arriving at public opinion. It might be convenient to say that now, but hon. Gentlemen opposite had tried that means. The Leader of the Opposition, who, he might venture to say, was neither by nature nor taste fitted for mob oratory, had assumed that *rôle*, and addressed large masses of the people, and the noble Marquess the Leader of the Opposition had adopted a like course. But they had found the country against them; and now they turned round and said it was a means of appealing to the country that was not known to the Constitution. It was said, however—"We must have the redistribution scheme before us." Why, what was the situation? The Government were pledged to bring in a Redistribution Bill as soon as possible, and the House had recognized the sincerity of their pledge. Further, the lines laid down by the Prime Minister in his speech on the previous day as to the leading principles of a Redistribution Bill had been recognized as just. But then hon. Gentlemen opposite said they had no guarantee that the Redistribution Bill would be dealt with by this Parliament. He did not say that was not desirable; but those who considered an extension of the franchise as a good thing in itself did not recognize the force of that argument. What was the position with respect to the question. There were still two full years unexpired of the present Parliament. Was not that ample for dealing with both branches of the subject? If such were not ample, how, then, did it lie in the mouths of the Conservative Party to complain that the Government did not embrace both parts of Reform in the same Bill and in the same Session of Parliament? It was said that there was not a perfect identity of interest between the two Parties in the State; but he would ask whether there was nothing in the present state of things that was injurious to the Liberal Party? What was the next point? It was said by hon. Gentlemen opposite—"We have no guarantee that the Bill, if you bring it in, shall be a fair Redistribution Bill." His hon. and learned Friend pointed out last night that they had ample guarantee. They had the public faith of Ministers pledged to it, and behind that they had public opinion, which would stigmatize the conduct of Ministers who attempted to turn such a great public question into a mere contrivance for a Party advantage. As hon. Members opposite maintained that they had no guarantees for a fair Redistribution Bill, he would ask them what they meant by a fair Redistribution Bill? He supposed it would be conceded that any Redistribution Bill must bring with it, by the admission of 2,000,000 of hitherto unenfranchised voters, a large accession of power to what might relatively be described as the democratic element. That element was not, in the main, one from which hon. Gentlemen opposite would expect to get a large amount of support. When hon. Members opposite spoke of a fair redistribution scheme, dealing with that democratic element, did they mean that they wanted the increased number of voters to be so manipulated that their full force and effect was not to be felt? Was it not painfully obvious, however much they might attempt to conceal the fact, that hon. Gentlemen opposite regarded this question of the franchise as a poisonous thing, not to be permitted to come into contact with the body politic, and as a kind of bane which would be fatal to the State unless it were accompanied by the antidote of redistribution. That was not the view of the Liberal Party. They regarded the admission of so many persons to the rights of citizenship as a good in itself, and as strengthening the foundations on which the great institutions of the country rested. He should now like to say a word about the other House of Parliament, for whose benefit, as he conceived, these debates were conducted and to-night's Division was to be gone through. He desired to say a word with all seriousness and with all respect. Hon. Members opposite professed to venerate the House of Lords, and to regard it as being of the highest use to the State in its legislative capacity. But were they strengthening its position, and raising it in the estimation of the people, by the course they were now pursuing? When the House of Lords came athwart the serious purposes of the people in a matter affecting their representation, they set the masses a-thinking. One was reminded that the House of Lords, with its present functions, was an anomaly unknown in the whole civilized world to-day, and unknown, as far as he was aware, in any previous part of the history of the world—namely, a House with legislative functions and hereditary institutions. Those who considered the history of that Body would do well to bring the present dispute to a speedy ending. It had been urged that the House of Lords were within the letter of their Constitutional rights when they practically rejected this Bill. But the letter of their rights and the spirit of those rights were different things; and it was a serious matter, according to the spirit of their rights, for the House of Lords to reject a measure which had been announced in the Queen's Speech at the instance of Her Majesty's responsible Advisers, and which had been passed by a large majority by that branch of the Legislature which alone was affected by it. It was manifestly felt that the House of Lords were using their great power and influence to serve what they—he was willing to admit—considered to be the interests of the country, but to serve also Party purposes. They were endeavouring to put a political Party out of power, and to force a Dissolution on the Government. As a Constitutional lawyer, he maintained that in so doing they were not acting either in the letter or according to the spirit of their rights. Let the friends of the House of Lords take warning in time. Did not hon. Gentlemen opposite know that there were many Members on the Ministerial side, and hundreds of people outside the House, who would rejoice if this question should not be brought to a settlement, because they thought the prolongation of the struggle would lead to a far more radical change in the position and constitution of the House of Lords than anything that was now suggested. He was sure hon. Members from Ireland (his Colleagues) would bear with him while he addressed a word or two to them with reference to the position of this Bill from the Irish point of view. He did not at all affect the right to advise; but he would ask to be allowed to state the grounds upon which it seemed to him there ought not to be any hesitation as to the vote which any Member from Ireland representing popular interests ought to give. When the Bill was brought forward, he recollected that the first great cry made against it was that it included Ireland. It was pointed out that in the state of Ireland it was a monstrous act of statesmanship to attempt to concede equal rights to seditious and barbarous Irishmen. When, however, it became apparent that no Minister could bring in a Bill dealing in an exceptional way with one part of the so-called United Kingdom, it was said, rather than include Ireland, "Let no Bill be brought in at all." He knew that his hon. Colleagues from Ireland were sore with the present Government, and he was not prepared to say that they had not reason to be dissatisfied with them in some respects. He should support his Colleagues in some of the questions which would come up for discussion, such as, for instance, that latest act, the reappointment or continuance of George Bolton in a position in connection with the administration of law in Ireland. He would be sorry and ashamed if Irish Members did not receive such support from the Liberal Benches, both above and below the Gangway, as would make it impossible for the Government to continue that man in his present position. On such an occasion he should act with his hon. Colleagues, and he should be surprised and disappointed if many of those around him did not take the same view of the matter. But *est modus in rebus;* and he would ask his hon. Colleagues what they meant to do in regard to the measure now under consideration? The Government, whatever else might be said of them and of the Liberal Party, had been loyal on this question to the Irish people. They had resisted the attacks made upon them on this point. The arguments used by Conservatives had been various. Hon. Friends of his on the Benches opposite—and he was glad to say he had many there—had pointed out to him the utter impolicy of extending this enlarged measure of enfranchisement to the Irish people, and had remarked, "It means extinction for you and men of your moderate views," as they had been pleased to describe them. His answer was—and it ought to be the answer of all who considered the question—that if the maintenance of a few men of so-called moderate and liberal views was only to be secured at the expense of maintaining a narrow enfranchisement, the sooner they disappeared the better. How had this question been dealt with lately? In the earlier discussions the main point of attack on the Government was in reference to the treatment of Ireland. They had had from the right hon. Member for Westminster (Mr. W. H. Smith) the mud cabin argument. The noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) said the Bill was a hovel enfranchisement Bill as far as Ireland was concerned. The right hon. and learned Member for Dublin University Mr. Gibson) said the Bill forged a weapon for the disloyal, while his right hon. and learned Colleague (Mr. Plunket) was amazed at the folly and blindness of the Government which made such a proposition. Finally, they had from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for the University of Cambridge (Mr. Raikes) a statement that it was neither more nor less than an enfranchisement of barbarism. He must not forget the speech delivered at Dunstable by the hon. Member for West Surrey (Mr. Brodrick), who said that the Irish people whom it was intended to enfranchise knew no more about voting than a donkey knew about family prayer. But in the face of all this, the Government, to their credit, stood by their guns; and it would be recollected that in the last Division, when the question of Ireland was raised in this connection, 137 Gentlemen exclusively from the Opposition side of the House voted against the inclusion of Ireland. He asked his hon. Colleagues whether they were going into the Lobby with the Party who used those arguments and treated the question in that way, to the defamation and vilification of their country? He could understand the Irish Members going into the Lobby with the Opposition on this question, if by their vote they could turn out the Government; that would be intelligible, although it might not be wise. But they knew that no such purpose could be effected by it. The only effect of any diminution of the vote would be to play into the hands of the House of Lords. In Ireland especially this question of the franchise was one which ought to be speedily brought to an issue; for whereas in Great Britain one in 10 of the population had a vote, in Ireland the restrictive franchise and the difficulties of acquiring a vote were such that only one in 25 of the population had a vote. Surely this was a matter that ought to be redressed, and redressed speedily. Were the Irish Members anxious to help the Lords in this matter? Did they owe the Lords anything? However pernicious the proceedings of the House of Lords might have been in regard to England and Scotland, they had been still more pernicious in the case of Ireland. Above all institutions the House of Lords had taught the Irish people the lesson that, not to mere persuasion and argument, but to agitation, often agitation accompanied by violence, they would yield the claims of justice. This lesson was taught in the case of Catholic Emancipation, of the Tithes, of the Tests Acts, of Disestablishment, and more fatally in the case of the Land Act of 1870 and the Land Act of 1881. But it was not merely that the House of Lords delayed and hindered the legislative schemes sent up to them for the benefit of Ireland. The knowledge that all measures had to run the gauntlet of the House of Lords prevented the Government putting forward measures as complete as they desired. ["Oh!" *and* "Hear, hear!"] The Prime Minister himself had stated that Ministers had to consider, not what might be passed through this House, but what would be agreed to in the other House. He sincerely hoped that in the Division that night no Irish Member representing what he had ventured to call popular rights and opinions in Ireland would by his vote give the least colour of support to the conduct of the House of Lords on previous occasions in reference to Ireland, or to the conduct of the House of Lords in regard to this question.

MR. FINCH-HATTON said, he recognized the duty of hon. Members, as far as possible, to narrow the issue down to the real point upon which the controversy turned. There was much in the speech of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) with which he could cordially agree; and he should be able entirely to agree with him but for one omission he made—the fact that, although the issue was reduced to a narrow one, yet one point was still undetermined, and that a not unimportant one. He brushed away as unworthy of further consideration the charge brought against the Conservative Party, that they were opposed to the passage of the Franchise Bill. He had never opposed the passage of the Bill, nor, he believed, had any considerable section of his Party. They only wished to see the question fairly and equitably settled. Neither was he in the least afraid of any efforts that could possibly be made by the Party in power to manipulate the constituencies in any new Redistribution Bill. He was willing to believe that they would not if they could, and he did not think they could if they would. Such an attempt must fail. They might as well try to lead an elephant with a thread. Constituencies would refuse to be bound by any Party in the State, and their votes at the proper time would show where was their confidence. One point, however, was left at issue to which he must call attention—a danger to which the Constitution was exposed. But before alluding to that, he wished briefly to notice the speech of the Prime Minister last night. In many ways it was a conciliatory speech, and the applause from the Conservatives that greeted parts of that speech showed the spirit in which the Party were prepared to receive it. The Prime Minister even went so far as to say something on the question of redistribution generally. A Redistribution Bill, he said, should be a large Bill. It should deal with large numbers; it should not be too complex; and it should represent large interests in the country. But these were propositions it was scarcely worth while for the Prime Minister to present to the House, for scarcely a person in the country would take exception to them. But the danger to which he was about to allude was not at all touched by the speech of the Prime Minister; and it was simply this—that we had, at the present moment, no guarantee or security whatever that we might not be brought face to face with a General Election with the old constituencies and a new electorate. The effect thus produced could be shown by an examination of the constituency he had the honour to represent. It now numbered something over 10,000 electors. Under the new Bill it would contain something like 50,000. Therefore, by a very simple arithmetical process, it would be seen that the present constituency there would be entirely swamped should a General Election take place without a redistribution of seats. The present electors of the country had deserved well of the nation, and they had justified the expectations which were formed of them. But they had one more duty to perform before they relinquished the power entrusted to them; and that was, through their Representatives, to take care that power was not handed over to any but a reorganized constituency. They had to take care that the power was not handed over to a chaotic mass of voters, who, it was admitted on all sides, could only form a temporary constituency, which could not possibly represent the opinion of the country. But though such a constituency would itself be a temporary one, the evils resulting from its creation would be permanent, inasmuch as to it would be entrusted the duty of sending Representatives to the House, into whose sole charge would be confided the reconstruction of the whole representative system of the country. With the permission of the House he would give an illustration of the danger which would attend such a course. Supposing a new harbour or dock were to be constructed, what would be said of the engineer if he were to suggest that the water should be let in first and the works constructed afterwards? That, however, was precisely the course which, under the hypothesis he was considering, the House would be compelled to adopt. The claim of the 2,000,000 persons to be admitted within the pale of the Constitution was granted by both sides of the House, and it therefore became necessary that the boundaries of our representative system should be enlarged in order that the new votes might be safely accommodated; but the question was—should they first let in the waters and flood the works, so that it might be impossible afterwards to construct a good representative system, or should they, as wise men, first keep the water out, and then on lines of strength and beauty construct the receptacles for the new electorate? They were told there was no serious wish on either side of the House to obstruct the passage of the two Bills; and it was generally admitted that a Dissolution, under the conditions he had shown to be possible, would be a national misfortune. He was reminded, when he compared the attitude which the House of Lords and the Prime Minister had respectively taken up on this question, of a verse which was written 100 years ago describing the conduct of two English Commanders who were waiting for each other—

> "Earl Chatham, his sword drawn,
> Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan;
> Sir Richard, longing to be at 'em,
> Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham."

The responsibility of providing a remedy for the present state of affairs rested with the Government. In his opinion, the remedy was a very simple one. It was said there was no fear but that the Redistribution Bill would be passed before there was another General Election. There might be very little fear; but what the Opposition asked on behalf of the Constitution of the country was that it should be made legally impossible that such a thing could happen. If the right hon. Gentleman, therefore, would agree to insert in this Bill a clause which should prevent its coming into operation until a Redistribution Bill had been passed, it appeared to him (Mr. Finch-Hatton) that that would be the easiest and simplest solution of the difficulty. In the first place, it would afford an efficient and effective protection against the Constitutional danger to which he had referred—a protection which ought to be asked for and sought for by hon. Members on both sides of the House, inasmuch as both sides of the House admitted that that state of things would involve a very grave crisis. In the second place, it would afford an honourable compromise to both the contending Parties. On the one hand, the House of Lords would be enabled to recede from the letter of the demand which they had put forward, that both Bills should be placed before them at one and the same time; and the Prime Minister, with the full honours of war, would not then be obliged, as he had said he could not do, to bring in those measures either as one Bill, or even simultaneously. He would be enabled to pass the Franchise Bill with the greatest ease, and afterwards, when the united wisdom of the Cabinet had matured the redistribution scheme, he could lay it on the Table of the House. The right hon. Gentleman had spoken of the necessity which existed for some kind of lever in order to induce the House of Commons to deal with the question of redistribution. He submitted to the Prime Minister and to the Government that, after the insertion of such a clause, he would find the greatest lever which could be placed in his hands in the united force of public opinion. The Franchise Bill under that supposition would be safe; but it would be awaiting its coming into operation until the Redistribution Bill had become law. Therefore, it might fairly be contended that if any hon. Member on either side of the House were to offer any unnecessary opposition to the passage of the Redistribution Bill he would lay himself open to the censure of the country for delaying the passing of the Franchise Bill as well. The House was frequently told that under any circumstances Her Majesty's Government would introduce a Redistribution Bill during the Session of 1885; and he would remind the House that, as it at present stood, the Franchise Bill did not come into operation till January 1, 1886. If, therefore, that were so, and the clause he suggested were inserted, there could arise no possible delay, for the two Bills would become law at one and the same time. He contended, also, that a guarantee of this kind would have the effect of making the progress of the Redistribution Bill itself considerably more easy and more rapid. He asked the Government whether they did not think it wise at the present moment to attempt in some manner to secure the cordial co-operation of Members on the Opposition side of the House? Could they look forward to the next Session of Parliament and not see that there might be times when they would be very glad of that co-operation? If it should be necessary, as, unfortunately, it probably might be, to ask Parliament again to renew the exceptional powers for dealing with Ireland, surely at that moment the Government would be glad to receive the support of the Conservative Party. If this reasonable concession, not to Conservative prejudice, but to Constitutional security, was given by the right hon. Gentleman, he, for one, would promise his hearty co-operation in carrying the Redistribution Bill through Parliament. He was satisfied that if some such guarantee as that were given, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) would see his way to withdraw his Amendment. Failing such a guarantee, he should feel it his duty, by supporting the Amendment of his hon. Friend, to take care that when the power which had been given to the present electors was taken away from them it was only handed over to a broadened, a widened, and a properly readjusted constituency, and one qualified to take up and discharge with fidelity to the State the enormous trust which would be reposed in it.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER said, he was afraid that no kind of argument would persuade the extreme section of the Radical Party to take what many Members on the Opposition side considered to be a rational and patriotic view of the question; and, therefore, all arguments must be addressed to the more moderate Members of the Party opposite, and what remained of the old Liberal Party. The Conservative Party had already proved *ad nauseam* that the position they had taken up was publicly approved by all the greatest men, both of the present and the past, although it was true of some of the former that—

> "A merciful Providence has fashioned them hollow,
> In order that they may their principles swallow."

He could not help hoping that the lessons of the Recess might have shown moderate Liberals the great dangers of the present agitation. What had we seen? We had seen Members of Parliament, ex-Cabinet Ministers, and present Cabinet Ministers joining together with paid agitators, and doing their utmost to excite the worst passions of the people by using language which, in an Irish Member, would have been called seditious. Many an Irishman had lingered in gaol for making use of language not worse than that used by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) and the President of the Board of Trade; and if that kind of thing was to continue, the Home Secretary would have to consider the advisability of establishing some gaol equivalent to Kilmainham, where hon. and right hon. Gentlemen might learn to bridle their tongues and mend their manners. It was a singular fact that even the paid and practised agitator had been unable to persuade the agricultural labourer to excite himself about his own enfranchisement. It was true that a procession of agricultural labourers, or supposed agricultural labourers, appeared in the streets of London; but it had come to their knowledge, beyond doubt, that each of those forming the procession received a return ticket in order to view the Metropolis gratis. He maintained that there had not been a large gathering of the purely agricultural population to protest against the action that had been taken by the Conservative Party. The principal meetings that had taken place of the agricultural population had, on the contrary, supported the Conservative Party and the House of Lords in the course they had taken. To do the Prime Minister justice, he was, no doubt, anxious to pass a Redistribution Bill immediately after the Franchise Bill had become law, the right hon. Gentleman wishing to crown a long and laborious political career by a full and complete measure of Reform. But, still, he thought the Prime Minister feared that he would meet with far more difficulties from the extreme Members of the Radical Party in passing the Redistribution Bill than he would meet with from the Opposition side of the House. The right hon. Gentleman, therefore, meant to use the passing of an incomplete measure as a lever to force the Opposition to pass the other portion of the scheme. He would state his reasons for imploring the more moderate Members of the Party opposite to think well before they played into the hands of the extreme Radical Party. He was convinced that once the Franchise Bill became law, that extreme Party would never consent to any Redistribution Bill unless its terms were outrageously unfair, but would rather have an appeal to the country upon the large and undistributed electorate. Look at the line they had taken. They had made no secret whatever of hoping for the rejection of the Bill by the House of Lords, notwithstanding the commotion into which they had thrown the country. Their desire had not been the extension of the franchise to the county voters; but it had been the destruction of the House of Lords, the abolition of hereditary legislators, and the ruin of hereditary landowners. Not content with making the most violent and offensive speeches against noble Lords who had done good service to the country, they had circulated tracts among the poor people of the country of a most infamous character against the hereditary owners of land. One of these tracts, which were written with the deliberate intention of creating discontent, was put under the door of many cottages in his neighbourhood; and it was of so infamous a nature that he meant to bring it under the notice of the Home Secretary, and ask him to lay it on the Table of the House in order that Members might read for themselves the poison which these agitators had attempted to sow broadcast through the land. He did not suppose it would be relevant for him to undertake a defence of the House of Lords; but he might be permitted to say, if a good judge of human nature were to come and contemplate the row of hon. Members who usually sat below the Gangway opposite, and listen to their fiery conversations, and especially listen to that refined discourse which was delivered by the hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers), whom the Speaker had to call to Order three times for not behaving himself like a gentleman——["Order, order!"]

MR. SPEAKER: The hon. Member is not entitled to speak in that way, and to say that an hon. Member did not behave himself like a gentleman.

SIR FREDERICK MILNER said, he was going to say if they were to contrast the conduct of the extreme Radical Members in that House, and then were to go to the House of Lords and notice the demeanour of noble Lords who sat there, and heard their statesmanlike speeches, he thought they would decide it would be better for the country that these noble Lords should form the Second Chamber. He could only say—God defend this country from ever being under the unlimited control of hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway? He was not one of those who thought that the agricultural labourer was in any way unfit to receive the power of voting, for he believed he was as much fit to receive that privilege as any of the individuals who possessed it in the towns. He had lived all his life in an agricultural district, and had taken the deepest interest in the welfare of those among whom he lived. He was certain that the agricultural labourer would far rather live unenfranchised, and trust himself to the tender mercies of the Conservatives, than, as an enfranchised man, be ground down under Radical rule. The Prime Minister, at the opening of that great Club, which was to embrace the head, the body, and the tail of the Caucus, made an allusion to the agricultural labourers, in which he said that they had been, practically, for the last half-century, under Tory influence. What had been the result of this? The condition of the agricultural labourer in these 50 years of Tory influence had been one of steady improvement; and now, in a time of unparalleled distress, when the landlord was ruined and the tenant farmer almost ruined, the agricultural labourer's position was as good and rather better than it was a few years ago. But if they looked at the case of the urban classes, the slaves of the wealthy Radical millowners, they saw a very different state of things. Day after day they heard of mills being closed and shipyards shut up, and of thousands upon thousands of their unfortunate fellow-creatures being turned out into the streets to starve. He ventured to think that the condition of the agricultural labourer in 50 years of Tory influence was somewhat better than that of the unfortunates who lived in the towns, and who had been under the influence of Radical millionaires. It might be said, if the agricultural labourers had so much to be thankful for to the Conservatives, why should they oppose the present Bill? They did so because hon. Gentlemen opposite knew as well as he that the proposed enfranchisement of the agricultural labourer without a scheme of redistribution being introduced was a mere mockery and a farce. Unless the franchise was accompanied by a redistribution scheme, which gave a fair representation to each class, the agricultural interest would be completely swamped by the urban interest. As it was, the urban voter was in a better position already than the county voter, for the former could vote in his county as well as his borough, while the latter was confined to his own constituency or division. But, in addition to this, the country would be flooded by a large number of men whose interests were purely urban, but who happened to live outside the town. The proposed measure of enfranchisement, if unaccompanied by a proper scheme of redistribution, would be a monstrous injustice to the agricultural labourer, and to all those who depended upon land for their sustenance. He could hardly hope that the large majority on the Division on the last second reading of the Bill would be brought down to a minority; but he did hope most sincerely that now that the utter unscrupulousness of the Radical policy had been shown forth in the glaring light of day, hon. Members opposite who valued patriotism and the stability of the Constitution might be brought round to help forward the cause of the people, and that the majority might be reduced. He sincerely hoped that the House of Lords might arrange to pass the second reading of the Bill without in any way departing from the position which they had taken up; but he also hoped that on no consideration whatever would they allow such a dangerous precedent to be set as that now proposed of dividing the question of enfranchisement from that of redistribution. He supported the Amendment, not because he was in any way opposed to the enfranchisement of the dwellers in the country, but because, if the precedent was set of dividing the two questions, it would prove most mischievous and dangerous. He maintained that it was perfectly possible, if the Government chose to bring in a Redistribution Bill at once, of a just and fair character, that they could in that case pass it this Session, without the slightest difficulty, for he was sure they would be supported by the whole Conservative Party. As the great principle of the extension of the franchise was practically conceded on both sides, he sincerely hoped that some half-way ground might be found on which both Parties might meet in friendly discussion; that a satisfactory settlement of the great question might speedily be effected; and that no more disorder and riot need be stirred up in the country.

Mr. D. GRANT said, he recognized a great gain in the changed spirit with which this question had been treated by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill). Members of the Opposition had expressed an apprehension that a Redistribution Bill might be introduced which would be unfair to the rural and agricultural communities. They had, however, fallen into the error of supposing that the absolute numbers given in the Census really represented the agricultural population. They took the town population at 15,500,000 and the country population at 10,500,000, without taking the trouble to analyze the figures and see of what they consisted. The numbers employed in agriculture were but 1,278,000, while the numbers employed as professional men in commercial pursuits and in industrial labour were 8,000,000. Again, it was assumed that the rural population were all Conservative. But, he asked, were the crofters of Skye Conservative? Was the Farmers' Alliance Conservative? Were the meetings connected with extraordinary tithe Conservative? Was the Labourers' Union Conservative? He had been at a meeting of farmers held that week where he heard more pronounced Radicalism than he had ever heard before in his life. The Conservative Party seemed to be proceeding on the assumption that localities had something to do with politics. There had been a time when the social influence which a single individual possessed might have produced certain results; but the introduction of railways, the telegraph, and a cheap Press had made that a thing of the past. He contended that the Conservative Party had taken up a mistaken position with respect to this Bill, and that if they pressed their demand to an issue they would meet with ignominious failure.

Mr. WARTON said, he was glad that, with the single exception of the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), there was not the slightest disposition in the Conservative Party to yield in this matter. For himself, he utterly disbelieved the protestations of the Government, and had no faith in the interchange of compliments which had taken place. He regretted that the speech of the Prime Minister gave no indication of a compromise between the two great Parties. If the Government had been serious in their desire to settle this question they might have done it easily by letting other subjects alone last Session; instead of that, however, they blocked the way with London Government Bills, Merchant Shipping Bills, and a hundred other useless measures. Four or five months would have been sufficient to carry a large Bill dealing with franchise and redistribution. The Government, however, did not want that; they wanted to drive the Tory Party into a corner by first passing the Franchise Bill, and then compelling that Party to accept whatever redistribution scheme the Ministers chose to place before the House. It had been said that public opinion would prevent the Government dealing faithlessly with Parliament in the matter; but, as the case of General Gordon proved, public opinion was powerless against a tyrannical Minister and an unscrupulous majority. He believed that the real object of the Government was to keep the Radical Party permanently in power; and, for himself, he had no confidence whatever in Her Majesty's Ministers. The language which had been encouraged in the agitation against the House of Lords was discreditable to political life. As an old-fashioned lawyer, he did not scruple to say that the language used by the President of the Board of Trade amounted to treason. Even the Home Secretary, himself a scion of a noble family, at the laying of the foundation stone of a big Liberal Club a few days ago, compared the House of Lords to the Cities of the Plain. He believed the effect of the agitation had been to discredit the agitators, and that time would have an effect upon public opinion in the direction of vindicating the House of Lords against the attacks which had been made upon it. The present majority of the Government in that House had been obtained by gross misrepresentation.

MR. STORER said, he regretted that so much exaggeration had taken place on the opposite side with regard to this question. Hon. Gentlemen opposite told them that the agricultural labourers took a great deal of interest in it; but his experience was very much to the contrary. He took, perhaps, as much interest in the agricultural labourer as any hon. Gentleman in that House. He knew their feelings and opinions, and he did not hesitate to say that nothing astonished them so much as when they heard that they were to have a vote. They took not the slightest interest in politics, and placed more value on a mug of beer. He recollected that during the last contested election he was one day speaking from a waggon, when a man below cried out—"Give us the vote." He (Mr. Storer) answered—"Very well. But tell me first, what do you want the vote for?" "Oh," said he, "my brother has a vote for Nottingham, and he gets lots of beer for it." That was the labourers' idea of a vote, and that was how they valued it at the present time. He did not say that they might not be educated up to a higher ideal. He was only speaking as to the present position of the population, and, for the matter of that, they appeared to be quite equal to similar classes in town. He did not, in fact, think the experiments of 1867 had answered, and judging from the fact that since that time so many boroughs had been disenfranchised for corruption, and there were others which would have been served in the same way if they had had their deserts. It appeared that the lower classes in the towns placed about the same value upon the vote as did the agricultural labourers. He certainly, however, did not think the county voters would be in any way inferior in intelligence to their town brethren. He, for one, had no objection to their having the vote; but what he did object to, and what they all objected to on that side of the House, was that the rural constituencies should be swamped by urban voters. But how were they being met on this question? The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister gave them an admirable sketch last night of what a Redistribution Bill ought to be; but he wrapped his sketch up, as was his wont, in such a cloud of verbiage that they had the greatest difficulty in discovering what, after all, it was or was not to be. The right hon. Gentleman asked the House to accept his assurances; but he (Mr. Storer) had no satisfaction whatever in accepting the right hon. Gentleman's assurances. His assurances were somewhat defective. He (Mr. Storer) had had some experience of the right hon. Gentleman's assurances. He remembered that when the right hon. Gentleman brought forward his Bill for the repeal of the Malt Tax he foreshadowed the measure in a brilliant speech which almost brought tears to his (Mr. Storer's) eyes. An hon. Member sitting by his side said—"Wait till you see the Bill." That hon. Member was right in his scepticism, for when the Bill was brought in it turned out to be quite a different measure from that foreshadowed. Its object proved to be to increase the Revenue rather than to benefit the farmer, to whom it had proved a curse rather than a blessing. Moreover, he doubted, however good the intentions of the right hon. Gentleman might be, whether he had the power to control the manipulation of the Bill, which would in reality be in the hands of the Caucus, and would afford that unscrupulous body the lever which they desired. He warned hon. Members opposite against the danger of stirring up the passions of the people. He was old enough to remember the riots at Bristol and Nottingham—the shootings at the former and the hangings at the latter place—and anyone who had seen the concourse in Hyde Park, the banners with their mottoes—"Down with the House of Lords," "Down with the Aristocracy," "The Land for the People"—and who heard the people singing the "Marseillaise," must admit that the whole proceeding was of a revolutionary character. The right hon. Gentleman was not a farmer, but he was adopting a process to that House which was very familiar to the agricultural mind. The right hon. Gentleman had a pig to sell. He put it into a bag and took it to market. A customer came up and said—"Hallo, what have you got there?" "Oh," said the right hon. Gentleman, "it's a pig." "A pig," said the customer. "Turn it out and let us look at it. Turn it out!" "Oh, dear no," said the right hon. Gentleman, "it took too much trouble to get it in. You must take my assurance. It is a splendid pig." "Hang your assurance," said the customer; "I'm not going to buy a pig in a bag. Turn him out; let's have a look at him." Now, he (Mr. Storer), like the customer at the market, said to the right hon. Gentleman—"Turn out your pig. Let us have a look at it." That was exactly the situation the right hon. Gentleman was in. He wanted to sell a pig in a poke; but the idea did not quite fall in with the bent of the agricultural mind. There had been a little comedy enacted below the Gangway in the House. He did not know whether or not it was rehearsed, but certainly it was effective and very amusing. He gathered from it, however, one thing—that there was even in what was known as the Fourth Party a desire for compromise. Well, he did not think there was any insuperable objection to compromise on that side of the House, nor yet in the House of Lords. He hoped, therefore, that the great calamity which was said to have befallen the House, the disruption of the Fourth Party, was not irreparable, and that some means might be found possible to reunite the Party. He might suggest that that Party might perform a very useful office in this controversy, for undoubtedly the Fourth Party was an independent Party. It was independent of both sides of the House, and independent of each other; and, therefore, they might appropriately use their influence to bring both sides together on the important controversy respecting the representation of the people.

Mr. HENEAGE said, the last speaker had referred to the comedy which was enacted below the Gangway; but it seemed to him that the whole thing was a comedy, and that the debate now going on was little else than a farce. He was surprised that the hon. Members for Mid Lincolnshire had so misrepresented their constituents as to oppose the Bill, and say that the agricultural labourers did not wish the extension of the suffrage. They had carefully avoided going near their constituents during the Recess, preferring to bask in the moonshine of their Leaders in Scotland. He had attended a large number of meetings in Lincolnshire, and he believed there was throughout the country a very strong desire for the franchise. The farmers had told him there was nothing in the world the labourers were so anxious about as to get the franchise. They looked upon it as an act of justice too long delayed, and they could not understand how it was that the Bill of 1867 gave votes to people because they happened to live on one side of a hedge, when those on the other side had no votes. If the matter was to be dealt with properly they must deal with it as British statesmen. If the Bill could only pass, a great deal of time might be saved, and they might then proceed with the Bill that hon. Gentlemen opposite had so much at heart. He asked for the assistance of hon. Gentlemen opposite. He would ask them to press upon their Colleagues in "another place" that it was desirable that the measure should pass. He did not think the Amendment before the House was likely to assist in these matters, because it was likely to arouse old animosities and strifes between the two sides of the House. He thought it would have been far better for the country and the interests of both sides of the House if the Amendment had never been moved. It was nothing but a feint to give the House of Lords the opportunity of saying they had the support of the House of Commons, if they again rejected, suspended, or postponed the Franchise Bill. It was the duty of the Government to see that nothing should take place in that House to place the Bill in jeopardy, and when the Bill was secured he agreed that the sooner they got to redistribution the better. It was in the hands of hon. Gentlemen opposite how soon that question might be brought before the country. They on the Liberal side were quite as anxious, and even more anxious, than hon. Gentlemen opposite to get a Redistribution Bill passed during this Parliament, in order that the next Parliament might be free to deal with questions of local government and local taxation. He could see no insuperable difficulty to a reasonable compromise, and he trusted that most desirable end would be achieved. But such a course would not be promoted by such speeches as those of the hon. Members for Mid Lincolnshire or Nottinghamshire, or by going to a Division on the Amendment now before the House.

Mr. LABOUCHERE asked what was the real question before the House? It certainly was not the Franchise Bill. They were all agreed that these 2,000,000 of citizens ought to have a vote, and that it would be a great benefit to the country that they should. The real question now being argued was a question of procedure; but this question was settled in the last Session of Parliament, and the House was only threshing out the old subject. The contention last Session was that, certain jannissaries of hon. Members opposite in another part of the establishment having come to a certain conclusion, with the full concurrence of the Leader of the Opposition—namely, that the Franchise Bill was to be hung up or chucked out until the Redistribution Bill was before the House, the majority should submit. But what was the contention of the Government? They laid down absolutely that they would not show their Redistribution Bill until the Franchise Bill had passed through both Houses. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) cited an observation the Prime Minister made on the 10th of July last. He rather thought it was sometimes difficult for an ingenuous and simple-minded man like himself to understand the exact point of so astute a debater as the Prime Minister; but, fortunately, what the Prime Minister said then was made absolutely plain by the succeeding statement of the Home Secretary. Speaking, he presumed, in the presence of the Prime Minister, that right hon. and learned Gentleman declared, in a way which admitted of no doubt or ambiguity, that the Franchise Bill must be passed that Session in order that the Session of 1885 might be devoted to redistribution. There could be no ambiguity about that statement. What, then, were they called together to discuss? The Prime Minister had stated that he considered it necessary that the Franchise Bill should not only pass, but become law, before any redistribution scheme was laid before the House. That was the issue submitted to the country during the Recess, and the meetings called passed resolutions in that sense. But the real point of those meetings was not whether the right procedure had been adopted by the Prime Minister or the wrong, but whether the House of Lords should interfere with this measure and refuse to pass it. That was really the issue before those meetings—Lords *versus* Commons—whether, when a Liberal Ministry was in power, with a majority in that House, they were not to decide upon the Business of the country rather than the Friends of the minority in the other House. He was always in favour of concession and compromise when compromise was possible; but in this case it was not, for any compromise or arrangement with Gentlemen opposite that allowed the introduction of a Redistribution Bill into the House before the Franchise Bill had passed the Upper House and had become law, would be contrary to what was fully and distinctly understood last Session, and what the Liberal Leaders throughout the country had clearly and distinctly pronounced. The proposed Bill of the Prime Minister would, no doubt, be a very moderate measure. Hon. Gentlemen opposite spoke of time-honoured institutions. The Radicals wanted to get at many of what they called their time-honoured institutions. They should go much further if it was not for the personal respect they entertained for the Prime Minister. Gentlemen opposite had accused the Prime Minister of uttering menaces; but he was their best friend. He shielded them from the Radicals, and when they lost him they would then find out what a defender they had had in him. Hon. Members asserted that they wanted particulars of this redistribution. He could not understand what further particulars they could possibly want. It was true that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock was good enough to elaborate his views on redistribution; but they never knew whether that Gentleman spoke for himself or his Party or the Fourth Party. He had no confidence in the noble Lord as being the exponent of the views of the Conservative Party. He spoke in favour of electoral districts; but it would be well to hear that view endorsed by the Leader of the Opposition before adopting it as the view of the Conservative Party. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) proposed that certain Resolutions should be passed in that House. If they were to be of a vague and general character there might be no great objection to them; but when they came to details, he suspected some differences would be found to exist between them as to what a good Redistribution Bill ought to be. The noble Lord proposed to separate the urban and agricultural districts, grouping all the small boroughs together, and creating a great country party. If that was to form part of the Resolutions to be passed in order to induce Gentlemen opposite to give their consent to the Franchise Bill, he must enter his protest against it. If these Resolutions meant that the doctrine of hon. Members opposite was to be adopted, and that the minority were to rule the majority, he objected altogether. Of course, as the Prime Minister said, fair consideration would be given to the views of Gentlemen opposite; but they ought to consider their position. They had never realized that they were thoroughly beaten at the last General Election. The fact was the country would have no more to do with them. They had put the power in the hands of the Prime Minister and his Colleagues, and it was for them to decide, and not for the Opposition. In coming to a conclusion, he hoped that the Prime Minister would consider not only the Opposition, but his own followers, many of whom would very likely desire to go further than he. They were ready to accept the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman, although it was not a thorough Radical Bill; but if it was to be still further whittled down he must protest against it. If there was to be an arrangement, they ought to know what the arrangement was; and if there was to be no arrangement, let them do what it was the business of a majority to do—crush the minority. That was his view. If the minority attempted obstructive tactics, then they must appeal to the nation on the question; but, at the same time, it would be a most wicked proceeding if Parliament was to be dissolved, although the Ministers in that House had a majority, simply because a minority in that House brought forward 400 or 500 hereditary Legislators who attempted to dictate when the Dissolution was to come. It was of the utmost importance that that House should retain its rights unimpaired, and should not give way to the permanent majority in the House of Lords.

Mr. GIBSON said, he had listened to the discussion with some feeling of disappointment, as those who spoke on the part of the Government had not shown a just appreciation of the position, and certainly had not attempted to satisfy the legitimate expectations formed throughout the country. It had been said more than once that the substance of this Franchise Bill had been accepted on all sides, and that the only difference was that by some it was accepted absolutely, and by others conditionally. The reasonableness of that conditional acceptance had been admitted by the Government themselves in the strongest way, for the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War had pointed out, with the most absolute clearness, that if a Dissolution occurred before the passing of a Redistribution Bill the consequence would be an unfair and unjust representation of the people. The Prime Minister himself, in speech of marvellous shortness, considering the importance of the question—a speech of some 30 or 31 minutes—had expressed himself in a manner entitled to every recognition, and it had received it. As far as tone, manner, and gesture, and everything that went to make up graciousness of delivery, there was all that could be desired in a speech; but when one looked a quarter of an-inch below the surface there was little to lay hold of. The Prime Minister laid down five main principles; but in them there was nothing upon which they could rest with any assurance of confidence. The most important of these principles was the second, which said that the Bill should have regard to numbers and population. In reference to that second main principle, five important questions presented themselves, which the Prime Minister stated with great fulness; but as to what his own opinion with regard to them was he left the House in absolute darkness. The right hon. Gentleman said that he was not devoid of prepossessions himself with respect to them; but in what manner he would give them effect he did not indicate at all. The Prime Minister, in the course of his speech, had as his keynote, and he repeated it frequently, that he regarded the Franchise Bill as of the highest importance, and that he could not sanction anything that would imperil it. Who had asked the right hon. Gentleman to do anything which would cause peril to the Bill? What possible peril could be caused to it by yielding to the fair, moderate, and legitimate requirements which had been made from those Benches and throughout the country. He could not see peril, delay, or retardation to the Franchise Bill if the Redistribution Bill that they asked for was introduced and presented to the judgment of Parliament. No one could say that hon. Members on the Opposition Benches had approached the discussion of this important question this Session in any but a thoroughly reasonable spirit. His right hon. Friend who opened the discussion that evening had spoken in a tone of moderation which necessarily attracted the attention of the right hon. Gentleman who replied to it. But the President of the Local Government Board was entirely put off his centre of gravity by his right hon. Friend's speech, because he came down prepared to deliver a reply to speeches made in the country during the last three months, and to some which had been delivered last night; but when the House desired to hear how he was to meet the reasonable request of his right hon. Friend to know what the Government would do about redistribution, they were treated with fairly expressed graciousness to platitudes which left them exactly in the same state of ignorance as before the right hon. Gentleman stood up. He defied anyone who had listened to the speech of the Prime Minister, and more especially to the speech of the President of the Local Government Board, to have the slightest definite notion as to a single point in any Redistribution Bill that might be proposed. Surely that was not a fair way at such an important time to deal with such a question. He had said in the country, and he would say now in that House, that this was too great a question to be treated as a game of hide and seek. The President of the Local Government Board said that the Government were willing to do anything in reason if it would not bring the Franchise Bill into jeopardy. "Peril" was the word used by the Prime Minister. "Jeopardy" by the President of the Local Government Board. But who asked the right hon. Gentleman to bring the Bill into jeopardy? What jeopardy would it put the Bill into if, by plain speech and frank utterance on the part of the Government, they were to say when the Redistribution Bill was to be introduced? That was a plain question which the Government must have considered; and they were entitled to a plain answer to it. It had been pointed out by that extremely candid friend of the Government (Mr. Labouchere), who in the course of his speech had been endeavouring to remind them of all inconvenient things, that the Home Secretary had stated that the Franchise Bill alone was to be dealt with in the Autumn Session. He did not suppose that the Government felt themselves absolutely bound by that statement now. If he was correct, when some Minister was to speak again let him tell the House something about the time and the circumstances in which the Redistribution Bill would be introduced. Would it be introduced when the Franchise Bill left the House? If not, why not? Would it be introduced during the Autumn Session? If not, why not? What was the scheme that the Government were to introduce? The President of the Local Government Board had referred to *The Standard* scheme of redistribution as a scheme in which the Government were more or less interested. [Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: A scheme.] That interruption showed the importance of ascertaining what the scheme of the Government was. The noble Lord the Secretary of State for War used in Derbyshire important and significant words on the subject. The noble Lord admitted that the plan which had appeared in *The Standard* was prepared for a Committee of the Cabinet for this important purpose—to put into a definite form the principles laid down last Session by the Prime Minister; but he added that, although that was the intention with which the scheme had been prepared, he was not in a position to say that either in principle or detail it had met with the approval either of the Cabinet or the Committee of the Cabinet. That was a reason why the House had some claim to know whether this Redistribution Bill was ready at the present moment. If it was ready, was it not unreasonable to keep it back from the Representatives of the people? If it was not ready, he had to remind the Government that they deliberately pledged themselves last year on Lord Wemyss's Motion that they would be ready in this November to produce a Redistribution Bill. If they were not ready, what excuse had they to allege? They had no excuse for not having utilized the last four years for the preparation of a Redistribution Bill. He saw no reason why the Government should not within the next few days produce a Bill dealing with the whole question of Redistribution. If the Government adjourned the present Session, instead of proroguing, there was nothing to prevent a prompt, frank, and fair settlement of this important question. The President of the Local Government Board said the other night that hon. Members need not be afraid about redistribution, because no Bill could be passed upon that subject that was not satisfactory to both sides. He was not quite clear about that if the Franchise Bill was first law. If the Franchise Bill was first law it would, in the case of the Redistribution Bill, be very much like Hobson's choice—take it or leave it. He was not satisfied with what the President of the Local Government Board called a guarantee. It was not even a suggestion of a guarantee; and certainly it was nothing which the Opposition could be fairly asked to accept. It was, he contended, but fair and reasonable to require that one of the two important Bills which together made up the question of Reform should not come into operative legal effect before the other. If there was an adjournment before Christmas there was nothing to prevent the Redistribution Bill being adequately discussed by both Houses, and the requirements of the Opposition being fairly and legitimately satisfied. There was nothing exceptional, startling, or unconstitutional in the demand which they made; and in pressing it upon Parliament and upon the nation they were endeavouring to prevent, in the words of the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War, an unfair representation of the people.

Mr. WILLIS maintained that the Conservative Party were entirely in error in supposing that they were following the precedent of 1866. The present Bill was passed *nemine contradicente,* and why? The hon. Baronet the Member for West Essex (Sir Henry Selwin-Ibbetson), on being asked why he did not vote against the third reading of the Bill, replied—"Well, there were questions of political action which had to be judged by the Leaders of the Party, and he believed that it was generally felt that another crushing defeat would undoubtedly have overtaken the Party just before the Bill went up to the other House, and that would hardly have strengthened the hands of the noble Lords in that place." He (Mr. Willis) also charged the Leaders of the Opposition in both Houses with having, during the earlier progress of the Bill, arranged that it should be rejected before it had reached the House of Lords, so that no words] uttered by the Prime Minister on the occasion of the third reading would have affected the Upper House. He contended that there was a demand in the country for the franchise apart from redistribution, and advised hon. Members opposite to hasten to a conclusion in this matter by placing the right of 2,000,000 of people to vote beyond all dispute and accident. He was in favour of this Bill wholly apart from the question of redistribution. The unenfranchised were entitled to have votes, and they were not prepared to wait until the value of their votes had been ascertained. He was in favour of electoral districts with one Member for each; but rather than imperil this Bill he would leave distribution as it was at the present time. The Conservatives might very well do so if they had any confidence in their principles. It was said that people did not want votes unless they could be heard in this House; but he believed that this view did not enter into their minds at all. Personally he did not value the vote any less because for 20 years he had voted in three constituencies, and had never voted for a successful candidate. He was satisfied because in other constituencies candidates had been returned who did represent his views. But if there was anything in the argument about voices being heard it surely applied to a majority of 130 in this House having their votes neutralized by a majority of 560 "elsewhere." This Bill should be treated by the Opposition upon its own merits, apart from any pledge to introduce any other measure. If it were in itself an injurious Bill, let it be rejected on the second reading. The principal charge he made against the Tory Party was that, instead of confining themselves to independent action in the House of Commons as a great Party, they had been in league with persons "elsewhere," who, being clothed with authority which should be exercised for the benefit of the whole nation and not for a Party, had agreed to reject this measure. They had adopted a course which should be discountenanced by the House, and had, through the House of Lords, conceded points which they had as a Party strongly resisted in the House of Commons. There was no fear now of the democracy being led by demagogues, and redistribution might with perfect safety be left to settle itself after the 2,000,000 had been enfranchised.

MR. CHAPLIN said, that the debate was remarkable for the speech in which the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), with singular ability, demolished the attack upon his own Party of a quondam political associate, and in which he vindicated in the ablest manner the attitude of the Conservative Party. But the noble Lord was unfortunate in selecting Woodstock for an illustration, because if it continued to return a Member who addressed them with the noble Lord's ability, that would go a long way to condone the anomaly of its having one Member while a much larger constituency had only two. The debate was also remarkable for the speech of the President of the Local Government Board, who said the Government would be prepared if they could be satisfied they would not prejudice the passing of the Franchise Bill to produce the Redistribution Bill without more delay. But the right hon. Gentleman attached an impossible condition. How could it be told whether the production of the Redistribution Bill would or would not prejudice the Franchise Bill until it was known what the Redistribution Bill would be? If there was one thing which, more than another, had, did, and would prejudice the passing of the Franchise Bill, it was the concealment by the Government of their real intentions. At present, notwithstanding the Prime Minister's speech last night, they knew nothing more than they did at a previous period. The right hon. Gentleman put before them a whole string of interrogatories, emphasizing the fact that a redistribution scheme should do this, that, and the other thing; but he had not told them anything with regard to the intentions of the Government. The right hon. Gentleman laid down four cardinal generalities, which had given satisfaction to the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill); but, while agreeing with them, he wanted to know what would be justice and what injustice in the minds of the Government as between different classes of the community and their pursuits. On those points they were left completely in the dark so far as the views of the Government were concerned. He was not prepared on that point to take on trust the promises of the right hon. Gentleman. He had always observed that the right hon. Gentleman acted up to the maxim, "charity begins at home," and justice was never so great and admirable a thing as when it was conformable to the interests of his Party at the time. The right hon. Gentleman had often perpetrated acts of intolerable injustice in the name of justice, which would rise up in evidence against him long after they had all passed away from the arena in which they were enacted. The right hon. Gentleman's ideas of justice had always appeared to him to favour those arrangements which coincided most closely with the political interests of his Party. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock and the right hon. Member for South-West Lancashire seemed to assume that it was distinctly conceded by the Prime Minister that urban and agricultural districts were to be kept separate; but when the noble Lord made that statement, there were ominous cries of "No, no!" from Gentlemen opposite. Since then there had been a speech from the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) which distinctly repudiated any arrangement of that kind on behalf of a large section of supporters of the Government. He, therefore, declined to take the Prime Minister's assurances on trust until he had seen them on paper. With reference to the general position, he would observe that the Conservative Party in the House of Lords, in spite of the dulcet tones of the Prime Minister on the previous day, had been threatened with pains and penalties if they persisted in the attitude they had taken up on this question. The attitude of the Conservative Party and the House of Lords had always been that the Franchise Bill must be accompanied by redistribution, and they insisted on having an absolute guarantee that the one Bill should not become law without the other. He was prepared to maintain that in the counties, whose interests were mainly concerned, the Conservative Party occupied an impregnable position, and they had no alternative except to adhere to that attitude until the Government had made some attempt to account for the extraordinary evolution which they had themselves effected with respect to the Franchise Bill being accompanied by redistribution. What was the object of the Bill? They had been told, by no one more emphatically than by the President of the Board of Trade that the Bill was essentially meant to enfranchise the agricultural labourers in the counties. That statement was rapturously cheered by hon. Gentlemen opposite, but they did not seem ready to cheer it now. He rejoiced that the agricultural labourer should have the vote, because the welfare of agriculture was a matter of common interest, and although it was the largest and most important industry in the country, it had never exercised an influence commensurate with its position. If the Bill was a reality and not a sham, power would be added to that industry at a time when it was urgently needed. It was, therefore, necessary to prevent the Government giving with one hand and taking away with the other. It was said the Government had given the strongest guarantee that could be given. But what was its precise value? The danger was two-fold. Nothing was known of the intentions of the Government. One scheme had been revealed in the newspapers which had been admitted by the noble Lord the Secretary of State for War to possess at least a semi-official character, even if it did not represent the mature views of the Government. But they might pass a Franchise Bill and then have a Dissolution. Whatever the Government might say, what the extreme Party wanted was an Election without redistribution. He had no doubt that the rural interests would be absolutely swamped by the enormous number of urban voters. His noble Friend had given an illustration of the value of the guarantee of the Government. If the Franchise Bill had been passed last Session, and the Government had been beaten in Egypt, what would have happened to the Redistribution Bill? Suppose, what he prayed God might not be the case, the news should come that Khartoum had fallen and Gordon had been sacrificed. If that happened—and no one could deny that it was possible—even the present majority, servile as it had been termed, would melt away like snow. It would be impossible to defend the Government against the wrath of the country. He agreed with his hon. Colleague (Mr. E. Stanhope), that the moment the Franchise Bill was passed excuses would be forthcoming, and knowing as he did the remarkable powers of obstruction of the supporters of the Government, and their desire for a Dissolution, the Government would find means to defeat it. Up to the present time the two questions had never been separated. He would quote the opinion of the Prime Minister himself on the subject, expressed on April 12, 1866, to show what the right hon. Gentleman's opinion on that question was at that time. On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman was responsible for the introduction of a Bill of this nature. After stating that as soon as the Bill before the House had gone into Committee he would introduce a redistribution scheme, he went on to remark—

> "That is what we have said; and we have also said what I really, until the day before yesterday, had always believed to be unnecessary to state in express words—that, in speaking of this great subject of the representation of the people, as a matter vital to the credit and therefore to the existence of the Government, we included the subject of redistribution of seats along with the subject of the franchise. I had not thought it necessary to say this, because it seemed to me so obvious that nothing could be more contemptible and base than the conduct of a Government which could give forth with a view of enlisting the generous confidence of its supporters that it would deal with the subject of reform, and would stand or fall by its propositions, and which all the while could silently exclude from the scope of their declaration all portions of that question except only the reduction of the franchise, though among such questions we find one only second in importance to that of the franchise itself."—(3 *Hansard,* [182] 1144.)

That was precisely what they now complained of. They complained that the Government were excluding from this debate all view of their intentions with regard to the question of redistribution. The Government maintained that it would be impossible to pass the two measures in a single Session. Very shortly after this House of Commons was elected the right hon. Member for Birmingham (Mr. Bright) boasted that it was the best and the wisest House of Commons he had ever known. Yet they were now told that this House of Commons was unable to do that which any other House of Commons could easily have done. They had been asking throughout all these debates for a Dissolution, because they believed that neither on this subject nor on any other did the Party opposite really represent the opinion of the country. Did not the right hon. Gentleman perceive what a handle he gave to his opponents if it were really true that this House of Commons was so incapacitated as to be unable to perform its duties? If that were the case, was it not the right hon. Gentleman's duty to send the House about its business with the least possible delay? The Government had advanced no valid reason for adopting this new and unusual method of procedure on the question of Reform. It was nonsense to say that they could not pass a Redistribution Bill without the lever of the Franchise Bill. To affirm that was a satire and a libel on the House of Commons. What might be their real reasons it was not for him to say. He might suspect—and a great many people did suspect—that this course had been adopted, not for the purpose of furthering this Bill, not with a view of rapidly dealing with the question of Reform, but rather with the object of raising a great cloud of controversy which might conceal from the nation the innumerable blunders committed by the Government on all other objects under the sun. Whatever unfortunate results might occur from this controversy being prolonged, he felt certain, after all that had passed that night, it would be the unanimous opinion out-of-doors that the Government, and the Government alone, would be responsible if they delayed any longer the production of their Redistribution Bill.

MR. GOSCHEN: Sir, the hon. Member who has just sat down says that he expects this will be a memorable debate, and the reason he gave for considering it a memorable debate was that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) had separated himself from his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), and had supported the Party in whose side he had hitherto been a thorn.

MR. CHAPLIN: I did not say anything of the kind. I said it had been remarkable for a speech of singular ability, in which he had done that.

MR. GOSCHEN: I think the distinction was hardly worth the interruption. I am doubtful whether this will be a memorable debate. I agree to a certain extent with the view of my hon. and learned Friend the Member for Dundalk (Mr. C. Russell) that in some respects this appears to be a sham debate. If it is memorable for anything I think it will be memorable for the different tone taken by various Members sitting opposite to us—a tone so divergent that it is absolutely impossible to understand what it is that the Party opposite are really requiring. Now, it appears to me that there is a great—I will not say a unanimous, but a very serious—wish among the great majority of the House that a settlement should be arrived at upon this question, and that the settlement should result in both Bills—namely, the Bill for the extension of the suffrage and the Bill for redistribution—being passed by the same Parliament and by the same Government; and I understand that that is a view to which the Party opposite assent. I would wish the House to understand, from the very few observations I propose to make, that I entirely share that view. There has been a good deal said to-night with regard to conversions, and there has been a kind of competition among hon. Members opposite with regard to the dates of their respective conversions. Into that competition I feel I am not qualified to enter, because in regard to my own conversion there has never been any mistake. I have accepted the decision of the House, and I think that answer would be frankest way of treating this question even by the Party opposite—namely, that the country and the House have decided that the suffrage is to be extended. The noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) has said there has been a great transformation during the last nine months. I think there has been a very great transformation, and that that transformation has been reflected in the speeches of many hon. Members who have addressed the House. But I wish to call attention to the extreme difference between the tone, for instance, of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West

Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who opened the debate to-night, and the speech we heard later from the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). Then, again, there is a difference in tone between the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire and the two fighting speeches which were made yesterday by the hon. Member who opened this debate with great ability (Mr. E. Stanhope) and by the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). One might wonder, from what one hears, whether there is that desire among the Party opposite to come to an arrangement of this matter which has been foreshadowed by some of the responsible Leaders of the Party; but I note with satisfaction that the nearer to the centre of power have been the speakers the more conciliatory has been their tone. I thought that my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) was perhaps a little hard upon the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex and the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who opened the debate, in criticizing the fighting character of their speeches, for I am not sure whether they were not put forward as the Great Napoleon used sometimes to put forward his Generals, with an order that they were to be cut to pieces while the Commander-in-Chief could make a retreat behind their backs. I am rejoiced to think there is apparently some hope that a solution may be arrived at, and that the Party opposite will see in the declarations made by the Prime Minister, and in the fact of the transformation which has been so vividly described by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) since we were here in August last, that there is far more certainty of a Redistribution Bill being passed by this Parliament than they anticipated before the Recess. Hon. Members opposite know that I have shared to the full the view that redistribution was essential—that it was essential that redistribution should accompany the extension of the franchise, and that it should be passed by the same Parliament; and it is, no doubt, our duty to see what are the guarantees and what are the probabilities of a Redistribution Bill being passed. I have seen myself the necessity of dissenting from the views of many of my hon. Friends around me, who thought, as an hon. Member expressed himself quite lately in this debate, that after all the subject of redistribution could be referred to another Parliament without making any considerable change in the character of the Redistribution Bill to be afterwards passed. I assent to the view that it is essential that we should have redistribution from the present House of Commons; but I see in the present position, as I believe the Leaders of the Party opposite see, that there is infinitely more certainty of a Redistribution Bill being passed than they could have foreseen before. Under those circumstances, I cannot see what is really the object—the fighting object of the Motion—as a Motion—which is now before the House. Would it not be the fact that in proportion as that Motion were to receive strong support, so the hopes of a compromise would be diminished or removed? [" No! "] That depends on the nature of the compromise hon. Members expect. They cannot expect that the Government will depart from the position which they have taken up, and which is that the one Bill shall not be made dependent on the other. I wish briefly to point out to the House how I consider the case to stand in that respect. I understand the Government to be determined to press forward redistribution; I understand them to be convinced that their plan is such that it will command not only the assent of Members on this side of the House, but that it will be so drawn as to form at least proper material to be dealt with in the manner in which the Prime Minister suggested that it should be dealt with—namely, by the House at large. [An hon. MEMBER: Why not produce it?] An hon. Member says " Why not produce it? " Because the Government are reminded even in this debate by hon. Members opposite that if it is produced the Franchise Bill will be made dependent upon that measure. The Government have stated that they will give every information with regard to this Bill, provided they do not place the Franchise Bill in jeopardy. Now, hon. Members opposite ask what guarantees will the Government give? And I must say I think the reply given from this side of the House is perfectly justified—

namely, what guarantees will Members on the other side of the House give that if the Redistribution Bill is produced the Franchise Bill will be passed? It appears to me that both sides have approached very nearly indeed to a settlement, and that the one point upon which difference still exists relates to the precise moment at which the Redistribution Bill should be passed. Now, since last Session we have this additional security—we see now that if the Franchise Bill is immediately removed from this arena, and sent to "another place," we shall have a clear space of time before us for dealing with redistribution. We shall have more time before us than we could have expected if we had not had this Autumn Session; and I consider that if the Government will introduce the Redistribution Bill this Autumn Session, and undertake that this Session shall be continued so that the work done in it may be carried forward into the next Session, that then infinitely more security will have been given than we should otherwise have had. The guarantees—and I wish for guarantees as much as hon. Members opposite—the guarantees which hon. Members want refer to two separate points. One is the intention of the Government, and the other is the power of the Government. As regards the intention of the Government, I trust that all in this House are now convinced that it is not only their intention, but that it is their earnest hope, to carry forward this great question to a settlement as a whole. I do not admit that there can now be any question of the *bona fides* of the Government in regard to that intention; and I hope that I may also add that it is not only the intention, but the earnest hope, of the great bulk of the Liberal Party that this result should be achieved. If also it is the hope and the intention, as it is the interest, of the great Party opposite that a Bill drawn on those lines which my right hon. Friend has sketched should be passed by this Parliament, for my part I think that the risks have been so diminished that we can accept the position, and go forward with a determination to carry a Redistribution Bill;—["Oh, oh!"]—and it appears to me that, notwithstanding sundry discordant notes from the Party opposite, that is their hope, and almost their expectation. So I believe that, whatever may be the result of the vote to-night, it will be possible—that it will be the intention of the Party opposite to do that which the country desires that we should all do—namely, unite in passing a Redistribution Bill. I will venture to give one more reason why I myself am most anxious that the present Government should deal with this Redistribution Bill, and that it should be dealt with in the present Parliament. I trust I may be permitted to say that I consider the statement of my right hon. Friend at the head of the Government in explaining his views on Redistribution as most statesmanlike, as most English, and in the best sense Conservative as well as Liberal. If one contrasts the indications which have been given by my right hon. Friend of his intentions with regard to Redistribution with the hints and the suggestions which have been made by the Party opposite, I believe that more confidence will be felt in the Redistribution Bill as it will be proposed by my right hon. Friend than would be felt if it were in the hands of the Party opposite, not from one point of view only, but from every point of view—even the very Conservative point of view which the Party opposite might wish to further. That is a point which cannot have escaped attention; and I trust I may say one word upon the subject, because it appears to me to be of extreme importance. My right hon. Friend sketched what he considered ought to be the attributes of a Redistribution Bill. He said that it should be large, that it should be simple, and that it should be equitable. He then asked a number of most important and pertinent questions, which show how deeply my right hon. Friend was considering to what extent you might introduce greater popular liberties and fit them into the present system of our Constitution. Hon. Members opposite in the comments which they have made have called attention to that part of his speech in which he spoke of the simplicity and largeness of the Bill; but they, almost without exception, have passed over the questions which he asked. My right hon. Friend asked the following questions:—"Was anything to be allowed to prescription?" Not a word has been said by hon. Members opposite with regard to the suggestion of my right hon. Friend on this point—"Shall anything be allowed to prescription?"—yet my right hon. Friend asked the question in a tone by which anyone could understand that his own answer would be "Yes." "Shall we," he asked again, "have regard to communities as distinct from individuals?" Let us remember that the representation of communities is the old English system—and he asked the question in a tone that indicated that he evidently meant that the answer in his own mind would be "Yes." But while hon. Members opposite have always spoken of the separation of urban and rural interests, not one word has fallen from them with regard to the important point of whether we shall have regard to communities as distinct from individuals. Again my right hon. Friend asked—"Shall we treat large towns, giving full and absolute effect to the representation of numbers?" He complimented my right hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) on the way in which he put the case in favour of such an arrangement; but the form of that compliment showed that the right hon. Gentleman in his own mind dissented from that view, as he had shadowed forth in a previous speech that he did not consider it necessary to give full and absolute effect to the representation of numbers. Lastly, he asked—"Shall there be distinctions between urban and rural interests?" But of all those questions the Conservative Party have only fastened upon one—that there must be a distinction between urban and rural interests. I must apologize to the House for introducing this question, which I must admit is not entirely *ad rem.* But we see that arrangements are in the air; we see there is a hope that the two sides may agree with regard to the principles of the Redistribution Bill; and so perhaps I may be pardoned if I have called attention to these most important points in the speech of my right hon. Friend, and which, so far as I am concerned, increase the desire which I feel that we should have time and opportunity as soon as possible to deal with the redistribution scheme. The Party opposite are thinking mainly of the separation of urban and rural districts. [*Expressions of dissent.*] Am I to understand that that murmur is one of dissent? [An hon. MEMBER: And a good many other things.] An hon. Member says—"And a good many other things." But the many other things have not been brought before us. Let me read, as hon. Gentlemen opposite hold that view, what was said by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) at Carlisle on the 8th of October—

> "I believe myself that that scheme of redistribution will be most likely to secure the assent of Parliament and the approval of the country which approximates most nearly to the representation based solely upon numbers, and which, while preserving a distinction between the agricultural and manufacturing districts, creates as a general rule single-Member constituencies."

Does my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition cheer these sentiments? Let the country mark that passage. Are those the lines upon which the Conservative Party are prepared to assent to a Bill for redistribution which is going to be introduced? Is this the price which they ask for going forward with the extension of the suffrage? Some hon. Members will say to me that it is the Member for Woodstock who is saying this, and he is not responsible. I decline to admit that, because we are told repeatedly, and we know, that there is no Member of the Party opposite to whom the organizers of Conservative Associations look with more confidence than to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. ["No, no!"] It is disputed, but I find that the cries of "No, no!" are more frequent from below the Gangway than from the great Party opposite. ["No, no!"] It is admitted that the noble Lord, as a fighting Conservative, representing the modern Tory Democracy, is the greatest favourite at Provincial meetings of every kind. I do not wish to push that argument further than to say this—that this is a most significant declaration, and that it well deserves the attention of the Conservative Party. What I wish to call attention to is that the speeches of the noble Lord point to the representation of numbers and the separation of the urban and rural districts. I can conceive no greater danger to the real Conservative interests of the country than that the Conservatives should think that they can intrench themselves simply in the agricultural parts of the country, while the Liberals are to have a monopoly of the great towns. It is the Provincial town life of the country which has to be considered as well as that of the large towns and the purely agricultural districts. We see how constantly the simple principle of numbers is put forward, either on behalf of those whom I may call the agricultural democracy, or on the part of the population of the great towns. I think that sometimes a voice should be raised for those other varied interests of the country, and I venture to hope that in any agreement which may be come to between the two great Parties of the State these considerations will receive a foremost place. It is because I see a determination on the part of the Prime Minister to recognize that we cannot pull down the whole of our electoral machinery simply in order to secure the separation of agricultural from urban interests, but that we must proceed on the old lines, while giving that increase of power to the popular element which the times demand, that I shall do my best to support my right hon. Friend in pressing forward the Redistribution Bill. I venture to hope, in the interests of both sides of the House, and in order that we may redeem our character as a practical Assembly, that, being so near a union as we are, means may be found to call forth concessions, if necessary, on each side, with the object of bringing about that arrangement which almost everyone desires.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Mr. Speaker, the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down raised a question as to whether it was correct or not to say that the debate of this evening would be a memorable one. It seems to me that, whatever may be said as to the debate, there is no doubt whatever that the decision of this evening is likely to be a very memorable decision. I am bound to say that I do not think the speech of the right hon. Gentleman is likely to contribute as much as perhaps he hoped and wished to do towards an amicable and satisfactory solution. There have been two speeches from the opposite Benches this evening to which I have listened with somewhat mingled feelings. I mean the speech which has just been delivered and the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). It was impossible not to see that—at all events as regards the hon Member for Northampton—it was no object on his part to facilitate a settlement of this question. We were not surprised to find that in his observations he took pains to bring forward every expression that had fallen from the Prime Minister or from any other Member of the Government which might throw an impediment in the way of making an arrangement by which the two measures of the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill should be taken in the present Session. And in the speech to which we have just listened from the right hon. Gentleman, although he professes to desire that rapid progress should be made with the Redistribution Bill, still I think there were not a few expressions that fell from him which tended rather to make that more difficult than less difficult. Now, Sir, I do not think that any particular advantage is to be derived for this discussion from the repeated taunts that are thrown out by hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side against Members of the Conservative Party with regard to what is called the date of their conversion. I admit that for a smart Party debate such taunts may do very well; but when we come to consider how we are to solve a very important and a very practical question, I think that those taunts are sometimes rather misleading. However, as far as I myself am concerned—and I believe I may say that I share the feelings and the history of a very large number of those who sit on this side of the House—I am prepared to state very shortly and very simply what the course of my own mind has been on this subject. I have always felt that it was a very undesirable and a very critical move to make an alteration—a large alteration—in the electoral system of the country. I have always considered that whatever defects of a minor character might be pointed out in it, it was better that we should put up with some defects than that we should be frequently reopening discussions on the basis of our Constitution; and it has certainly seemed to me that however willing we might be to enfranchise a large number of our fellow-citizens, still such a measure as that ought not to be taken rashly or carelessly, or without very good cause and consideration. Therefore, after the settlement arrived at in the years 1867 and 1868, it did not appear to me to be a very desirable thing that we should for some time to come, at all events, stir up the question of our representation; and in all discussions that have taken place since the year 1874—or, indeed, since an earlier period than that, when my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) first brought this matter before the House—in all the discussions I have pursued much the same line of argument, and I think most of those who have spoken on this side have pursued much the same line—namely, that however desirable in itself the admission of an additional number of voters to the Electorate might be, still it was a step that ought not to be taken hastily or rashly, but that it must be taken in connection with a revision of our whole electoral system, and that it was not altogether desirable that when this measure should be brought forward, we should undertake that great and disturbing controversy piecemeal. I have felt that for a considerable time, and I am not sure that I should have parted with it if it had still been in my power to retain that position for some time to come. But when this measure had been brought forward by Her Majesty's Government, and when they had taken upon themselves the responsibility of saying that the time had come when a great change must be made, and a larger addition by far than was ever yet known should be made to the electoral body—when that measure had been brought forward on the authority of the responsible Government, and had been pressed upon the House, it certainly seemed to me that as it was a proposition which in itself I could not deny to be a reasonable and fair one, when the proper time came I should not be indisposed to accept that proposal, on the condition that it should be carried out with all the care and gravity, all the consideration, and in conjunction with all the other measures of a proper description which ought to be connected with it. I myself felt that which was felt by my late lamented Friend Mr. Disraeli, when the question was first stirred in this House, after the Reform Act of 1867. Mr. Disraeli said that he and the Conservative Party, for whom he spoke, were in no way apprehensive of the admission of a large body of agriculturists to the country franchise. But, on the other hand, he reminded the House that if such an addition were to be made, as would largely disturb the balance of our electoral system, it would be obviously necessary to accompany it with a large alteration in our representative system, and that was a measure for which he did not consider that the country, at the time, was prepared or for which there was any demand. But we are now in a different position; we are now in the position that having had this matter brought before us, and having discussed it as we have done, we frankly, and without reserve, accept the proposition which was made by Her Majesty's Ministers in the Franchise Bill for the introduction of this large addition to the body of electors; but we accept it subject to the same condition as that which Mr. Disraeli laid down—namely, that the whole of our representative system should be considered together, when you are making so large a change as this, and that in whatsoever has to be done you should take into consideration the necessary accompanying measures. Now, of course, among these measures and far above any other is that for the redistribution of seats. And I hope I may be allowed, without giving any offence, to refer for a moment to that often-quoted speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright). I quote it not for the purpose of using it in any way as a taunt against him, or to say that there is in it anything inconsistent with the view which the right hon. Gentleman takes and has expressed, or with the conduct that he has pursued, in regard to Redistribution Bills; but I desire to quote it simply for this purpose—that I wish to cite the high authority of the right hon. Gentleman—an admittedly high authority on questions of the representation of the people—as to the very great importance of redistribution. I admit that he has repeatedly said that the two measures—enfranchisement and redistribution—may be dealt with, and ought to be dealt with in separate Bills. That, however, is not the point to which I wish now to draw attention; but I wish to show the very great and high importance which the right hon. Gentleman attached to redistribution, and which I understand he still attaches to it, and I call attention to it for the purpose of meeting objections, such as those which fell even from the Prime Minister, who appeared to think that there is no question at all to be compared in importance with the extension of the franchise, and that as to the work of the redistribution of seats it is almost a work of supererogation. [Mr. GLADSTONE: No.] I do not say that the right hon. Gentleman used that expression; but he has been constantly anxious to impress on the House and the country that the redistribution of seats is certainly a matter more or less desirable, but that the question of enfranchisement is the paramount object—that, in fact, it is so completely paramount that everything else must be sacrificed to it—and that, as regards the Redistribution Bill, we must be ready to accept a pledge from the Government that when Parliament has dealt with it, and disposed of the whole question of the franchise, they will deal in some way or other with the other question of the redistribution of seats. I say that they are relegating the question of Redistribution to a comparatively backward position which is not at all in accordance with its real importance. Now, Sir, I think I may say, without any fear of contradiction, that in a matter of such enormous importance as this of the resettlement of the electoral system, it is right that we should look round us and consider every point in the system. I am bound to say that I did not see the justice of the criticism which the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) passed on the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for West Suffolk (Mr. Biddell) last night, when he criticized the action of the hon. Member, and said—and there was some inconsistency in the observation—that there was no measure which required more consideration than one for the redistribution of seats, and at the same time expressed a fear that a measure for the redistribution of seats might be too hastily thrust down the throats of the Liberal Party by the influence of the Prime Minister. My hon. Friend was putting two things together which he had a perfectly legitimate and logical right to put together, and which told strongly in favour of his argument. My hon. Friend said that this was a matter upon which we feared that if it did not receive that consideration, it might be thrust down the throats of the House by the influence of the Prime Minister and Her Majesty's Government. I say that that is a danger to which we are very seriously alive, and which it is absolutely necessary that we should guard against. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board, in his comments this evening, drew a distinction between the position assumed by my right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) and that assumed by my hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), who moved this Amendment, and my right hon. Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton). He was, apparently, desirous of establishing some kind of distinction between the positions of these hon. Members. I entirely deny that there is any ground for such distinction as he attempted to draw. My hon. Friend the Member for Mid Lincolnshire brought forward with very great clearness, in a very concise form, and, as I thought, in a very temperate manner, the various objections which we raise in regard to this measure. He brought forward the contention that it would be unsatisfactory to deal with this question of the franchise unless we get security that the redistribution of seats would be brought forward in such a manner that we could deal with the question as a whole; and my right hon. Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) took very much the same line. He spoke late in the evening, and when several questions had been raised which rather called for an answer; but there was no distinction whatever in principle or spirit between the speeches of my two hon. Friends last night and that of my right hon. Friend to-night. The position we have always taken up is the position we still maintain, and is one from which we cannot recede. We entirely agree that the Franchise Bill ought to be passed. We hold the same grounds which led us to believe that it now ought to pass, and which also led us to believe that it was desirable the settlement should be an early and a speedy settlement, provided only that it be a satisfactory settlement. We are anxious—we are probably more anxious than many hon. Members who sit on that side of the House—for such a settlement. We are conscious that there are Gentlemen, and especially among those who sit on that side of the House, who are not so anxious that this question should be fairly decided. We are anxious because we know that if this question is not decided, there is no saying what other questions may be opened, or of the course that may be taken by hon. Gentlemen and pressed upon Her Majesty's Government. But we feel, also, that if we allow a pretended settlement of this question, when it is not settled, if we allow ourselves to be carried away by vague generalities into expressions of satisfaction when we are not satisfied, we shall have no security for the settlement of the question, and we know perfectly well that we shall leave ourselves in a very dangerous position. The hon. Member for Southwark (Mr. Thorold Rogers) gave us a few specimens last night of the way in which he would like to deal with this question. He told us that he would not be at all satisfied with the measure of enfranchisement proposed by Her Majesty's Government, and that he desires to do away with a great many franchises and a great many methods of voting which we now possess and which we do not intend to interfere with. He says he is for putting down the freemen, for putting down University representation, and for putting down, as I understood, all property qualifications—at all events, putting down plural voting, which seemed to be the point at which he was aiming—indeed, for putting down everything in the shape of a property qualification. These are matters which we are not desirous of leaving open, and we think that now is the time and now is the opportunity when we can come to the consideration of these questions in a fair, deliberate, and unexcited manner, and so that the settlement should be of a lasting character. Nothing of that kind is, of course, eternal; but it is of the greatest importance to the country that whatever settlement we arrive at now should be one of an enduring character, and one that would not require to be opened up again every two or three years after the settlement has been made. With a view to a settlement of such a character, I think it is of the utmost importance that we should look at every part of the settlement we now make, in order to see that it is one which is consistent with itself. On that ground, I am particularly anxious that we should have the plan of redistribution before us, and should be able to discuss and consider that plan, as far as possible, in connection with the Franchise Bill. Now, we have heard something about compromise. I have always said in the country, and I am equally ready to say now, that we regard this question of Redistribution as one of such a complicated character that it is pre-eminently a question which must be discussed in a free spirit, and one on which we must be prepared to make a certain number of concessions on the one side and the other. If you maintain the principles shadowed forth by the Prime Minister, I do not see any insuperable difficulty—any great difficulty—in arriving at the settlement of a Redistribution Bill. But it will not do for us to say that we do not want to have something before us of a real and definite character. Anybody who has had experience in diplomatic transactions, or anything of that kind, is perfectly well aware that nothing is more dangerous than half-understandings; and if we are to deal with a question of this kind, we should not be content with a half-understanding upon the matter, but we must endeavour, as far as possible, to have a real understanding. I think that is a point on which we ought to insist with reference to the interests of the country, and I think it is particularly desirable now that we should insist upon it, because of the very remarkable position in which this question stands before the country. My noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), in the remarkably able speech which he made, spoke of the great transformation which has taken place on this question during the last few months. But, without going into questions of transformation, I would point out how very important is the position in which this question stands with reference to the mode in which it has been discussed and the mode in which it has been brought before the notice of the great body of the country during the past few months. Nothing, I think, could be more creditable, whichever side we are speaking of—of course, laying aside a few exceptional circumstances—nothing could be more creditable to the great mass of the people of this country than the manner in which they have attended to the arguments that have been addressed to them upon this question—addressed to them by speakers on both sides—and the great intelligence and great acuteness which they have brought to bear upon them. But if I make that admission, as I frankly do, with regard to those who have met together to support the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and to press for the speedy extension of the franchise, much more even do I make the claim on behalf of those who have attended to support the meetings of the Opposition on this subject—and I say much more for this reason—that the Government had to say—"Will you have this extension of the franchise we promise you, and will you pass Resolutions in favour of proceeding in the way we think that we can best give it you?" That is a very easy and a very simple question for them to answer. But what we have had to say has been of a much more difficult character. ["Hear, hear!" *and Ministerial cheers.*] Hon. Gentlemen opposite cheer; but they will in a moment see that we had to meet men who desired the extension of the franchise just as much as the supporters of the Government; and yet we had to point out to them that though desirous of seeing the franchise extended, and though ready to do what we could in that direction, we must also call attention to the fact that that was only part of the question—a part of the question which, though important, could not be dealt with without the other portion—that it was not a question merely of the rights and desires of those we were addressing with regard to the extension to them of the right of voting, but that it was a question of what was for the benefit of the country, and what was the best settlement that could be arranged with a view to a satisfactory settlement of our electoral system. We found that these men, keenly anxious as they were to obtain the electoral franchise, were yet thoroughly able to comprehend the argument that the whole subject ought to be dealt with, and that they were as determined that the measure should be one of a comprehensive nature as your audiences were that a measure should be passed rapidly and speedily. The position we took, and which was embodied in a number of Resolutions passed before the Recess, and the action of our Party before the end of last Session, and which we have consistently maintained before all the audiences we have addressed—that position is one from which we have no right to recede, and from which, if we did recede, we should shake the confidence of those who have placed their confidence in us. The right hon. Gentleman says that the object of passing the Franchise Bill is, with him, and with the Government, and with the Liberal Party, a paramount object. I am not at all disposed to question his right to call it a paramount object; but what I maintain is that, in treating it as a paramount object, the Government have a very much better prospect of attaining that object which they say is paramount by proceeding in a business-like and reasonable manner in regard to the other question with which it is connected than they will have if they attempt to force it on alone. There is a Greek saying that "the half is better than the whole." I do not know the precise sense in which those words have sometimes been used; but, applying them to the present case, I would say that half the trouble is greater than the whole, and that in attempting to deal with this measure in two halves, altogether separate, the Government are setting for themselves a more formidable task than if they were contented to deal with the whole together. I quite understand that in the present Session of Parliament, when Her Majesty's Government first brought forward this measure, and did not know the reception it would meet with, or how far it would be discussed, or what fate it would meet with in Committee—I can quite understand that they thought it was their business to press the measure through by itself, and that it was impossible to find time for another. But the position is now entirely different, and I do not see that the Government could, for a moment, stand excused in the eyes of the country, or in the eyes of any common-sense person, if, for the mere purpose of adhering to what they said, under wholly different circumstances, last Session, they persisted in a course which would stand in the way, and throw difficulties in the way of the attainment of the very object they desire. The right hon. Gentleman shadowed forth in his speech yesterday, and last Session, some of the leading principles on which he considers that a Redistribution Bill ought to be framed, and on which we may conclude that the Government have already prepared, or nearly prepared, their scheme. If that is so, what can be the difficulty of laying those proposals before the House? I can say at once for the statement of the right hon. Gentleman that there is nothing in the statement of those principles, if he lays them before us—there is nothing which leads me to believe that there will be any difficulty in framing a measure upon them that will be acceptable in its main principles to the great body of the House. But until the Bill is framed, and until we have seen the Bill, and know how the question is worked, it is impossible for us to form an adequate opinion. But if the Government intend to close this Session without bringing this matter forward they are laying up in store for themselves a very difficult future, which is quite unnecessary. The hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere), who got up in his place a short time ago, taunted the Government with some words that they used in July, to the effect that this Session would be confined to the particular purpose of passing the Franchise Bill. I do not think the hon. Member is a good friend to the Government in doing this. His challenges to them and his insistance upon such explanations may rather lead the great body of hon. Gentlemen opposite to see how unwise it would be to pin the Government to expressions which may have been used in the heat of debate, or under circumstances very different from the present, in order to prevent a satisfactory solution. If the hon. Member desires to prevent a satisfactory solution in order that the door may be open for him to introduce by-and-bye further questions of a dangerous and mischievous character—if that is his object, let hon. Gentlemen opposite, who, I am sure, do not share that desire, take warning from the plain and frank statement he has made. Let them see what they are endangering if they do not come to some reasonable terms for the settlement of the question. Our position is an unchanged position from that which we took up when this Bill was first laid before us, and we decided on accepting the second reading of the Bill. We have always taken the same view. We have expressed it here and in the country, and, whenever called upon, we shall always be ready to express it. We are ready to assent to the passing of the extensive measure of Reform contained in the Franchise Bill on the understanding that we shall be able to look upon the whole measure of Reform—the one part connected with the other. I do not mean to say that one shall be dependent upon the other. I do not ask you to put the two measures on the Table together; but I say that we must look at the whole measure of Reform together, and that we cannot understand a mere portion of the question until we have a clear idea of what the measure of redistribution is to be. We are told that it will be a redistribution scheme in which particular care has been taken to separate the urban from the rural districts; but I do not want to see such a separation brought about on every subject between the two interests as will lead to antagonism between them. What we desire is that care shall be taken to draw such lines as shall prevent the rural interests from being swamped, and one class being set against the other. But there are many other questions of great importance in connection with this subject of Reform to be considered. The right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) has said that we think of nothing except this distinction between the urban and rural districts. He is entirely wrong. What we desire, as well as the Prime Minister, is to see that the system of redistribution of seats is so arranged as that each different pursuit of importance shall have, as far as possible, a fair representation in Parliament. Considering the enormous importance of our Parliamentary system to those who are engaged in every kind and variety of pursuits in this country, it is of the utmost importance that we should have such a Constitution as would give an opening for the representation of those pursuits; and I am afraid, if we are to take the theory of numbers, and nothing but numbers, we should find ourselves in a very difficult position, unless we were so to arrange the details of redistribution as to meet the difficulty. I hope and trust that this discussion may produce some practical results, and that the opinions which have been expressed in various quarters may show Her Majesty's Government that there is no real difficulty in settling this question if they will only trust to the House, and to those hon. Gentlemen who sit opposite to them. For my own part, I can promise them that any practical Redistribution Bill shall be received and shall be considered by those who sit on this side of the House in a spirit of fairness, and with a desire to bring about a setlement of this difficult question. I do not believe for a moment that, in agreeing to the Amendment of my hon. Friend, we shall in any way throw back the settlement of this question. On the contrary, I believe that by agreeing to the Amendment we shall, in reality, be advancing the settlement of the question. By agreeing to that Amendment we shall be taking up the position which we took up substantially two or three months ago, and which has led to our occupying the much more satisfactory position in which we find ourselves now with regard to this question. There can be no doubt that the merits of the course we advocate have been largely recognized and greatly advanced by the course of the discussion in the Recess; but we cannot and ought not to depart from the position we formerly took up. We invite the Government—and we are anxious that the Government should accept the invitation—to deal frankly with us in this matter by introducing their Redistribution Bill, which, no doubt, they have by this time got well in hand; and we can promise them that when they have laid that Bill before us, both that and any other measure which may be connected with it shall be most carefully considered, with the desire that it shall receive our most cordial support.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir, there is very little in the speech which has just fallen from the right hon. Gentleman of which it is necessary that I should take notice. In the speech of the right hon. Baronet there are, undoubtedly, many things to which I can give an almost complete assent. We all, on this side of the House, I believe, agree with him in the desire he has expressed that the settlement of the Reform Question on which we are engaged should be one of an enduring and permanent character, and that it should not be one which should last for only a very small number of years. Neither do I take the smallest exception to what the right hon. Gentleman has said as to its being the duty of the House to look at this question as a whole. I do not object, and I think it is perfectly reasonable that the House should decline to consider a mere portion of the question of Reform, and should desire to take a more comprehensive view of the great change which it is the intention of the Franchise Bill to effect. We have never, in my opinion, controverted that position. All that we have advised the House to do has been to take as comprehensive a view of the question as possible, but that at the same time they should, in their procedure, have regard to what is possible and convenient, and that they should not, by tying together the different parts of this large measure of Reform, render the handling of the matter one of great complication and of great difficulty, and so encumber the question as to make it almost impossible to deal successfully with any portion of it. In my opinion the right hon. Baronet has altogether omitted from his view one set of most important considerations to which, in the few observations I desire to make, I shall endeavour to call some attention. The right hon. Gentleman, in the observations which have fallen from him, has altogether omitted to deal with the question how far it would be possible to deal with it in a practical manner, and with the prospect of obtaining a speedy and satisfactory result in the manner which he has suggested. I do not desire to detain the House long on this occasion for many reasons. My main reason is that I wish to enter as little as possible upon subjects which, in this and in former debates on this question, have given rise to sharp and acute controversy. I think it must have struck every Member of the House who has listened to this debate that there has been a vast difference in tone between the debates of last night and tonight and the former debates on this subject, and there has also been a marked contrast in tone and substance from that of many of the speeches which were delivered during the Autumn Recess. I cannot help hoping that this marked contrast of tone, which has been, I think, so universally recognized, mainly points to the hope that it is possible for Parliament to come to some satisfactory settlement of this question, a settlement not brought about by what is usually termed a compromise, by which either Party shall surrender anything which they consider a matter of principle, or of importance, but rather a settlement which may be arrived at by a process of discussion and consideration, by which it may appear that there is not, after all, so much difference of opinion as was formerly supposed to exist between any Parties in this House upon either of the branches of this great and important question. Well, Sir, I am naturally extremely anxious to avoid, in the observations I desire to make, saying anything which would strike a discordant note, or anything that would tend to mar that degree of harmony which, for the first time, has apparently been developed in the debate on the second reading of the Bill. I confess I was to a certain extent disappointed, as has been said by my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), both by the tone, and also, to a certain extent, by the substance of the speech in which this Amendment was moved. I fully admit that the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope) laboured under some difficulties, because it was impossible for him to have foreseen or to have had any foreknowledge of the extremely conciliatory tone in which the second reading of this Bill would be moved by my right hon. Friend, and also as to how far my right hon. Friend proposed to extend the explanation of his statement on the question of the intentions of the Government with regard to redistribution which he made in moving the second reading of the Bill. Therefore, I am not at all surprised that the hon. Member, in moving an Amendment which was apparently in some degree of a hostile and controversial character, should have been led into delivering a speech of a more hostile character than I think he would have been inclined to make if he could have had more time to reflect upon both the manner and the substance of the speech of my right hon. Friend. But whatever unfavourable impressions may have been made on our minds by the speech of the hon. Member, I must admit that they have been to a very great extent removed by the more conciliatory tone which has been adopted this evening in the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), and in a great part to that of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and also in the speech we have just listened to. I gather from the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock that he regards this Amendment rather in the light of an arm which is kept in the hands of the Party to which he belongs, in order to enable that Party to obtain fuller information and to exact more complete satisfaction in regard to that which they demand upon the subject of redistribution than as an absolute condition which he considers it necessary rigidly to adhere to. Sir, on the other hand, I understand that the hon. Member (Mr. E. Stanhope), in his speech, represented this Amendment as a fair and reasonable condition which the Government might — which the Government ought, and, in fact, so far as the Opposition is concerned, which the Government must—agree to as the price of their allowing this Bill to pass. Well, now, let me examine for a moment what is the character of this so-called reasonable condition. It is that progress is not to be made with this Bill unless it is accompanied by a provision for what is termed a proper arrangement of electoral areas. Well, Sir, those are the bare terms of the Amendment before the House as they have been placed on the Paper; but I suppose we shall be justified in understanding the words "proper arrangement" as meaning an arrangement which would be satisfactory to the minority in this House, an arrangement satisfactory not only in its principles, but also in its details. But the speech of the hon. Member went a good deal further than that. He contended that before he would pass this Bill he must have not only the principles and the manner in which the Government propose to deal with redistribution before him, but that he must have them before him in such a manner that he may be able to deal with them, and, as the Marquess of Salisbury said, to "handle" them—in fact, that he was determined to keep this Franchise Bill as a sort of hostage in the hands of the Opposition, which was not to be released until perfect satisfaction had been exacted by the Opposition in everything which related to the redistribution of seats. In other words, Sir, the position of the hon. Member was this—that he would trust the House of Commons with nothing in the matter of redistribution; that he would trust the majority of this House with nothing; that he would rely not at all upon good sense, nor upon the arguments which might be brought forward on the other side; that he would trust, in fact, to nothing except to the power he would secure by keeping this Bill in a state of suspended animation until the details of the Redistribution Bill had been settled, and manipulated entirely to the satisfaction of the Tory Party. Well, Sir, in my opinion, that is not a reasonable condition. It is a condition that amounts to this. It is, according to hon. Members, a condition which is to attach to the passing of this measure, on the passing of which the country, in our opinion, has set its heart—a condition, the character of which is indefinite, and a condition which, after all, might be impossible of execution. Let the House suppose, for a moment, that we comply with this reasonable proposal. What would our position be? We are at present almost in the dark; we do not know what the views of the Opposition are on the subject of redistribution, and which views we are to satisfy before we are to be allowed to pass this measure. I must dissent altogether from the opinion expressed by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) this evening, when he said that we were already sufficiently in possession of the views of the Opposition on the subject of redistribution. The noble Lord referred to the speech of the Marquess of Salisbury at Manchester, and to a speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach). He did not refer to his own speeches, but he gave us his own opinion on the subject. I have not had the opportunity of referring to those speeches since I heard the noble Lord; but I have very distinctly in my mind an article written by the Marquess of Salisbury in *The National Review* on the subject of Redistribution, which has certainly been interpreted by a great number of persons as indicating a very strong preference for the adoption of the cumulative vote, or of some other form of minority or proportional representation. Now, the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock gave us to-night his own opinion on the subject of redistribution; and he told us that the scheme which he favoured, and which he believed would meet with general approval on his side of the House, was a scheme which in the main would apportion representation in proportion to numbers, and would approximate closely to the single-Member electoral districts. Now, I hardly need point out that there is an absolute contradiction between the cumulative vote and any other form of minority representation and the proposal of the noble Lord. What reason have we to know that any of these proposals—proposals which have been put forward by the Marquess of Salisbury himself, by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), or by the noble Lord, do in deed and in fact command the approval and support of any considerable section of Members sitting on the other side of the House? Why, within the last few moments we have heard the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition state opinions in regard to redistribution which appear to me to lean much more towards the views which were advocated by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) than towards those advocated by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. A part of the proposal of the noble Lord suggested the separation of rural and urban districts; but the Leader of the Opposition has just told us that he does not wish to see any such sharp separation between rural and urban districts as would be likely in his opinion to mark, if it did not engender, an antagonism of interest between those rural and urban districts. I cannot pretend to say that the differences which apparently exist upon the subject of redistribution in the ranks of the Conservative Party are differences so vital that they are incapable of being reconciled; but what I am tempted to say is, that there is not before us at this moment any such announced and avowed agreement among hon. Members opposite as to what it is they require in the matter of redistribution as would even give us any fair assurance that any Bill which—I will not say we—but even they might introduce themselves would command their universal assent and support. Certainly, if we are to assume that the noble Lord does accurately represent the views of his Party in the scheme which he has set before us to-night, the progress which has been made in the education of his Party is enormous. I say, without fear of contradiction, that if the

Government had last February introduced, in conjunction with the Franchise Bill, a measure of redistribution framed on the principles indicated by the noble Lord to-night, that measure would have been almost universally scouted by hon. Members sitting on the Benches opposite as a revolutionary supplement to a revolutionary Bill, and as an emanation of the Caucus which my right hon. Friend the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) is said to preside over. Well, Sir, this is to a great extent our answer, and the only answer we can give to those categorical inquiries put to us by the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson). The right hon. and learned Gentleman wants to know when we shall produce the Redistribution Bill; and our answer, and the only answer we can give, is that we shall introduce a Bill, or will introduce redistribution proposals, whenever we have some fair reason to believe that any redistribution proposals which we can bring forward will be accepted by the Party opposite as a basis of settlement, or which will be accepted as a fair subject of discussion for the purpose of arriving at a settlement, and which will not be made the engine and the weapon for defeating the Franchise Bill. But I think I may say to the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock that he, at all events, need be under very little apprehension as to the success of the views which he entertains on this subject, if he be right that they are entertained by the bulk of his Party. It is quite possible that those views may go a good deal further than many who sit on these Benches consider necessary. It is quite possible that they may involve a larger disturbance of existing electoral arrangements than commend themselves to many who sit on this side of the House. His views will commend themselves, at all events, to the great bulk of the Radical Party; and if they are views which commend themselves to the vast majority of his own Party also, the noble Lord has little need of apprehension, and is in want of no guarantee as to our dealing with redistribution, although it may be our duty to submit to the House some reasons why the opinions of the noble Lord ought not to be pushed to their extreme logical conclusions. Perhaps the House will allow me to call attention for a moment to some of the difficulties which, in dealing with a question of this kind, we are exposed to, and the embarrassments which we sometimes experience in finding where to look for the accredited Leader of the Party opposite. I think I have heard speeches of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock which have been very coldly received by the great bulk of the Conservative Party. I have, I think, heard the noble Lord incur the severe reproof of those who sit on the Front Bench opposite; but now it appears that we are to take the opinions of the noble Lord without any further support than the cheers which they receive as the expression of the opinion of the Conservative Party on this great subject. The noble Lord, towards the conclusion of his speech, gave expression in eloquent language to what, in my opinion, were very wise and statesmanlike views upon the desirability of coming to a peaceful settlement on this great question. Was the noble Lord less the Leader of his Party when, a few weeks ago, in answer to the merest suggestion of conciliation, he denounced that suggestion as an emanation from the Party of "snivel and drivel?" Therefore, Sir, our difficulties do not consist only in some embarrassment as to the exact part of the House in which we are to find the Leaders of the Party opposite, but also as to the times and seasons to which we are to have regard in estimating the value of the opinions expressed by those Leaders themselves. While I am referring to the noble Lord, I may, perhaps, be allowed to say a word on another subject; and although it is no part of our business in this House to defend the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who appears to me to be very well able to take care of himself, I cannot help thinking that it was rather hard upon him to be made the subject of such a severe and bitter attack for having, as it seems to us, learnt the lesson which has been given to him by the noble Lord who sits near him only somewhat too well. We seem to have to-night, in the cheers of the Party opposite with which that attack was greeted, an answer to that question which has been asked so long, and which has, perhaps, never yet received an answer so complete—

"Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes?"

It seems to us that a charge of want of loyalty can be borne with great toleration when one of the Gracchi, in the person of the noble Lord, rebukes another of the family with having on one occasion only been somewhat wanting in loyalty to his Party. Well, Sir, under these circumstances, what is it that we are asked to do by accepting this "reasonable condition?" We are asked, instead of presenting to the House a clear and simple issue, which Parliament and the country also can understand—we are asked to obscure the issue, to mix up with the simple issue on which we desire that Parliament should decide another complicated consideration, upon which numerous differences of opinion can, and, indeed, must, arise. Let the House look for a moment at the position in which we shall be placed if we accept that proposal. Suppose we produce a measure; suppose that the Party opposite, notwithstanding the indications which have been received tonight, object—whether reasonably or unreasonably I will not say—to our proposals on the subject of redistribution; they will resist them, as they are entitled to do, by every means in their power, by all the Forms of the House, and by all the means which the practice and procedure of Parliament place at their disposal. The Bill might fail either in this House or in "another place;" and with it, according to this "reasonable condition," is to fail also the Franchise Bill; and we are asked to make ourselves voluntary parties to that failure. We are asked to agree to the proposition that the extension of the franchise is to be indefinitely postponed. ["No, no!"] Yes; it may be indefinitely postponed, because we have not been able to satisfy conditions which never have been formulated, because we have failed to accomplish objects which have never been described to us, and because we have failed to guard against dangers which have never been indicated. Sir, that is a position which may be forced upon us; but it is not a position which any Member of this House can for one moment expect Her Majesty's Government are going voluntarily to take up. We have heard much in the course of this debate upon the subject of guarantees. Well, Sir, my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) has spoken of the guarantees which the Government have given. They may be sufficient or they may be insufficient; they may or they may not be capable of extension. I will not detain the House by going into that question; but I think we may ask whether it is from the majority alone that guarantees on this subject are to be taken? What guarantees have the Party opposite given us; what guarantees are you willing to give; what guarantees can you give us that there is any measure of redistribution which will induce you to allow this Bill to pass, and to settle as a whole the combined question of franchise and redistribution? Sir, I am not going to express any doubt as to the sincerity of the conversion of the Party opposite to the principle of the Franchise Bill. I may feel some doubt in my own mind as to whether a great many Members opposite are very much attached to the principle of that measure, and I think there are a good many of them who would, if they thought it possible, be very glad to see it relegated to obscurity; but what I admit is the sincerity of their opinions that, after what has taken place, the extension of the franchise should be accomplished at once, if they could obtain reasonable security. Although I am perfectly willing to admit the sincerity of those opinions, I am tempted to ask, what is the use of this conversion if it is not to be accompanied by anything more than an academical assent to the principle of the Franchise Bill in words, accompanied by tactical and obstructive Motions in practice? If the Party opposite had told us—if they will tell us now—what it is they want, what is the sacred principle of redistribution for which they contend, what it is they insist upon, and what it is they cannot accept, then I could understand their position. But I have a great difficulty in understanding that position now, and, in my firm opinion, if the position of the Conservative Party is as stated by the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. E. Stanhope), and is understood by the country, it is understood as one of obstruction to the Franchise Bill. Sir, there is one observation further which I desire to make. In my opinion the course taken by the Government is one which is not only recommended by ordinary considerations—not only as a means of passing the measure before the House, but also as offering the best security for the reasonable treatment of the question of redistribution; and we are convinced that it offers the best method of obtaining acceptance of the principle of the Bill. I think there can be no doubt, whatever the unanimity of opinion in the House may now be on the subject, that no one will contend that when the Bill was introduced last February there was anything like that unanimity of sentiment which we now witness. At all events, the course we have pursued has had the effect that the Conservative Party in this House, in the other House, and in the country are now almost unanimously committed to the principle of the Franchise Bill. But I say that it is also the course which offers the best prospect of a reasonable settlement. If we had now, or at any former stage, embodied our proposals as to redistribution in the form of a Bill or otherwise, they must almost inevitably have become the subject of Party conflict. They would necessarily have been framed in ignorance, and, to some extent, would still be framed in ignorance, of the wishes and opinions of the Opposition; and the Liberal Party, if the scheme had commended itself to Gentlemen opposite, would almost immediately have been committed to the principle and details of that measure, and the cry would have been soon heard—"The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill." Sir, the Prime Minister has now said that it is not his desire—it is not ours—that the work of redistribution should be the work of one Party alone, but rather that it should be the work of the whole House. Surely, if that object is to be accomplished, it is an advantage that we, and the Party who support us, should not be committed prematurely to principles of redistribution which the Party opposite have not agreed to. This consideration seems to me to carry with it not only a justification of the course which the Government has pursued, but a suggestion for the future treatment of the question. If, instead of opposing, I will not say obstructive, but apparently hostile Motions to the progress of the Bill, the Opposition would give us some further indication of what they desire to secure, or, at all events, what they want to avoid, my firm belief is that such indications as they may be willing to give would not be received by us as weapons to be made use of for the purposes of Party conflict, but would be received by us in an honest and friendly spirit as a means of arriving at a safe and honourable settlement of that branch of the question.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 372; Noes 232: Majority 140.

AYES

Acland, rt. hn. Sir T. D.
Acland, C. T. D.
Agnew, W.
Ainsworth, D.
Allen, H. G.
Allen, W. S.
Anderson, G.
Armitage, B.
Armitstead, G.
Arnold, A.
Asher, A.
Ashley, hon. E. M.
Baldwin, E.
Balfour, Sir G.
Balfour, rt. hon. J. B.
Balfour, J. S.
Barclay, J. W.
Baring, Viscount
Barnes, A.
Barran, J.
Barry, J.
Bass, Sir A.
Bass, H.
Baxter, rt. hon. W. E.
Beaumont, W. B.
Biddulph, M.
Biggar, J. G.
Blennerhassett, Sir R.
Blennerhassett, R. P.
Bolton, J. C.
Borlase, W. C.
Brand, hon. H. R.
Brassey, Sir T.
Brassey, H. A.
Brett, R. B.
Briggs, W. E.
Bright, right hon. J.
Bright, J.
Brinton, J.
Broadhurst, H.
Brogden, A.
Brooks, M.
Brown, A. H.
Bruce, rt. hon. Lord C.
Bruce, hon. R. P.
Bryce, J.
Buchanan, T. R.
Burt, T.
Buszard, M. C.
Buxton, F. W.
Buxton, S. C.
Caine, W. S.
Callan, P.
Cameron, C.
Campbell, Lord C.
Campbell, Sir G.
Campbell, R. F. F.
Campbell-Bannerman, right hon. H.
Carbutt, E. H.
Carington, hon. R.
Cartwright, W. C.
Causton, R. K.
Cavendish, Lord E.
Chamberlain, rt. hn. J.
Chambers, Sir T.
Cheetham, J. F.
Childers, rt. hn. H. C. E.
Clark, S.
Clarke, J. C.
Clifford, C. C.
Cohen, A.
Colebrooke, Sir T. E.
Collings, J.
Collins, E.
Colman, J. J.
Colthurst, Colonel
Commins, A.
Corbet, W. J.
Corbett, J.
Cotes, C. C.
Courtauld, G.
Courtney, L. H.
Cowen, J.
Cowper, hon. H. F.
Craig, W. Y.
Cropper, J.
Cross, J. K.
Crum, A.
Cunliffe, Sir R. A.
Currie, Sir D.
Davey, H.
Davies, D.
Davies, R.
Davies, W.
Dawson, C.
Deasy, J.
De Ferrières, Baron
Dickson, J.
Dickson, T. A.
Dilke, rt. hn. Sir C. W.
Dillwyn, L. L.
Dodds, J.
Duckham, T.
Duff, R. W.
Dundas, hon. J. C.
Earp, T.
Ebrington, Viscount
Edwards, H.
Edwards, P.
Egerton, Admiral hon. F.

Elliot, hon. A. R. D.
Errington, G.
Evans, T. W.
Fairbairn, Sir A.
Farquharson, Dr. R.
Fay, C. J.
Ferguson, R.
Ferguson, R.C.Munro-
Ffolkes, Sir W. H. B.
Findlater, W.
Firth, J. F. B.
Fitzmaurice, Lord E.
Fitzwilliam, hon.C.W.
Fitzwilliam, hon.H.W.
Fitzwilliam, hon.W.J.
Flower, C.
Foljambe, C. G. S.
Foljambe, F. J. S.
Forster, Sir C.
Forster, rt. hn. W. E.
Fort, R.
Fowler, H. H.
Fowler, W.
Fry, L.
Fry, T.
Gabbett, D. F.
Gladstone, rt.hn. W.E.
Gladstone, H. J.
Gladstone, W. H.
Glyn, hon. S. C.
Gordon, Lord D.
Gordon, Sir A.
Goschen, rt. hon. G. J.
Gourley, E. T.
Gower, hon. E. F. L.
Grafton, F. W.
Grant, Sir G. M.
Grant, A.
Grant, D.
Gray, E. D.
Grey, A. H. G.
Guest, M. J.
Gurdon, R. T.
Hamilton, J. G. C.
Harcourt,rt.hn. Sir W. G. V. V.
Hardcastle, J. A.
Harrington, T.
Hartington, Marq. of
Hastings, G. W.
Hayter, Sir A. D.
Henderson, F.
Heneage, E.
Henry, M.
Herschell, Sir F.
Hibbert, J. T.
Hill, T. R.
Holden, I.
Holland, S.
Hollond, J. R.
Holms, J.
Hopwood, C. H.
Howard, E. S.
Howard, G. J.
Howard, J.
Illingworth, A.
Ince, H. B.
Inderwick, F. A.
James, Sir H.
James, C.
James, W. H.
Jardine, R.
Jenkins, Sir J. J.
Jenkins, D. J.
Jerningham, H. E. H.
Johnson, E.
Jones-Parry, L.
Kenny, M. J.
Kingscote, Col. R. N. F.
Kinnear, J.
Labouchere, H.
Laing, S.
Lambton, hon. F. W.
Lawrence, Sir J. C.
Lawrence, W.
Lawson, Sir W.
Lea, T.
Leahy, J
Leake, R.
Leamy, E.
Leatham, E. A.
Leatham, W. H.
Lee, H.
Lefevre, rt. hn. G. J. S.
Lloyd, M.
Lubbock, Sir J.
Lusk, Sir A.
Lymington, Viscount
Lynch, N.
Lyons, R. D.
Macfarlane, D. H.
Mackie, R. B.
Mackintosh, C. F.
Macliver, P. S.
M‘Arthur, Sir W.
M‘Arthur, A.
M‘Carthy, J.
M‘Carthy, J. H.
M‘Clure, Sir T.
M‘Coan, J. C.
M‘Intyre, Æneas J.
M‘Kenna, Sir J. N.
M‘Lagan, P.
M‘Laren, C. B. B.
M‘Mahon, E.
M‘Minnies, J. G.
Magniac, C.
Maitland, W. F.
Mappin, F. T.
Marjoribanks, hon. E.
Martin, P.
Martin, R. B.
Marum, E. M.
Maskelyne, M. H. N. Story-
Mason, H.
Maxwell-Heron, Cn. J.
Mayne, T.
Meagher, W.
Meldon, C. H.
Mellor, J. W.
Milbank, Sir F. A.
Molloy, B. C.
Monk, C. J.
Moreton, Lord
Morgan, rt. hon. G. O.
Morley, A.
Morley, J.
Morley, S.
Mundella, rt. hn. A. J.
Muntz, P. H.
Nicholson, W.
Noel, E.
Nolan, Colonel J. P.
Norwood, C. M.
O'Beirne, Colonel F.
O'Brien, Sir P.
O'Brien, W.
O'Connor, A.
O'Connor, T. P.
O'Donoghue, The
O'Gorman Mahon, Col. The
O'Kelly, J.
O'Shea, W. H.
O'Sullivan, W. H.
Otway, Sir A. J.
Paget, T. T.
Palmer, C. M.
Palmer, G.
Parker, C. S.
Parnell, C. S.
Pease, Sir J. W.
Pease, A.
Peddie, J. D.
Pender, J.
Pennington, F.
Philips, R. N.
Picton, J. A.
Playfair, rt. hn. Sir L.
Portman, hon.W.H.B.
Potter, T. B.
Powell, W. R. H.
Power, J. O'C.
Power, P. J.
Power, R.
Price, Sir R. G.
Pulley, J.
Ralli, P.
Ramsay, J.
Ramsden, Sir J.
Rathbone, W.
Redmond, J. E.
Redmond, W. H. K.
Reed, Sir E. J.
Reid, R. T.
Rendel, S.
Richard, H.
Richardson, T.
Roberts, J.
Robertson, H.
Roe, T.
Rogers, C. C.
Rogers, J. E. T.
Rothschild,Sir N. M.de
Roundell, C. S.
Russell, Lord A.
Russell, C.
Russell, G. W. E.
Ruston, J.
Rylands, P.
St. Aubyn, Sir J.
Samuelson, H.
Seely, C. (Lincoln)
Seely, C. (Nottingham)
Sellar, A. C.
Sexton, T.
Shaw, T.
Sheil, E.
Sheridan, H. B.
Shield, H.
Simon, Serjeant J.
Sinclair, Sir J. G. T.
Slagg, J.
Small, J. F.
Smith, Lieut-Col. G.
Smith, E.
Smith, S.
Smithwick, J. F.
Smyth, P. J.
Spencer, hon. C. R.
Stafford, Marquess of
Stanley, hon. E. L.
Stansfeld, rt. hon. J.
Stanton, W. J.
Steble, Lieut-Col. R. F.
Stevenson, J. C.
Storey, S.
Stuart, H. V.
Sullivan, T. D.
Summers, W.
Synan, E. J.
Talbot, C. R. M.
Tavistock, Marquess of
Tennant, C.
Thomasson, J. P.
Thompson, T. C.
Tillett, J. H.
Torrens, W. T. M.
Tracy, hon. F. S. A Hanbury-
Trevelyan, rt. hn. G.O.
Villiers, rt. hon. C. P.
Vivian, Sir H. H.
Vivian, A. P.
Waddy, S. D.
Walker, S.
Walter, J.
Waterlow, Sir S.
Watkin, Sir E. W.
Waugh, E.
Webster, J.
West, H. W.
Whitbread, S.
Whitworth, B.
Wiggin, H.
Williamson, S.
Willis, W.
Wills, W. H.
Willyams, E. W. B.
Wilson, Sir M.
Wilson, C. H.
Wilson, I.
Wodehouse, E. R.
Woodall, W.
Woolf, S.

TELLERS.

Grosvenor, right hon. Lord R.
Kensington, rt.hn.Lord

## NOES.

Alexander, Major-Gen.
Allsopp, C.
Amherst, W. A. T.
Archdale, W. H.
Ashmead-Bartlett, E.
Aylmer, J. E. F.
Bailey, Sir J. R
Balfour, A. J.
Baring, T. C.
Barne, F. St. J. N.
Barttelot, Sir W. B.
Bateson, Sir T.
Beach, right hon. Sir M. E. Hicks-

Beach, W. W. B.
Bective, Earl of
Bellingham, A. H.
Bentinck, rt. hn. G. C.
Beresford, G. De la P.
Biddell, W.
Birkbeck, E.
Blackburne, Col. J. I.
Boord, T. W.
Bourke, right hon. R.
Broadley, W. H. H.
Brodrick, hon. W. St. J. F.
Brooke, Lord
Brooks, W. C.
Bruce, Sir H. H.
Bruce, hon. T.
Brymer, W. E.
Bulwer, J. R.
Burghley, Lord
Buxton, Sir R. J.
Cameron, D.
Campbell, J. A.
Carden, Sir R. W.
Cecil, Lord E. H. B. G.
Chaine, J.
Chaplin, H.
Christie, W. L.
Churchill, Lord R.
Clarke, E.
Clive, Col. hon. G. W.
Coddington, W.
Cole, Viscount
Compton, F.
Coope, O. E.
Corry, J. P.
Cotton, W. J. R.
Crichton, Viscount
Cross, rt. hon. Sir R. A.
Cubitt, right hon. G.
Curzon, Major hon. M.
Dalrymple, C.
Davenport, H. T.
Dawnay, Col. hon. L. P.
Dawnay, hon. G. C.
De Worms, Baron H.
Dickson, Major A. G.
Digby, Colonel hon. E.
Dixon-Hartland, F. D.
Douglas, A. Akers-
Dyke, rt. hn. Sir W. H.
Eaton, H. W.
Ecroyd, W. F.
Egerton, hon. A. de T.
Egerton, hon. A. F.
Elcho, Lord
Elliot, Sir G.
Elliot, G. W.
Ellis, Sir J. W.
Elton, C. I.
Estcourt, G. S.
Ewing, A. O.
Feilden, Lieut.-General
Fellowes, W. H.
Finch, G. H.
Finch-Hatton, hon. M. E. G.
Fitz-Wygram, Sir F.
Fletcher, Sir H.
Floyer, J.
Folkestone, Viscount
Forester, C. T. W.
Foster, W. H.
Fowler, rt. hon. R. N.
Fremantle, hon. T. F.
French-Brewster, R. A. B.
Freshfield, C. K.
Galway, Viscount
Gardner, R. Richardson-
Gathorne-Hardy, hon. J. S.
Gibson, right hon. E.
Giffard, Sir H. S.
Giles, A.
Goldney, Sir G.
Gooch, Sir D.
Gore-Langton, W. S.
Grantham, W.
Greene, E.
Greer, T.
Gregory, G. B.
Halsey, T. F.
Hamilton, right hon. Lord G.
Hamilton, Lord C. J.
Hamilton, I. T.
Harris, W. J.
Harvey, Sir R. B.
Hay, rt. hon. Admiral Sir J. C. D.
Herbert, hon. S.
Hicks, E.
Hildyard, T. B. T.
Hill, Lord A. W.
Hill, A. S.
Holland, Sir H. T.
Home, Lt.-Col. D. M.
Hope, right hon. A. J. B. B.
Houldsworth, W. H.
Hubbard, right hon. J. G.
Jackson, W. L.
Johnstone, Sir F.
Kennard, Col. E. H.
Kennard, C. J.
Kennaway, Sir J. H.
King-Harman, Colonel E. R.
Knight, F. W.
Knightley, Sir R.
Lacon, Sir E. H. K.
Lawrance, J. C.
Lawrence, Sir T.
Lechmere, Sir E. A. H.
Legh, W. J.
Leigh, R.
Leighton, Sir B.
Leighton, S.
Lennox, right hn. Lord H. G. C. G.
Lever, J. O.
Levett, T. J.
Lewis, C. E.
Lewisham, Viscount
Lindsay, Sir R. L.
Loder, R.
Long, W. H.
Lopes, Sir M.
Lowther, rt. hon. J.
Lowther, hon. W.
Lowther, J. W.
Macartney, J. W. E.
Mac Iver, D.
Macnaghten, E.
M'Garel-Hogg, Sir J.
Makins, Colonel W. T.
Manners, rt. hon. Lord J. J. R.
March, Earl of
Marriott, W. T.
Master, T. W. C.
Maxwell, Sir H. E.
Miles, Sir P. J. W.
Miles, C. W.
Mills, Sir C. H.
Milner, Sir F.
Monckton, F.
Morgan, hon. F.
Moss, R.
Mowbray, rt. hon. Sir J. R.
Mulholland, J.
Muntz, P. A.
Newport, Viscount
Nicholson, W. N.
North, Colonel J. S.
Northcote, rt. hon. Sir S. H.
Northcote, H. S.
Onslow, D. R.
Paget, R. H.
Peel, rt. hon. Sir R.
Pell, A.
Pemberton, E. L.
Percy, rt. hon. Earl
Percy, Lord A. M.
Phipps, C. N. P.
Phipps, P.
Plunket, rt. hon. D. R.
Price, Captain G. E.
Puleston, J. H.
Raikes, rt. hon. H. C.
Rankin, J.
Read, C. S.
Rendlesham, Lord
Repton, G. W.
Ridley, Sir M. W.
Ritchie, C. T.
Rolls, J. A.
Ross, A. H.
Ross, C. C.
Round, J.
Salt, T.
Sclater-Booth, rt. hn. G.
Scott, M. D.
Selwin - Ibbetson, Sir H. J.
Severne, J. E.
Smith, rt. hon. W. H.
Smith, A.
Stanhope, hon. E.
Stanley, rt. hon. Col. F.
Stanley, E. J.
Storer, G.
Strutt, hon. C. H.
Sykes, C.
Talbot, J. G.
Thomson, H.
Thornhill, A. J.
Thynne, Lord H. F.
Tollemache, hon. W. F.
Tollemache, H. J.
Tomlinson, W. E. M.
Tottenham, A. L.
Tremayne, J.
Tyler, Sir H. W.
Wallace, Sir R.
Walrond, Col. W. H.
Warburton, P. E.
Warton, C. N.
Watney, J.
Whitley, E.
Williams, General O.
Wilmot, Sir. H.
Wilmot, Sir J. E.
Wolff, Sir H. D.
Wortley, C. B. Stuart-
Wroughton, P.
Wyndham, hon. P.
Wynn, Sir W. W.
Yorke, J. R.

TELLERS.

Thornhill, T.
Winn, R.

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *Monday* next.

## *MOTIONS.*

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### WESTMINSTER HALL (RESTORATION).

MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

**Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE**, in rising to move—

> "That a Select Committee be appointed to examine and report on the proposed plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall,"

said, the House would recollect that at the end of last Session he laid before it the plans prepared by the architect, Mr. Pearson, for the restoration of the West Front of Westminster Hall, and that, in doing so, he had stated that if there was any strong difference of opinion on the subject, he should not object to refer the matter to a Select Committee. When the Estimate for the carrying out of the work came before the House, he found that considerable difference of opinion did exist; and after a debate the proposed plans were deferred, in order that they might be considered by a Committee, a comparatively small Vote being taken for certain repairs and works for the protection of the Hall, pending the consideration of plans. Since last Session, however, he had consulted with Mr. Pearson, and had come to the conclusion that it was not desirable to spend any large sum on repairs until it was decided what should ultimately be done with the building; but that it would be better to appoint the Committee in the short Autumn Session; take its decision, and that of the House, and at once proceed with the work of restoration. It seemed to him desirable that the House should come to a decision as early as possible; and he, therefore, hoped that no objection would be taken to his Motion with a view to the speedy determination of the question. It was important that the work should be commenced, or some repairs should be executed, before the coming winter. He did not think the inquiry would be a long one, and it seemed to him that it would be easier to obtain a Committee now than it would be in the regular Session next year, when the House would be in full work. The Committee would not find it necessary to sit more than three or four days. Of course, it would be his duty to see that the plans were very carefully explained to them, and that due consideration was given to any objections which might be raised to the plans. Under the circumstances, he hoped the House would agree to his Motion.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to examine and report on the proposed plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall."—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

**MR. SEXTON** said, he should like to ask the right hon. Gentleman how soon he proposed to name the Members who were to constitute the Committee, and whether it was proposed to nominate any Irish Representative upon it?

**MR. SHAW LEFEVRE**: I have already secured that. I desire to nominate the Committee on Monday, and to propose, amongst other hon. Gentlemen, one representing Ireland, who sits in the same quarter of the House as the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Sexton).

**MR. MITCHELL HENRY**: How many hon. Members does the right hon. Gentleman propose to put on the Committee?

**MR. SHAW LEFEVRE**: I propose that it should be a Committee of 13.

**MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK** said, he did not think the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) was very satisfactory. For instance, he could not agree with the right hon. Gentleman in the opinion that the inquiry would only occupy a very short time. He had not had much to do with architectural subjects; but he objected altogether to the plans of Mr. Pearson. He was not alone in that objection, because it was taken by others who were far more competent to judge than himself. It appeared to him that if the question was to be properly discussed, the discussion must be one which would take some considerable time. It would certainly not lead to a satisfactory result if it was sought to complete the inquiry in four or five days. Now that the First Commissioner of Works proposed to appoint a Committee of 13 Members, he would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether, if the Committee were not able to discuss the question, or to agree to any Report at the present moment, their Sittings would be adjourned until next Session? It was as well it should be pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman that this was a matter of great importance, and that it would be absolutely necessary for the Committee to call before it competent witnesses. Moreover, the right hon. Gentleman had adopted a most unusual form for his Motion. He (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) could not understand why the Notice of Motion was couched in the particular terms in which they found it on the Paper; why it did not state what powers the Committee would have. Those who had any experience of the Business of the House were aware that Notices of this kind usually gave powers to the Committee to be appointed to call witnesses and so forth. Why did not the right hon. Gentleman put his Notice down in the usual form? He need only direct the attention of the right hon. Gentleman to Notice No. 6 on that night's Paper. It was a Motion standing in the name of one of the right hon. Gentleman's Colleagues (the Solicitor General for Ireland); but the usual form was adopted—power was given to call witnesses, and the names of the Gentlemen who were to be proposed as Members of the Committee were also given.

Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) had been singularly unfortunate in the reference he had made. When the Committee was nominated he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would certainly move that the Committee should have power to take evidence; and that was the usual and proper time to make such a Motion. He proposed to nominate the Committee on Monday. He had already said that he would be able to get a much better Committee at that time of the Session than he would if he waited until next Session; and he thought that when the hon. and learned Gentleman saw the constitution of the Committee he would be of opinion that no better Committee for the purpose could be formed.

Mr. MITCHELL HENRY observed, that the reference to the Committee was—

> "To examine and report on the proposed plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall."

He thought it was fair to ask if there was more than one plan? He had never heard of more than one plan. It appeared to him that this was a Committee to be formed for the purpose of sanctioning the plan which had been already adopted by the First Commissioner of Works—that was the plan of Mr. Pearson. He had the opportunity last Session, by the courtesy of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), of visiting the *locus in quo*, and of hearing what was to be said. He was greatly impressed with the fact that Mr. Pearson did not do the Members of the House of Commons who assembled on the site the honour of attending to explain his own plans. The company had a statement by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), and also by another well-known official of the Board of Works; but Mr. Pearson, who was responsible for the plans, and who was recommended as the only architect in England who understood the subject—[Mr. Cavendish Bentinck: Nonsense!]—they had been told that—did not attend at all. He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) took great interest in architectural subjects; but he was unable to get, upon the occasion he referred to, the information which hon. Members were entitled to. Then, when he read this Reference, he found that a Committee was to be appointed to examine and report on the proposed plans. There were no other plans but the plans of Mr. Pearson, and the intention evidently was that Mr. Pearson's plans should be sanctioned by the House of Commons. He did not approve of that kind of procedure. Furthermore, he was surprised that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had already formed his Committee, and that when an Irish Member opposite (Mr. Sexton) asked whether an Irish Member was to be nominated to serve on the Committee, the right hon. Gentleman should say in a very jaunty manner—"Oh, yes; I have settled that with someone on the opposite side." He (Mr. Mitchell Henry) demurred altogether to the idea that the whole of the Irish representation was to be found on the other side of the House. Politics ought not to enter into a matter of this kind; and he was quite sure, from the well-known taste of Irish Members, that there were many of them eminently qualified to serve on the Committee. The public buildings which had been erected in Dublin for many years past equalled anything there was in this country, both in originality, construction, material, and in everything else. He supposed that in this House of Commons it was no use offering any opposition; but he was bound to say that the absorption by the Board of Works of everything in the Metropolis in the shape of architecture, and the assumption that the Board of Works was to be the only judge upon architectural subjects, was most unsatisfactory. The public buildings which had been created in the Metropolis within the last 30 or 40 years had been such as to make us the laughing-stock of all nations. He did not wish to detain the House many moments; but let him take, for instance, the Natural History Museum, which was an offspring of the Board of Works, and in regard to which a right hon. Gentleman who was not now a Member of the House was the supreme authority. That building, whatever its character might be, was sunk in a hollow, and its architectural effect was lost by the want of spending a little money in raising the foundations. That was the remark which every foreigner who visited the Museum made. He did not know that Mr. Pearson was the only person qualified to give an opinion upon the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall. Westminster Hall was never intended to be seen from outside, and the proposals that were laid before them last Session for the construction of a chamber—a room which was to be a garret for the accommodation of old Parliamentary Papers, and which could be of no earthly use in that situation—and the making of a corridor in which carriages might, or rather might not, be driven, for he understood it was only to be 19 feet in width, appeared to him to be one of the most absurd propositions that ever came under his notice. He hoped the House of Commons would not assent to the appointment of this Committee unless the inquiry was to be a genuine one. If the Committee was simply to be appointed to endorse the plans of Mr. Pearson, let it be so stated. If the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had formed a Committee to support Mr. Pearson's plans, let it be known; but do not let them have a sham inquiry to arrive at a foregone conclusion.

MR. T. C. BARING said, he did not know whether he was right in his conjecture; but, according to this Notice of Motion, there were no plans to be submitted to the Committee but those of Mr. Pearson. If that were so, he should feel bound to oppose the appointment of the Committee. Was he to understand that if the Committee were dissatisfied with Mr. Pearson's plan, they could refuse them and call for other plans, because that would be a very different matter. If it was intended that the Committee should only make more or less alterations in Mr. Pearson's plans, he should vote against the appointment of the Committee.

SIR JOSEPH PEASE said, the House seemed to have forgotten for the moment what was the question before it. The question was the appointment of a Committee, and when the Committee was appointed it would be quite within the competence of the House to adopt an Instruction to the Committee. Surely, this Committee was not to have any limit placed on its power. It would have the power to send for other architects than Mr. Pearson. ["Will it?"] He thought the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would hardly propose a Committee which was to be restricted in—[Mr. BARING: The words of the Motion are "the proposed plans."] The powers of every Committee were granted by the House; and when the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) nominated the Committee the House would take care that its powers were sufficient, and that its Members were men in whom the House could place confidence. The present Motion was merely that the Committee should be appointed, and that it should have the power to examine and report on the plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall. ["The proposed plans!"] Surely it would have power to call for plans other than those drawn by Mr. Pearson. The House had only to see, when the Committee came to be nominated, that the powers given it were sufficient in the matter.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY said, there seemed to be every probability that in the end Mr. Pearson's plans would be sent to the right about. Some considerable time must elapse before the matter was settled; and therefore he hoped the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would take means of securing what should be something like adequate protection from the weather for the remains of the ancient buttresses and other parts of the building, which must necessarily suffer during the coming winter if left, as at present, exposed.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE said, he thought it was satisfactory to the House that the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) proposed to refer the matter to a Committee; but he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) was afraid that the terms of the Motion were far too limited. Hon. Members were aware that the subject was discussed last Session, and that objection was raised, not only to Mr. Pearson's plans themselves, but to the whole character of the buildings proposed by that gentleman. It would be well that the Committee should be instructed to examine and report as to the best mode of dealing with the exterior of Westminster Hall.

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, he certainly had no intention of limiting the inquiry of the Committee. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Whitehaven (Mr. Cavendish Bentinck) wished that the word "proposed" should be left out of the terms of Reference, he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) would gladly assent to the omission. He merely wished to add one further explanation in reply to what had fallen from the hon. Member for Galway (Mr. Mitchell Henry), with reference to the absence of Mr. Pearson on the occasion to which he referred. It was an entire accident on the part of Mr. Pearson that he was not present. As a matter of fact, he arrived on the site a short time after his (Mr. Shaw Lefevre's) explanation; had he been there earlier he would have given the explanation which he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) gave. Unfortunately Mr. Pearson was not there at the right moment; and he (Mr. Shaw Lefevre), therefore, gave such explanation of the plans as he could. Mr. Pearson would have been very glad to have afforded every information had he been present.

MR. SPEAKER: Does the right hon. Gentleman propose to leave out the words "the proposed?"

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes.

Amendment made, by leaving out the words "the proposed."

Main Question, as amended, proposed.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE suggested that the words "plans for" should also be omitted, so that the Motion would read, "report on the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall."

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, it was not necessary to add that—he quite understood what was meant.

DR. LYONS said, he had on more than one occasion visited the site, and had had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Pearson there. He wished to take that opportunity of publicly thanking Mr. Pearson for his great kindness and courtesy in explaining the proposed arrangements.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, he thought it was agreed that the word "plans" should be also omitted.

*Mr. Dick-Peddie*

MR. SPEAKER: No; the words proposed to be left out were "the proposed."

MR. MITCHELL HENRY said, that before the Question was put he would like to know whether it was to be distinctly understood that the inquiry would be free and open?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Certainly.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: And that the Committee will be empowered to judge of other plans?

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE: Yes.

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

Select Committee *appointed,* "to examine and report on plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall."

And, on November 10, Committee *nominated* as follows:—Mr. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH, Mr. RYLANDS, Mr. BERESFORD HOPE, Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, Sir RICHARD WALLACE, Sir EDWARD REED, Sir HENRY HOLLAND, Mr. DICK-PEDDIE, Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL, Mr. WALTER, Mr. CHEETHAM, Mr. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY, and Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.

*Ordered,* That Five be the quorum.—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

## SALE OF INTOXICATING LIQUORS ON SUNDAY (NORTHUMBERLAND) BILL.

### MOTION FOR LEAVE.

MR. JERNINGHAM: I beg to move for leave to bring in a Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Northumberland.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That leave be given to bring in a Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Northumberland."—(*Mr. Jerningham.*)

MR. CAVENDISH BENTINCK: May I ask the hon. Member what day he intends to fix for the second reading of this Bill?

MR. SPEAKER: The formal Question is not before the House yet. Who is prepared to bring in the said Bill?

MR. JERNINGHAM: Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Morley, and myself.

Motion *agreed to.*

Bill to prohibit the Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday in Northumberland, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. JERNINGHAM, Mr. ALBERT GREY, Mr. BURT, and Mr. JOHN MORLEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 31.]

## AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS (IRELAND).

### MOTION FOR A SELECT COMMITTEE.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I beg to move the Motion that stands in my name.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the working of recent legislation with reference to cottages and plots of land for agricultural labourers in Ireland; and to Report whether it has been established that any amendments of such legislation are at present necessary."—(*Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland.*)

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, that, before the Question was put, he wished to draw Mr. Speaker's attention to the fact that if the form in which the right hon. Gentleman the First Commissioner of Works (Mr. Shaw Lefevre) had moved for his Committee with regard to Westminster Hall was correct, the form in which the Solicitor General for Ireland was now making his Motion was not correct. The First Commissioner of Works held that the course he had pursued was the right one. He (Sir Hervey Bruce) had not received Notice that it was intended that night to ask him to serve on this Committee.

MR. SEXTON: This is only a re-appointment.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE said, it was not a re-appointment, because he had left the Committee before the end of last Session. It was a sudden and rather arbitrary method of procedure to put Members on a Committee without saying a word to them about it.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): It is merely a re-appointment, and I thought the hon. Baronet's name was on the Committee last year. I, of course, had no idea that he would not be ready to serve again now.

MR. SEXTON: Let him off.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I release him, of course.

COLONEL KING-HARMAN said, he objected to the Committee being re-appointed this Session. He had thoroughly understood, at the close of last Session, that the Committee reported in favour of re-appointment; but, certainly, it was not in the least intended or believed that it would be reappointed during this extraordinary Session, which, it was understood, was to be devoted to one particular purpose. It would be exceedingly inconvenient if the Committee were re-appointed now. He could not conceive why that course should be taken—why the Committee should be reappointed for the very few days the House might sit. He failed to see why this particular Committee should be called together whilst no other Committee of the House was re-assembled. A great many Members—some, no doubt, who had served on this Committee last year—had made their arrangements, and were going away directly the Session was over. They were not prepared to call their witnesses, or to go into a matter of such importance, and it would be a breach of faith to call upon them to do it. It would be in the recollection of the hon. and learned Gentleman the Solicitor General for Ireland that the question of meeting during this short Session was discussed at the end of the last Sitting of the Committee, and that it was not seriously contemplated that the inquiry should proceed before the Session of 1885.

MR. SEXTON said, the hon. and gallant Member was putting an interpretation of his own upon what occurred at the end of the Summer Session. The hon. and gallant Member spoke of a "breach of faith;" but he (Mr. Sexton) declared that the Government would be guilty of a gross breach of faith with the Irish Members if they refused to appoint this Committee now. He recollected what occurred at the close of the Sitting at the end of the Summer Session. It had nothing to do with the re-appointment during the present Session; but the question was whether they should Report. Some of the Members of the Committee, of whom he (Mr. Sexton) was one, had made strenuous efforts to get a Report, but had failed. The urgency which then existed, and the endeavour made to obtain a Report, was the best argument for re-appointment now. The hon. and gallant Gentleman had, by a prophetic inspiration, pointed to the end of the Session—had stated that it would not last more than a very few days. To his (Mr. Sexton's) mind, however, the hon. and gallant Member would have been more likely to be right if he had said a few weeks. He did not think there was a chance of the Session being brought to a close much before Christmas. In the meantime, the condition of the labourers in Ireland was miserable in the extreme. It would be inhuman to delay the reappointment of the Committee a day longer than was absolutely necessary.

Mr. BERESFORD said, he could support what had fallen from the hon. and gallant Member for the County of Dublin (Colonel King-Harman), having been a Member of the Committee last Session. The subject was a most important one, which required careful investigation; and, to enable all its Members to attend, the Committee should not be called upon to meet before the early Spring. It would be very inconvenient for him—and he might speak for many other Members—to sit now; and he, therefore, hoped the Solicitor General for Ireland would not press the matter.

Mr. GRAY said, it might be inconvenient to the hon. Member who had just sat down to sit; but it would be much more inconvenient for the unfortunate persons whose lot in Ireland it was attempted by this inquiry to alleviate to remain in their present condition of misery for many months, and they should not be required to do this merely because it might be inconvenient to some hon. Members to attend to their duties. If the performance of the ordinary duties of a Member of the House were inconvenient to the hon. Member (Mr. Beresford), there was a very simple mode of relieving himself of the inconvenience. Even if the hon. Gentleman did not care to go the length which the adoption of that simple mode would involve, he could relieve himself of the inconvenience of attending on the Committee by having his name struck off the list of Members to be appointed, and enabling it to be replaced by the name of some Gentleman who would find it convenient to discharge the duty his constituency elected him to perform. He (Mr. Gray) earnestly protested against the proposition to leave the Labourers' Question in Ireland, which was recognized to be an extremely urgent one, and which there was a complete——

Mr. WARTON: I rise to Order. I wish to call attention to the fact that there are not 40 Members present.

House counted, and 40 Members being found present,

Mr. CHEETHAM said, that his recollection of what occurred at the last Sitting of the Committee did not coincide with that of the hon. Members opposite (Colonel King-Harman and Mr. Beresford). The hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell) and his Friends had been extremely anxious that the Committee should report forthwith. It was objected, however, by the hon. and gallant Member (Colonel King-Harman) that sufficient evidence had not been taken; and it was pointed out by other hon. Members that if the Committee sat during the Autumn Session it would make no difference in the matter of legislation, as no Bill could be brought in this year; and that, if the evidence was completed during the short Autumn Session, legislation based on the Report could be promoted in the beginning of the Session of 1885. To that end it had been understood that an effort should be made to secure the re-appointment of the Committee in the Autumn Session. That was his recollection of what had occurred; perhaps other Members of the Committee could confirm him in it.

Colonel KING-HARMAN said, he wished to observe—[*Cries of* "Spoke!" *and* "Order!"] He merely wished to offer an explanation. His impression of what had occurred at the last meeting of the Committee differed from that of other hon. Gentlemen. It was that it was generally understood that sufficient evidence could not be taken before the commencement of the Session of 1885.

Motion *agreed to.*

Motion made, and Question, "That the Committee do consist of Twenty-one Members:—Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Colonel King-Harman, Mr. Villiers Stuart, Mr. Brodrick, Mr. Illingworth, Mr. Elton, Mr. Sydney Buxton, Sir Hervey Bruce," put, and *agreed to.*

Colonel KING-HARMAN: I rise to a point of Order. Is it competent for us to go into the names of the Committee, when they have only been brought before us to-day?

Mr. SPEAKER: Yes; it is quite competent for the House to do so.

**COLONEL KING-HARMAN**: I move to leave out the name of Colonel King-Harman.

**MR. SPEAKER**: We have passed that name, and have come to the name of Sir Hervey Bruce.

Motion made, and Question, "That Mr. SHAW, Mr. BERESFORD, Mr. THOMAS DICKSON, Mr. MACNAGHTEN, Mr. GREER, Mr. HEALY, Mr. PARNELL, Mr. SEXTON, Mr. T. P. O'CONNOR, Mr. GRAY, Lord ARTHUR HILL, Mr. CHEETHAM, and Mr. SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND, be added," put, and *agreed to*.

Question, "That there be power to send for persons, papers, and records; Seven to be the quorum," put, and *agreed to*.

House adjourned at half after One o'clock till Monday next.

# HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday*, 10*th November*, 1884.

## INDIA (SEAT OF GOVERNMENT).

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

**LORD NAPIER AND ETTRICK**, in rising to present a Petition from Her Majesty's European, Hindu, and Mussulman subjects in the Presidency of Madras, praying that the duration of the annual transfer of the Indian Government to the Hills may be shortened; and to ask the Secretary of State for India, Whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to prescribe a limitation to the residence of the Supreme Government and of the Presidency Governments in India at the Hills? said, the Petition which he had the honour to lay upon the Table was something more than of usual importance, and that would be seen in the character and object of the Petitioners. It had its origin at a public meeting of Europeans, Hindus, and Mussulmans of the City of Madras; and it was the first occasion on which such a meeting had been held in Madras for the redress of a public grievance. The meeting was representative of all classes, races, and religions in the Presidency; and they co-operated with unusual harmony and cordiality for the same purpose. The grievance of which those excellent citizens complained was, that they saw too little of their Governor, and the remedy which they proposed was that he should be instructed to live more among them. The meeting was presided over by an Indian statesman of undoubted fidelity and loyalty to Her Majesty. At that meeting a resolution was adopted—after being supported by a number of gentlemen holding distinguished positions in the Presidency—reporting the protest of the meeting against the removal of the Government; and it was further determined to present a Petition to their Lordships' House. This movement had received the sanction of 25 local Associations in the different districts and municipalities of the Presidency; and he believed that the sentiment embodied in the Petition would be substantially approved of by the members of the Civil Service and the officers of the Government generally. The prevailing opinion of those classes was, he thought, that the Government and Council should have their abode in the places where the citizens spend their days, so that they should share in the labours of their common duties. In fact, the Petition was a genuine and natural expression of the views of a numerous, loyal, and intelligent community. In 1869 the Government of Madras gave their attention to the question of the seat of Government, and their views were embodied in a Minute drawn up by the Governor. The object of the Governor was that all the Members of the Government should take their recreation and leave of absence at the same time, in order that there might be no suspension of the regular transaction of public business, and that all should resort to the same place. The Governor proposed to limit the absence to 10 weeks or three months, and this movement was to cost nothing. These proposals became the basis of a communication to the Viceroy and the Secretary of State for India, and were sanctioned by the latter, and became the rule under which the Governor of Madras acted. They remained in force for three years; and during that period he was not aware that any complaint was made. Fifteen years had now elapsed since those proposals were made; and he believed the absence of the Government had now been extended to six, seven, and even eight months in the year; and, in addition to that, a very considerable expenditure had been incurred where no expenditure had been originally intended. The Petitioners complained not only of the removal of the seat of civil administration, but of the removal of the seat of military administration also. If the headquarters of the Commander-in-Chief had been transported to Bangalore he could have understood the change, for Bangalore was the principal garrison and arsenal of Southern India; but what reason could there be for transferring the military headquarters to a place where Her Majesty's arms had previously only been represented by a soldiers' convalescent hospital? In Madras itself the accommodation for the Government was ample; consequently, the expense incurred in providing accommodation for it in the Hills seemed to be hardly justifiable. He had been told that a sum of nearly £70,000 had been expended in providing the Governor of Madras with a residence in the Hills. He would ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) whether he was not surprised at the expenditure of such a large sum for such a purpose, and that it should lead to some discontent, particularly when there were other things—roads, public works, and irrigation—upon which expenditure was so necessary, and which were standing still for want of funds to carry them on? He contended that the whole of this expenditure had been cast away, and that the money might have been applied to more justifiable works. A permanent transfer of the seat of Government to the Hills would be likely to inflict injustice and hardship upon Native public servants, who would be compelled either to take their families at great expense to the Hills or to separate themselves from them, and such separation would be exceedingly distasteful to Natives, especially to Hindus. The withdrawal of the seat of Government from the plains caused great inconvenience to those among the Native community who had grievances to bring forward or proposals of public benefit to make, for, instead of finding easy access to the source of justice and power, they were compelled to take a journey to a remote station at a considerable sacrifice of time and money. Another objection to the removal of the seat of Government to the Hills was, that while the Governor resided there he lost touch of all the chief industries of the country, excepting only the planting industry. He hoped the answer of the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) would go far to satisfy and to relieve the apprehensions of those whom he had the honour to represent on that occasion.

Petition offered to be presented.

Lord STANLEY of ALDERLEY, in supporting the Petition from Madras and the noble Lord who had presented it, said, that it would be well first to eliminate that which, judging from the Indian Press, was not considered a grievance in this matter of the annual resort to the Hills. Firstly, there was no complaint made in the Bombay Presidency against the Government going to Mahabaleshwar, which was only about 24 hours from Bombay; the only complaint made there was one that was general all over India, that too much money was spent on the macadamized roads round these summer resorts and round cantonments, while too little was spent on roads required for traffic. With regard to the Government of Calcutta, the complaint was not so much against the Governor General, the Executive Council, and a few Secretaries going to Simla, as against all the subordinate officials who now imitated the Supreme Government and flocked to Naini Tal and other places. The complaint was that the Supreme Government was away too long—the usual period being eight months, to which another month must be added for journeys and packing and unpacking of documents. The Supreme Government might be absent without its absence being injurious, as was that of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal and the Governor of Madras, and other subordinate officials who required to be in daily contact with the people whose affairs it was their duty to administer. Moreover, there was an advantage in the Supreme Government being absent for a time from Calcutta, where it was liable to fall too much under the influence of the Anglo-Indian unofficial element. The evil of this excessive resort of so many of the officials to the Hills was not so much the expense to which they put the country, and the discontent caused by this increase to salaries already too large, since they had been fixed in consideration of the officials having to endure the heat of the Plains; the chief evil was that the officials became more and more separated from the inhabitants of the country, and more ignorant of their wants and feelings. Also it gave an appearance of decay in the English race, since the present officials are, or profess themselves to be, unable to endure such slight hardships as Englishmen formerly endured cheerfully. A short time before the Crimean War Prince Soltykoff published his travels in Persia and India; and he inveighed against the luxury of the British Army in India, and said that those troops would be victorious which could best endure the climate, and had not lost their power of marching. In the Madras Presidency there was an additional ground of complaint against the long time the Government remained in the Nilghiri Hills, on the part of the Madrassee clerks and other Natives of Madras who might be obliged to go there on business, on account of their sufferings from the cold when obliged to go to Ootacamund, where they said that even the English required fires. He knew from personal experience in Ceylon that people accustomed to the heat of the Plains would suffer from the cold in these mountains. It was not the expense of removal to the Hills alone that the people of Madras complained of. According to a Madras paper, the expenditure last year at Ootacamund for the Government House and other buildings for officials amounted to Rs. 770,381; while the Madras Government had declared at short intervals its inability to provide funds for important public works. It was also intended by the Government of Madras to have removed the Military Accountant's Office to Bangalore, to a fort claimed by the Maharajah of Mysore; but this project was stopped by the Calcutta Government on receiving the remonstrances of the people of Madras. Now, the statement in the Petition concerning expenditure was based upon, and confirmed by, a speech of Mr. Grant Duff's at the opening of the Madras Drainage Works on June 30 last. Now, in accordance with the Notice he had put down upon the Minutes, he would ask the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley), whether he or the Supreme Government had given a previous sanction for the expenditure by Mr. Grant Duff for repairs of the Government House at Ootacamund, and for furniture and silk hangings; and, if not, why had they not fulfilled the office of what Mr. Grant Duff calls "financial demons," or, in Parliamentary language, that of strict supervisors of the way the money of the taxpayers of Southern India was expended? It was generally stated that £6,000 of this money had been expended on silk hangings for the Governor's House. He (Lord Stanley of Alderley) knew that Mr. Grant Duff's Predecessor had left the Government House in good tenantable condition. Last year, when he complained in that House of Mr. Grant Duff's treatment of the prisoner of Palconda, and of his following in the footsteps of Sir Frederick Adam, he had mentioned instances of Sir Frederick Adam's maladministration of justice in the Ionian Islands. Besides that, Sir Frederick Adam had built for himself at the public expense three residences in Corfu and Zante, in addition to two palaces already provided for him. Here, again, Sir Frederick Adam's bad example had borne fruit, and Mr. Grant Duff had been as lavish on himself as his remote Predecessor had been. In his speech of the 30th of June last Mr. Grant Duff quoted a long extract from one of his own magazine articles, written 15 years ago, giving his ideal of our duties in India. The ideal is excellent, but the practice falls very far short of it. Mr. Grant Duff, however, deserved the commendation bestowed upon him by the noble Lord who had just sat down, for his industry in visiting all parts of the Presidency. Rather more than 30 years ago, there was a long correspondence at the Colonial Office with a Governor who, without authorization, had put up a pump. That might have been an excess of red tape; but there appeared to have been an excess the other way in the case of the silk hangings at Ootacamund.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in reply, said, that the noble Lord who had introduced the subject spoke with such great authority on questions of this hind, from his connection with the Government of Madras, and knowledge of India, that it was with great regret he was unable, in the main, to agree with the views the noble Lord had expressed. In point of principle, he did not see any difference at all between the Supreme Government and the Local Governments taking relaxation in the cooler regions of the Hills. So far as there was any public opinion in India, it was quite as adverse to the removal of the Governor General as it was to that of the Local Governments; and in principle he was unable to separate the one from the other. As the subject was one that had been much discussed of late, he would remark that the chief author of the migration to Simla was a Governor General who, of all others, was not the man to shirk work or to spare himself—he meant the late Lord Lawrence—the amount of work he did in India was astonishing, and his opinion was exceedingly strong on the necessity of the Supreme Government going to Simla. An interesting correspondence on the subject took place between the then Secretary of State for India—Sir Charles Wood—and Lord Lawrence, and a part of it was printed in *The Life of Lord Lawrence.* In a letter to Sir Charles Wood, written in 1864, and given in volume 2, at page 426, Lord Lawrence, speaking of the migration to Simla, said—

> "I do not, however, think that a better arrangement is to be made. The work now is probably treble, possibly quadruple, what it was 20 years ago; and it is, for the most part, of a very difficult nature. Neither could your Governor General and his Council really do it in the hot weather in Calcutta. At the best, as you say, they would work at half speed. . . . This place, of all Hill Stations, seems to me the best for the Supreme Government. Here you are with one foot, I may say, in the Punjaub, and another in the North-West Provinces. Here you are among a docile population, and yet near enough to influence Oude. Around you, in a word, are all the warlike races of India, all those on whose character and power our hold in India, exclusive of our own countrymen depends."

The authority of Lord Lawrence seemed to him to be almost conclusive on the subject. When the noble Marquess opposite (the Marquess of Salisbury) was at the India Office he wrote a despatch, the effect of which was to prescribe a limit to the stay at Simla. As regarded what were termed the additional Members of the Viceroy's Council, there was no doubt it was more convenient, and in every way better, that the consideration of Bills should take place in Calcutta. With respect to the Petition from Madras, he was sure the noble Lord who presented it would not make himself responsible for all its statements, some of which were of an exaggerated kind. The apprehension that the Government was about to fix itself permanently at Ootacamund was altogether unfounded. Nor was there any intention to abolish the Board of Inland Revenue, although there were proposed reforms of it under consideration. Very exaggerated statements had been made as to the evil consequences of the Madras Government leaving Madras and going to the Hills. An arrangement was made in 1869, sanctioned by his noble Friend (the Duke of Argyll), that the Government of Madras should go to the Hills for three months in each year; and no doubt that arrangement had since been set aside. How this was first set aside he could not trace; but it appeared that when Lord Hobart went out he obtained permission to go to the Hills for a longer time, and since then it had become the uniform practice for the Governor to pass something like six months on the Hills. In this the Governors of Madras were only following the example of the other Local Governments. Opinions in the Indian Service had much changed on this subject. When the practice was first introduced, the older members of the Service condemned it; but further experience had changed their opinions, and the practice was now regarded as advantageous. Europeans, it was seen, could do their work much better if, during the hot season, they sojourned in cooler districts. Mr. Grant Duff had personally no objection to Madras. He said he had no particular desire to go away from Madras for six months; yet he was strongly in favour of the practice of doing so. No doubt, if the Governor simply perched himself on the Hills and did not descend into the Plains, the practice would be most undesirable; but, during his absence from Madras, it was Mr. Grant Duff's practice to take advantage of the opportunity to make journeys into the surrounding districts, to come into contact with the various communities, and to make himself acquainted with the working of the Civil Service in those parts of his Presidency. This was a very important point, and must be regarded as of great advantage, for unless the Governor saw these servants and knew how the work was being done, his administration could not be efficiently conducted. It must also be remembered that the Governor's residence on the

Hills was only 24 hours' journey from Madras, and that he was, therefore, in constant communication with Madras. The Army headquarters had also been removed to the Hills, and with the strong approval of General Roberts. The proposed removal of a certain part of the military offices to Bangalore, which had been alluded to, was connected with certain changes in the arrangements of the fort at Madras; but the proposal had been given up. He (the Earl of Kimberley) did not desire to undervalue the importance of having the Governments in contact with the Europeans and all those who lived in the capitals. It was, no doubt, advantageous that the Governors should move about the country; but it would not do for them to lose touch of those who lived in the capitals. He quite admitted that; but, without saying anything derogatory of those who had raised this question in India, he thought they had, owing to their personal feelings in the matter, been led somewhat to exaggerate the inconvenience of the Governor's absence from Madras. It was very much a question of degree. It might lead to considerable difficulties if a Governor were absent unduly long; but Her Majesty's Government would take care that this did not take place. Reference had been made to the expenses of the Governor's residence on the Hills. The expense of building and furnishing that residence certainly had been large; but it would be unjust to lay this to the charge of Mr. Grant Duff, for it was in an advanced state when he first went out. It was, therefore, necessary to complete it and furnish it. The attention of the Government of India was first called to the erection of a Government House at Ootacamund in 1878, when explanations and estimates were asked for from the Madras Government. A revised estimate was sanctioned in 1882, and a final estimate in 1883. In answer to an inquiry from him as to this final estimate the Government of India explained that the expenditure was incurred by the Madras Government without their authority, under a misconception of which the origin must be traced many years back. The construction of the building entailed a corresponding expense in furnishing it; and when the matter first came under the cognizance of the Government of India the work had proceeded too far to justify any interference. As to the hangings mentioned by the noble Lord (Lord Stanley of Alderley), Mr. Grant Duff, when he arrived at Madras, found that the house, which had been begun some years before he left England, required to be finished and furnished, and the silk hangings, about which he (the Earl of Kimberley) had no special information, were, he concluded, part of the furniture considered necessary. He had no reason to believe that they had cost more than silk hangings usually did.

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS said, as one who had tried the power of doing work in India, and been able to watch the progress of work in the plains as compared with that on the Hills, he bore his testimony to the fact that there was a very material diminution, notwithstanding the high pressure at which they were working at the time, in the work that was got through during the five or six months of the hot weather in the Plains. He therefore fully endorsed the statement of his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley), that a very much greater amount of work was got through by the Government in the Hills. There was one other point to which he wished to advert, and that was the marked difference of position between all Members of Council and other officers of the Government. The former, whatever amount of recreation they might have had on the Hills in former days, had now to work just as many hours in the Hills as in the plains. It must be remembered that during those five years during which a member of the Civil Service, after 21 years' service in India, served as a Member of Council he got no leave whatever, except by illness, from his regular duties; while every other officer could, if he found it necessary, cut himself adrift from business altogether for a month, whether he went away or not. That was an important difference, which could not be overlooked in the consideration of the question. During the time he had the honour to be in Madras he certainly came to the conclusion that it was for the interest of the Government that a reasonable time of change of climate should be spent by the Members of Council and the Governor all together upon the Hills.

The Duke of ARGYLL said, that it was his privilege to appoint Lord Hobart; but he had not the slightest recollection of the arrangement which his noble Friend the Secretary of State for India (the Earl of Kimberley) had said originated with Lord Hobart; but he had no doubt that his noble Friend was quite accurate in stating that the change of extension of leave began in his time. He had a very distinct and vivid recollection of discussions on many occasions in the Council here when he was Secretary of State for India with reference to the Supreme Government of India. At that time, however, the Council was full of old, hardened men, some of whom were the finest specimens of humanity he had ever seen—such men as Mr. Prinsepp, Sir James Hogg, and Mr. Currie, all men who had spent 30 or 40 years in India with hardly any leave. They used habitually to quote to him the example of Lord Hastings, who never left Calcutta and always conducted his business sitting in the very stiffest of chairs, and dressed in the very stiffest of uniforms. That might be all very fine for men of such constitutions as his (Lord Hastings), and his (the Duke of Argyll's) view was simply this—that times had wholly changed since the days of Lord Hastings. The work was enormously greater, railways had been invented, and the distance from Simla was now comparatively nothing. His noble Friend (Lord Napier and Ettrick) had brought the matter forward with his usual ability and with great clearness; but, in his (the Duke of Argyll's) opinion, the balance of argument was largely against him.

The Earl of KIMBERLEY said, it was only fair, since Lord Hobart was unfortunately no more, to state that he had merely mentioned that he had been told that an extension had been made in Lord Hobart's time; but he had no certain authority for the statement. He wished to add that in 1882 the question of the longer stay of the Governor of Madras was before his Predecessor in Council; but the Secretary of State in Council did not then think it necessary to take any notice of the change from three to six months.

The Marquess of SALISBURY said, that, as far as he remembered, Lord Hobart did make some kind of understanding upon the subject of a longer stay in the Hills. That strong objection to the residence in the Hills was just dying away when he (the Marquess of Salisbury) was succeeded by his noble Friend opposite (the Duke of Argyll) as Secretary of State for India. Just then the stern Romans who had formed the bulk of the Council were beginning to resign, and it fell to his lot to fill up the vacancies; and all the younger men who were appointed fully believed in the value of the extension of the time in the Hills. Men like Mr. Prinsepp and Sir James Hogg looked upon the migration as the beginning of the decadence of the Indian Empire. He believed that the change of practice that had been brought about was due to increased facilities of locomotion, and where they existed it was impossible to resist the tendency to move. Before determining whether or not the Supreme Government should remain permanently at Calcutta, they ought to consider whether it was desirable that that Government should always be subjected to the Anglo-Indian influence, which made itself felt there, or whether that influence was not better exercised in a more intermittent manner. There was a time when it was thought that the influence in question should be exercised continuously; but recently that view had been modified. On the ground that the Government of India gained a certain independence, which might make itself felt in its decisions by an occasional absence from Calcutta, a great deal could be said in favour of its repairing to the Hills for a time. It would, however, be most unfortunate if a practice were to grow up of staying at Hill Stations during the whole of the time allowed to Government officials for such vacations. Formerly the Government used to treat the vacation as a precious opportunity for visiting various parts of the Dominion in order to come into contact with Native potentates and populations. Such visits, though expensive, conduced to the welfare of the country generally. Subject to these considerations, he thought it would be very unwise to compel officials to live throughout the year in places where at certain times the full power of their minds could not be exercised, especially when the tendency was to appoint to high places in our Eastern Empire men who had grown up in European politics rather than men having an exclusive experience of India.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY said, that there was an informality in the Petition, inasmuch as it had no signatures attached to it, the signatures being on separate sheets. He would be extremely sorry, however, if the Petitioners should have the notion that it had been rejected. It was, no doubt, a *bonâ fide* Petition, and, though technically it could not be received, it should be understood that it had been before the House and discussed; and he hoped that the Petitioners would not entertain any feeling of disappointment.

Petition (by leave of the House) *withdrawn.*

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — OVER-PRESSURE AT GREAT WARFORD SCHOOL.—QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in asking the Lord President of the Council, Whether he intends to institute an inquiry into the causes of the death of a child named Harriet Straker, of Great Warford, from alleged over-pressure at school? said, that he would not have troubled the noble Lord for a single death only; but he was constrained to do so in this case, as the child's parents were neighbours of his, and the Macclesfield Sanitary Authority had written to him respecting it.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in reply, said, that the Education Department had written to the manager of the school requesting him to give his view of the case, and when it was obtained it would be at the disposal of the noble Lord, and the Department would consider whether any further inquiry would be necessary.

## INDIA—THE INDIAN PENAL CODE—SECTION 7.—QUESTION.

LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, in asking the noble Earl the Secretary of State for India, Whether he will cause Section 75 of the Indian Penal Code to be amended by the insertion after the words "transportation for life" of the words "or any shorter time," so as to avoid the constant infliction of sentences of transportation or penal servitude for life for thefts of very trifling amount in cases where there have been previous convictions? said, that between 1876 and the present year the Records of the High Court of Madras showed that there had been in that Court nine sentences of transportation for life, and two of penal servitude for life, for trifling thefts by previous offenders. The alteration of the section mentioned in his Notice was the minimum that was asked for, so as to leave more discretion to the Judge; but he thought that the Code might well be amended by substituting some shorter period for that of transportation for life; and he was fortified in this view by the words of the Chief Justice, Lord Coleridge, at the opening of the Bedford Assizes, last 26th of October. The Chief Justice said—

> "If heavy sentences were awarded in such cases, there were no sentences adequately severe for the far graver crimes which frequently came before Judges at Assizes."

Some time ago an official of the India Office had told him that these people who were sentenced were much better off at the Andaman Islands than in their own country. If that really were the case, it was enforced colonization, and should be reserved for deserving persons, and not for thieves.

THE EARL OF KIMBERLEY, in reply, said, he objected to the allegation that the severe sentences referred to in the Question were being "constantly" inflicted. The 75th section of the Indian Penal Code provided that in the case of second offences punishable by imprisonment of not less than three years, the Court might, at its discretion, either transport the offender for life or sentence him to a double term of imprisonment for 10 years. The provision was a salutary one, intended to meet the case of habitual offenders against the law. He was not aware that the power conferred by the nation upon the Judges had been abused; and he, therefore, could not agree to the suggestion that the Code should be amended.

## AFRICA (SOUTH-WEST COAST)—ANGRA PEQUENA—THE PAPERS.

### QUESTION.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH asked Her Majesty's Government, If the Correspondence with the Cape and Foreign Governments relative to Angra Pequena and the neighbouring coast and islands can be laid on the Table of the House; also Correspondence with British subjects respecting any claims of property in those localities?

**The Earl of KIMBERLEY**, in reply, said, that his noble Friend the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Earl Granville), who was engaged elsewhere, had told him that there would be no objection to lay all the Papers on the Table.

House adjourned at quarter past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday*, 10*th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—New Member Sworn—Sampson Samuel Lloyd, esquire, *for* Warwick County (Southern Division).

Select Committee—Westminster Hall (Restoration), *nominated.*

Public Bills—*Ordered — First Reading*—Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) * [32].

*Second Reading*—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland)* [9].

*Committee — Report* — Representation of the People [1].

## *QUESTIONS.*

### INDIA—LAW AND JUSTICE—MINUTES OF THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF BENGAL.

**Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If he has reason to believe that Sir Richard Garth, Chief Justice of Bengal, has twice sent to the public prints minutes containing censures on the Government of India, on one of the principal Members of the Cabinet, and on Parliament, in regard to acts of confiscation in Ireland, and in which, after publicly praying to God to avert such measures of confiscation from India, he appeals to the Zemindars to awake and resist the land policy of the Government of India; whether the Government of India, or the Viceroy, have made any representations on the subject; and, whether Her Majesty's Government have taken, or propose to take, any action in regard to it?

**Mr. J. K. CROSS**: The Government of India have made representations on the subject of two Minutes by Sir Richard Garth, which are, no doubt, those referred to in the Question. The Minutes are certainly couched in language somewhat controversial. Having regard, however, to the high judicial position of Sir Richard Garth, and to the importance of maintaining satisfactory relations between the Government and the High Courts, it will be readily understood that it is not desirable that I should enter further into the matter.

### THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—EXTRA PAY.

**Colonel COLTHURST** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Why the recommendation of the Constabulary Commission of 1882, with regard to extra payments of constables employed as Inspectors of Weights and Measures, has not been carried into effect?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: The Irish Government have had no suitable opportunity of dealing with this recommendation, which could not be carried out without legislation for the amendment of the Weights and Measures Act, involving an increased charge upon the cess.

### THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND) — THE EDENDERRY DISTRICT, KING'S COUNTY.

**Mr. MOLLOY** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that, in several cases recently tried by Messrs. Tyrrell and Ridgeway, Justices of the Peace for the Edenderry District of the King's County, persons convicted were advised by their solicitors to appeal, the convictions being manifestly illegal; whether the parties subsequently, and during the period open to them for appealing, were induced by the magistrate's clerk not to appeal, intimating to them that if they appealed, and were successful, the next time they came before the magistrates they would not be dealt with so leniently; whether, on the persuasion of the said clerk, the convicted parties refused to appeal; whether, in one case, the parties appealing paid the magistrate's clerk ten shillings to prepare the necessary form for his appeal; whether the said clerk accepted the said sum of ten shillings, and promised to have the appeal made out in due form, but subsequently, when the matter came before the County Court Judge, the necessary notices which the clerk undertook to serve, and was paid for drawing, were not served; whether this clerk was appointed, although he was not legally qualified; whether the said clerk is also a car proprietor in the town; and, whether the said clerk provides cars for the transfer of such prisoners to the county prison as are sentenced by the magistrates?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Member's Question is somewhat vague. More direct and satisfactory inquiry could have been made if he had mentioned the names of the parties to the cases to which he refers. So far as I have been able to ascertain from general inquiry, the clerk denies that in any cases he acted in the improper and irregular manner described in the Question; but if the hon. Member will give me some particulars by which the cases to which he alludes can be identified, I shall have further inquiry made. With regard to the position of the clerk, there is no ground for the suggestion that he was not legally qualified. It is true that, when appointed by the late Lord Lieutenant, he was over the age prescribed by His Excellency's Regulations on the subject; but these Regulations have no legal effect, and His Excellency was quite within his powers in making an exception when—as in the present instance—he deemed it for the public interests. The clerk is reported by the Head of his Department to have been always a satisfactory officer. With regard to the use of his cars for the conveyance of prisoners, I understand that other car proprietors in the district refused to hire out cars for the use of the authorities.

MR. MOLLOY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that there is not a single Catholic Magistrate for the district of Edenderry in the King's County; that in the memory of the present generation no Catholic Magistrate has sat in the Court House of Edenderry; if he is aware that there are several Catholic gentlemen in the neighbourhood qualified to receive the Commission; and, if he can state why none such are appointed?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I am informed that on the Edenderry Bench there is not at present any Catholic magistrate. I am not aware that properly-qualified Catholic gentlemen can be found in the neighbourhood to be placed in the Commission of the Peace; but the Lord Chancellor informs me that he has been in communication with the Lord Lieutenant of the county, who has not as yet been able to recommend any Catholic gentleman whose name has been suggested. The Lord Lieutenant of the county has, in the Lord Chancellor's opinion, evinced the utmost desire to redress, whenever possible, any religious inequality in the magistracy of his county.

MR. MOLLOY asked if the Lord Chancellor would receive the names of Catholic gentlemen properly qualified?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he was not precisely aware of the general course in such cases; but he would say he was sure the Lord Chancellor would be very willing to do anything in his power in the matter.

## POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND)—QUALIFICATION.

MR. O'BRIEN (for Mr. HEALY) asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the fact that, under the 1 and 2 Vic. c. 56, s. 19, the Local Government Board have power, by general order, to fix the qualification necessary for Poor Law Guardians in Ireland; and, whether, this being so, the Board propose to reduce the qualification in all Irish Unions to a uniform £12 rating, having regard to the approval given by the Government to a provision with this object, which was included in the Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill, passed by the House of Commons during last Session?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It is true that the Local Government Board have such a power; but it is clearly not intended by the Acts now in force that they should use it in the manner suggested; and, the subject being now again before the Legislature, the Board would not deem it right to anticipate the decision with regard to it by any alteration in their procedure.

## EDUCATION (IRELAND)—SUPPLY OF BOOKS, MAPS, &c., GRATIS TO NATIONAL SCHOOLS.

SIR HERVEY BRUCE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will consider the propriety of supplying gratis to the National Schools in Ireland the books and maps requisite for educational purposes?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I cannot undertake to make such a proposal to the Treasury. As I believe has been pointed out to the hon. Baronet on a former occasion, it would involve an increase of about £30,000 in the Parliamentary grant.

## PRISONS (IRELAND)—MARYBOROUGH GAOL.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is a fact that, since Maryborough Gaol has been converted into a convict prison, the work of the staff has been very much increased; whether there are eight warders now receiving only local warders' salary, but compelled to do duty as convict warders; whether it is a fact that the warders are not allowed Sunday leave; whether two warders resigned, and two more were discharged, on medical grounds, as unable to perform the excessive work now imposed on them; whether John Gorman died of typhoid fever on the 27th October, and the chief warder and three ordinary warders are now dangerously ill, two in the County Infirmary, and two in their own homes, owing to the excessive confinement; and, whether the warders have not been subjected to an unusual number of assaults by the convicts "bordering on insanity," whom they are not numerous enough properly to control?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The General Prisons Board report to me that it is not a fact that since Maryborough Prison has been converted into a convict prison the work of the staff has been very much increased, and they explain the circumstances which may have given rise to the suggestions in the other parts of the Question. It is only in case of emergency, caused by absence of warders or otherwise, that local warders are occasionally called on to assist in the convict part of the prison. All warders are allowed their proper portion of partial or entire Sunday leave (partial every Sunday, entire one in six), except when absences on leave or through illness prevent. It is not a fact that two warders have resigned owing to excessive work. In a number of years only one has resigned, and he did so a few days after joining the service. It is not a fact that two warders have been invalided owing to excessive work. Warder Gorman, who died recently, did not usually sleep or take his meals in the prison, but with his family in the town. Two warders are at present convalescent in the fever hospital, and two in their quarters in the prison. The medical officer states that their illness was not caused by confinement in the prison. As, however, it appears from this statement that there have been five cases of fever among the warders, I shall ask for a further special Report as to whether there can be any illness attributed to defects in the building. There have been no serious assaults in the prison; and the Prisons Board report that the staff is quite sufficient to control the prisoners.

## PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 (WARRANTS)—EXTRA POLICE TAX—BALLICKMOYLER PETTY SESSIONS.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that, at the Ballickmoyler Petty Sessions of the 24th ultimo, the following persons were sued for the under-mentioned sums on account of the Extra Police Tax, viz.: Margaret M'Donnell for ½*d.* (one halfpenny); Thomas Delaney for 2*d.*; Thomas Gorman 1*d.*; Ellen Bruder 1½*d.*; John Abbin 5*d.*; John Brennan 4*d.*; William Mackey 3½*d.*; and whether he sanctioned these proceedings; and, whether he will state the grounds on which the Extra Police Tax is levied; and what there is or has been in the district to justify the impost?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The persons named were summoned as stated. The police tax is levied according to the valuation of the holdings, and the sums in this case were very small, as they were in payment for a period of only 18 days. The proceedings were taken in ordinary course of law, and my sanction was not required. The extra police force was sent to the district on account of the existence of intimidation and "Boycotting," whereby it became necessary to afford extra protection to certain obnoxious persons.

MR. O'BRIEN wished to know, in reference to a number of illegal decrees granted in the Monanimy case, whether the Government would pay the expenses of the police who carried out the illegal seizures?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN replied, that he was not aware of the circumstances.

MR. SEXTON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he thinks it a wise or intelligent proceeding to put the whole machinery of the law in operation for the purpose of enforcing the payment of a halfpenny from a widow?

[No reply.]

## THE INDIAN FAMINE, 1877—THE MISSIONARIES.

COLONEL COLTHURST asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether it has been brought to his notice that missionaries, officially engaged in the distribution of relief in Southern India during the famine of 1877-8, had at the same time been engaged in lending money (at 18 per cent.) on mortgages of the lands of the natives, as shown by cases recently tried in the Law Courts of the Tinavelly and Madura districts, where judgments have been obtained for sums amounting (by accumulated interest) to nearly double the original loans; and, if there would be any objection to give a Return showing the number of such cases during the last four years?

MR. J. K. CROSS: We have no information on this subject at the India Office; and, from the papers with which my hon. and gallant Friend has furnished me, it does not appear that the action attributed to the missionaries in this matter is one with which the Government of India can interfere.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. GEORGE BOLTON.

MR. ARTHUR ARNOLD asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Irish Government intend to continue any special employment of Mr. George Bolton in prosecutions under the provisions of the Crimes Act of 1882?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: No, Sir; the arrangements made in connection with the recent appointment of Crown Solicitor for Dublin will render the employment of Mr. Bolton in the capacity referred to in the Question unnecessary, and it is not intended to employ him specially under the provisions of the Prevention of Crime Act.

MR. O'BRIEN: Was not there a Crown Solicitor in Green Street during the period that Mr. Bolton was employed in the Maamtrasna murder cases?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: That refers to the past history of the matter, with which I am not acquainted; but if the hon. Member would give me Notice I may be able to answer him.

MR. O'BRIEN: Then I would ask the Solicitor General for Ireland, who must be acquainted with the past history of the case.

MR. SPEAKER: Order, order! This new Question does not arise in way out of the Question on the Paper.

MR. O'BRIEN: I submit, Mr. Speaker, that it arises directly out of the Question on the Paper. What I wished to ask was, why it should be necessary to employ Mr. Bolton specially while Mr. Anderson was engaged as Crown Solicitor at Green Street, and not to employ him now that Mr. Coll has been appointed?

[No reply.]

## PUBLIC BOARDS (IRELAND)—AUDIT OF ACCOUNTS.

MR. PATRICK POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What decision, if any, has been come to with regard to the present system of auditing the accounts of Public Boards in Ireland; and, whether the Government intend curtailing the arbitrary power of surcharge at present vested in auditors in whose appointment the ratepayers have no voice?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: This subject could not be dealt with except by legislation. As has been stated on a former occasion, the Local Government Board do not think that anything in the action of their auditors has rendered a power of appeal from their ruling necessary; but, nevertheless, they think that such a right of appeal might properly be provided by law, if an opportunity for legislation on the subject occurred.

MR. PATRICK POWER further asked, Whether the law upon the subject in Ireland and England might not be assimilated?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN** said, he could not now make any promise with regard to legislation.

## LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—THE SECRET SERVICE FUND.

**Mr. O'BRIEN** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Who is responsible for the disbursement of the Secret Service Fund in Ireland in the room of ex-County Inspector French; and, whether the men, Noonan and M'Dermott, referred to in French's letter, are still in the employment of the police?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: Ex-County Inspector French never was responsible for the disbursement of the Secret Service Fund in Ireland. That responsibility rests with the Chief Secretary for the time being. Without in any way admitting the assumption involved in the latter part of the Question as to the two men named in it, I must distinctly decline to give any information as to the dealings of the Detective Department.

**Mr. O'BRIEN**: Might I ask, whoever was responsible, was not the actual expenditure of the money in the hands of Detective Director French, and were these two men in his employment?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: I have already answered the hon. Member by stating that the responsibility to Parliament and the country for the disbursement of this money rests upon the Chief Secretary.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—POOR RATES, BANTRY UNION, CORK.

**Mr. DEASY** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it has been brought under his notice that the rate collectors in the Bantry Union, county of Cork, have, by direction of Mr. Payne, Chairman of the Board, and also agent to Lord Bantry, compelled tenants on the Bantry Estate under £4 valuation to pay Poor Rate, without having first attempted to put in force section 2 of 6 and 7 Vic. c. 92; whether Mr. Payne, acting as Chairman of the Board, declined to put a resolution to the Board—

> "Requesting the attendance of the rate collectors at the first meeting of the Board in each month,"

as required by paragraph 6 of Article 49 of the General Regulations; whether the Local Government Board will inquire into the conduct of the rate collectors; and, what notice will be taken of Mr. Payne's conduct?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: This matter has been very fully before the Local Government Board, who have had explanations from the rate collectors which show that they did not act in the manner alleged. They say that they demand the rates from the immediate lessors who are rated; but that in some few instances the tenants have come in and paid voluntarily. There is no evidence before the Board that the collectors exceeded their powers; and as persons not legally liable to pay rates can protect their own interests and refuse to pay if asked to do so, the case does not call for any further interference on the part of the Board. With regard to the allegation that Mr. Payne refused to put a resolution from the chair, it appears that it was not until the clerk had declared the business of the Board to be concluded and the Chairman had actually left the chair that the resolution was proposed.

**Mr. DEASY**: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware that the persons compelled to pay rates in these cases are very small farmers, who are wretchedly poor; and I would ask him, further, if he would grant an inquiry into the facts of the whole matter?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: I have already said that the Local Government Board looked very carefully into the matter, and found that there was no case for further inquiry.

**Mr. DEASY**: Would the right hon. Gentleman send down a Local Government Inspector to hold an inquiry?

[No reply.]

## ARMY (AUXILIARY FORCES)—VOLUNTEER AND MILITIA SERGEANTS.

**Colonel O'BEIRNE** asked the Secretary of State for War, If he will take into consideration the case of the Volunteer Sergeants serving on the permanent staffs of Militia Battalions, with a view of placing them on an equal footing as regards pay and allowances with their comrades serving on the permanent staffs under Line engagements, as the former have to perform exactly similar duties, according to their rank, as the latter non-commissioned officers; if it is a fact that a sergeant who has served five years in a Line Battalion may, at his own request, be transferred to a Militia Battalion, when he will receive pay and allowances amounting to 3*s.* 5*d.* per day, with deferred pay at the rate of £3 per annum, free schooling for his children, and a pension of 2*s.* 3*d.* per day after twenty-one years' service; while a sergeant serving on a Militia engagement—though he be a Paymaster Sergeant, or Orderly Room Sergeant, no matter how long his service, or how deserving he may be—receives but 2*s.* 4*d.* per day and a pension of 1*s.* per day after twenty-seven years' service and upwards; and, whether Militia Sergeants serving on the permanent staff would be permitted to enlist on an Army engagement under the same conditions as recently granted to pensioners serving in a like manner?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It is not in contemplation to equalize the pay and advantages of a Line sergeant serving on his Army engagement with those of a Volunteer sergeant who has given no service except in the Militia. The emoluments of the former must be taken as having, in part, reference to previous service in the Army, and as encouragement to good soldiers to aspire to the rank of non-commissioned officers. The ordinary source of supply for the permanent staff of the Militia battalions should be the Line battalions of the regiment.

## POLITICAL CLUBS (IRELAND)—PUBLIC OFFICIALS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If Captain Lloyd, Governor of the County Sligo Prison, has become a member of the local Constitutional (Orange) Club; and if Dr. Murray, the Medical attendant of the prison, is a member of the Orange Society; and, whether, if so, such relations are permissible to officials in the public service?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It has, I believe, been made sufficiently clear upon former occasions in this House that the Irish Government entirely disapprove of public servants taking an active or prominent part in political demonstrations, but that they do not think it within their province to exercise control as to what clubs they may belong to. The Government are not made acquainted with the names of the members of the Orange Society; but I may say that I am informed that the hon. Member is quite mistaken in supposing that the Sligo Club, to which he refers, is any way connected with that society.

MR. SEXTON: May I ask the right hon. Gentleman if the rule to which he refers applies all round; will public officials in Ireland be allowed to join Nationalist Associations, provided they take no active or prominent part in political demonstrations?

[No reply.]

## LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF —— PAYNE.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, If it has yet been ascertained that the young man Payne, committed for trial at the last Wicklow Assizes, on a charge of felony, had been in the employment of the Ex-Secretary to the General Post Office, Dublin; what explanation can be given of the fact that, although Payne had been committed to stand his trial for a felony, the principal witness, who had made an information, and had gone from Wales to give evidence at the trial, was informed by the police at Newtown Mount Kennedy, before the trial came on, that he would not be wanted; whether, in consequence of this intimation, the witness in question did not attend at the Assizes; whether, notwithstanding his absence, the Grand Jury found a true bill against Payne upon a minor charge; and, what became of this minor charge against Payne?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (MR. WALKER): The hon. Member has been misinformed as to the facts, and hence my former answer on this subject may have appeared obscure. The charge of felony was in reference to a man named Powell. The minor charge was in reference to a man named Greene. If with this explanation the hon. Member will refer to my former answer, he will see the Question has been answered. It has not been ascertained that Payne had been in the employment of the ex-Secretary to the General Post Office.

MR. SEXTON wished to know why, in the interval in between the committal to prison and the entry of the *nolle* *prosequi*, the police took it upon themselves to get rid of the witness by telling him that he was not wanted?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER), said there was no such thing as a *nolle prosequi* in that case. The Attorney General for Ireland reported that he did not think the evidence sufficient to sustain the charge, and it was not proceeded with.

MR. SEXTON: But how did the police know that before the Assizes came on?

[No reply.]

## THE MAURITIUS — SIR NAPIER BROOME, ACTING GOVERNOR.

MR. WHITLEY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether, when, in answer to a question put to him on the 3rd July last, he declined to lay upon the Table of the House the Correspondence relative to the illegal payment to Sir Napier Broome, while Acting Governor at Mauritius, he was aware that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had, several weeks previously to that date, ordered the Correspondence to be published in Mauritius, and that it was so published there; whether the Council of the Government of Mauritius has again refused to legalise the illegal payment to Sir Napier Broome; and, if so, whether any, and what, Correspondence has taken place upon such a refusal; whether he has now any objection to lay the Correspondence upon the Table of the House; and, whether he can now state what course the Government intend to adopt in regard to this matter?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: At the time named the Governor had been instructed to lay the Correspondence referred to before the Colonial Legislature for the purpose of their taking into consideration the legalizing of the payment to which that Correspondence relates. It is not customary to lay before Parliament incomplete Papers on a matter which is under the consideration of a Colonial Assembly. The objections to any such anticipation of the proceedings in the Colony are obvious. What has exactly happened in Mauritius is that the Council has suspended all further proceedings in the matter until fresh instructions are received from the Secretary of State upon a consideration of further documents and information submitted to him. As they only arrived by last mail, he has not yet had time fully to consider them. His decision and the whole Correspondence will shortly be given.

## AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE CONGO CONFERENCE.

MR. BOURKE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What representatives has Her Majesty's Government at present in the Congo, and at the Niger and Cameroons; also, whether anyone practically acquainted with West African trade will accompany the Mission to Berlin, with respect to the approaching Conference?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: There is no Representative at present on the Congo. There is a Consul for the Niger and Oil River district, who is at his post, and there are Vice Consuls on the Niger and at Ambas Bay, in the Cameroon district. A third Vice Consul is about to leave England, and a fourth will be appointed. A Consular Officer will eventually be stationed on the Congo, which is within the district of the Consulate at Loanda. With regard to the second Question, it has been intimated to the Secretary of State that gentlemen practically acquainted with British West African trade will be present in Berlin during the Conference on behalf of important trade interests in the North of England. The Representatives of the British Government will be in communication with them on all points where their advice is likely to be useful.

MR. BOURKE asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, What is our Naval Force at present in the Bight of Benin, and at the Congo?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: According to the latest information the vessels in the Bight are the *Alecto*, steam vessel; *Flirt*, gun vessel; and the *Forward*, gunboat; at Cape Coast Castle there are the *Frolic*, gun-vessel; *Watchful*, gunboat; and the *Opal*, corvette. The *Opal* will shortly be replaced by the corvette *Rapid*.

## EVICTIONS (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he has observed by the official

Return of Evictions in Ireland, in the quarter ended the 30th September last, that 1,215 families, comprising 6,139 persons, were evicted; 47 families, comprising 248 persons, were readmitted as tenants; and 569 families, comprising 2,870 persons, readmitted as caretakers, leaving 599 families, comprising 3,021 persons, homeless; whether he has noted that by the official Return for the corresponding quarter of 1883 it appeared that 957 families, comprising 4,671 persons, were evicted, 52 families, comprising 293 persons, readmitted as tenants, 416 families, comprising 1,989 persons, readmitted as caretakers, leaving 489 families, comprising 2,389 persons, homeless; and, in view of the fact that 110 families, comprising 632 persons, have been rendered homeless in the quarter ended 30th September last in excess of the number turned adrift in the corresponding quarter of last year, whether the Irish Executive have any information of the cause of the increase of evictions in the latter period, more especially in Ulster and Connaught?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Government have observed with regret the figures in the Returns from which the hon. Member quotes. They have no special information as to the causes of the increase in evictions, and the subject is too large to be satisfactorily dealt with by hypothetical arguments within the limits of an answer to a Question. I may observe, however, that persons evicted for non-payment of rent have, by law, a period of six months within which they may redeem or sell, and it may be hoped that in many of these cases this right will be exercised.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. Gentleman have any objection to cause the Local Government Board to instruct their Inspector to report as to the cause of the increased number of evictions?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know that it is part of the business of the Local Government Board; but I will consider the matter.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — DRIMOLEAGUE (CORK) PETTY SESSIONAL DIVISION.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, At whose instance or suggestion the Lords Justices of Ireland gave notice that the question of the discontinuance of the Drimoleague (County Cork) Petty Sessional Division would be dealt with by the Justices assembled at the last Quarter Sessions at Skibbereen; whether a solicitor appeared before the said Justices, instructed by ratepayers, residents, and persons otherwise interested in the Drimoleague Division, to oppose its discontinuance, and submitted a Memorial from the said ratepayers and others assigning as reasons for the maintenance of the division, amongst others, that the district is large and populous, that the change would impose heavier costs on litigants, and that the existing difficulty in regularly holding the Drimoleague Sessions might be obviated by the appointment of eligible residents to the Commission of the Peace; and, whether the Irish Executive and the Lord Chancellor of Ireland will consider the expediency of continuing the Drimoleague Division, and of appointing local justices to transact its business?

COLONEL COLTHURST wished, before the Question was answered, to ask whether there was not a strong feeling among the ratepayers of the district against the discontinuance of these Petty Sessions; and, whether a Memorial had not been forwarded to the authorities on the subject?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The attention of the Government having been drawn to the small amount of business transacted at the Drimoleague Petty Sessions, and the frequent non-holding of Sessions, inquiries were made with the object of ascertaining the views of the magistrates and others in the district as to whether it was necessary to continue the Sessions. The large preponderance of the opinion elicited was in favour of the abolition of the Sessions. It was not until after this that the Government took the steps pointed out by Section 1 of the Petty Sessions Act, in order to have the matter considered at the Quarter Sessions. I believe that a Memorial such as is referred to in the second paragraph of the Question was presented, and I have no doubt that the Justices considered the representations contained in it. No formal Report of the result of the Justices' deliberations has yet been received. The decision rests with them, and not with the Executive. In answer to my hon. and gallant Friend behind me, who speaks of a Memorial subsequently presented to the Lord Lieutenant, I may say that I am afraid that would have little effect, seeing the determination previously arrived at on the subject.

Colonel COLTHURST asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would make inquiries, before the Petty Sessions were abolished, in order to see whether the strong feelings of the ratepayers against the discontinuance of the Petty Sessions could not be satisfied?

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN replied that, under the section of the Petty Sessions Act, the final decision rested with the Quarter Sessions.

## AFRICA (SOUTH)—BECHUANALAND—MILITARY EXPEDITION.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, in the event of the failure of the negotiations for peace in South Africa, and a definite resolve to despatch a considerable Military Expedition into Bechuanaland, an Estimate will be submitted to the House as soon as possible, and an opportunity given for discussing it?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am now in correspondence with the Colonial Office and the Treasury as to the funds which will be required for preparations for the despatch of an Expedition.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL asked whether, when the noble Marquess ascertained the fund that would be required, he would afford an opportunity for discussion?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON said, that would be decided when the arrangements were made.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—THE FERRYBANK SCHOOLS, COUNTY WATERFORD.

Mr. RICHARD POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, To state the exact date of the order of the Board of National Education, taking into connection with the Board the Ferrybank Schools, in the Waterford district, and constituting these Schools as National Schools?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Commissioners inform me that the date of their order is 25th February, 1879.

## EGYPT—TRANSPORT OF THE NILE EXPEDITION.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he has received any corroboration of the following statement made by the War Correspondent of *The Daily Chronicle*, and published in their issue of the 6th November:—

> "The masts, oars, boat-hooks, punting poles, sails, and so on, of the Nile boats were all numbered, on leaving the builders, with the number of the boat to which they belonged. Somehow, or somewhere, they have been taken out, and then pitchforked, as it were, into the boats anyhow, and if a particular boat has the punting poles or a pair of oars belonging to her, she is sure to have the rest of the gear belonging to some other boat or boats. If the boat gear were interchangeable, this would matter little or nothing; but, as the gear of one builder will fit none of the boats of another builder, the consequence is that the already overworked white soldiers here have, with each successive consignment, to turn out under the hottest dry sun in the world, and sort, by numbers, every article of equipment, often, at the end of their job, finding a heap of gear belonging to some boats not yet up, and some boats without any gear at all to speak of. This is making work with a vengeance;"

and whether, if there is any truth in this statement, he will cause an inquiry to be made into the circumstances attending such apparently wanton negligence on the part of the Transport authorities, or of their subordinates?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: Inquiry has been made; but we have no information which will corroborate the statement in the Question of the hon. Member. We have asked whether there is any foundation for it. The packing and despatch from this country were performed under the supervision of specially selected officers. Further, an officer as supercargo was sent with each consignment of boats to take charge of them and their gear during the voyage, so as to deliver them in a complete condition.

Mr. GUY DAWNAY asked, if an inquiry would be made into the truth of the matter?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I think it will be sufficient to say that it will be done when we find out that such mistakes as are suggested have been made.

## POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BELFAST WORKHOUSE — FRAUDULENT BOOK-KEEPING.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If his attention has been called to *The Northern Whig* newspaper report of the proceedings of the Belfast Board of Guardians of the previous day, in which it is alleged by Mr. Jackson, a large ratepayer in the Union, that an irregular, if not fraudulent, system of book-keeping has prevailed in the Belfast Workhouse for a long time past; if it be true that the master of this workhouse effected sales of farm produce, and other workhouse property, for one whole year and more, and made no entry, nor kept any record, of said sales in the books set apart by the Local Government Board for that purpose; if it be true that he has disregarded a resolution of the Board of Guardians requiring him to keep an inventory of the furniture and movable effects of the workhouse; if it be correct that forty paupers more were on the books of the workhouse, on the 29th September 1884, than were in the house; is it a fact that the present numbers in the house do not agree with those on the books; is it true that Major Stoddart, Government Auditor, and Inspector Hamilton, promised to conceal the master's misconduct, and did keep it concealed from the public, until Mr. Jackson's letter disclosed their conduct; have the Local Government Board condoned these offences; and, will an inquiry on oath be instituted into the whole question, or what steps will be taken?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: As this Question involves a great amount of detail, to answer which would occupy too much of the time of the House, I venture to ask the hon. Member to be content to receive a detailed answer from me in writing. The conclusion, however, to which the Local Government Board have come is that there is—

> "No doubt that there have been irregularities in the management of Belfast Workhouse in regard to the matters referred to in the Question, but they have received the necessary attention from the Guardians and have been dealt with by them, and there does not seem to be any reason to believe that a fraudulent system of book-keeping has prevailed in the workhouse. The Local Government Board do not consider an inquiry on oath necessary."

As regards the serious charges brought against two public officers in the Question, I may say that there are—

> "No grounds whatever for imputing to Colonel Stoddart and Mr. Hamilton a desire to shield the Master from the consequences of any impropriety on his part."

And the Local Government Board consider both these gentlemen incapable of acting in such a manner. They both distinctly deny having promised to conceal the Master's neglect, and the matter was brought before the Guardians by Mr. Hamilton at the first opportunity.

## AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND.

MR. GUY DAWNAY asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true that fresh hostilities have broken out in Zululand, this time between Oham and Dinazulu on one side, and Umnyamana, Undalreko, and Dabulamanzi on the other, and that the Boers, not content with the boundary line of the territory granted to them by Dinazulu, in payment of their services in the slaughter of Usibepu's people, are now laying out farms from 15 to 20 miles from the boundary then laid down? The hon. Gentleman also asked, Whether the Colonial Office have received any confirmation of the intelligence reported in *The Times of Natal* of October 4, to the effect that the Usutus made two fresh raids into the Reserve Territory towards the end of September, in one killing some natives and capturing 30 head of cattle, and in the other, which was made into Mr. John Dunn's district, killing one man and capturing 100 head of cattle; and, whether, if such reports are true, any steps will be taken to procure the restoration of the cattle and the punishment of the offenders, in fulfilment of the obligations of the Government towards the natives in the Reserve?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: We have no information as to statements contained in the first Question. As to the second Question, we have heard nothing about any raid made into Mr. John Dunn's district; but we have received a report that a raid was made on the 25th of September by the Usutus from Central Zululand on the kraals of the loyal Chief Mashinana, in which several Natives were wounded. The Resident

Commissioner will take any steps that are advisable.

### UNITED STATES OF AMERICA — IMPORT DUTIES ON WEST INDIAN SUGAR.

MR. CAINE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If it is true that negotiations are proceeding between the United States Government and the West India Association, by which the United States are to remit the Import Duties on West India sugar, and the West Indies are to take off the Duties upon certain articles imported from the United States, and that it is further proposed, with a view to equalising the reciprocity, that the Duties on these articles coming from England are to be maintained; if so, will he undertake that no differential Duties will be placed against English manufactures as against those of the United States?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: Her Majesty's Minister at Washington has been instructed to enter into negotiations with the United States Government for a reciprocal commercial arrangement of the nature specified in the first part of the Question. With regard to the second part of the Question, I have to say that no such arrangement is contemplated and no such proposal made.

### CHINA—ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE AT THE TREATY PORTS.

MR. ALEXANDER M'ARTHUR asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether Her Majesty's Government will lay upon the Table any Correspondence which may have passed between them and the Government of China, relative to the extradition of criminals or the judicial practice of torture in connection with the mixed Commission Courts at the Treaty Ports?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have been in correspondence with the Government of China at various times, as cases have arisen, on the subject of the extradition of Chinese fugitives by the Government of the Colony of Hong Kong under Article 21 of the Treaty of Tien Tsin, and the undertaking which is given against the use of torture. There is no Correspondence relative to the Mixed Courts at the Treaty Ports. Her Majesty's Government do not propose to lay any Papers at present.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND) — MR. PETER DOUGLAS, PETTY SESSIONS CLERK OF BALTINGLASS AND DUNLAVIN.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Is Peter Douglas, who holds the office of Petty Sessions Clerk at Baltinglass and Dunlavin, the same Peter Douglas who is a Poor Law Guardian for Baltinglass; and, if so, is the holding of the office of Poor Law Guardian and Petty Sessions Clerk compatible with the rule made by the Registrar of Petty Sessions Clerks lately, that the holders of such positions can occupy no other at the same time?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: Mr. Douglas, the Clerk of Petty Sessions at Baltinglass and Dunlavin, is a Poor Law Guardian for the Baltinglass Union; but he was elected to the latter office before the Rule to which the hon. Member refers was issued. That Rule was not made retrospective, but contains a proviso permitting Clerks of Petty Sessions who at the time of its issue held the office of Poor Law Guardian to retain such position for the remainder of the term for which they had been elected.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked whether the Government had considered the Circular alluded to; and whether they had come to the conclusion that it was or was not *ultra vires?*

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, perhaps the hon. Member would put the Question on the Paper?

### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—BANTRY BOARD OF GUARDIANS—MR. PAYNE.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the attention of the Local Government Board has been drawn to the fact that Mr. Payne, Chairman of the Bantry Board of Guardians, frequently commences the business of the Board before the regularly appointed time, viz.: twelve, noon; and, whether the Local Government Board will direct Mr. Payne to observe the rules strictly in future?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: The Local Government Board inform me that their attention has been directed to this subject, and they have written to the Guardians with regard to it, and expect to hear from them after their next Board meeting.

### EGYPT (EXPEDITION UP THE NILE)—THE CAMEL CORPS.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, How many officers and how many non-commissioned officers and men were furnished by the Brigade of Guards for Camel Corps service with the Nile Expedition?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Twenty-three officers and 430 non-commissioned officers and men.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, How many officers and how many non-commissioned officers and men were furnished by the Royal Marine forces for Camel Corps service with the Nile Expedition?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: Two officers and 83 non-commissioned officers and men have been furnished by the Royal Marine Light Infantry.

### NAVY—THE ROYAL MARINES.

VISCOUNT LEWISHAM asked the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, To state the total effective strength of the Royal Marine Forces on shore in the United Kingdom and available for immediate service, afloat or abroad, on the 31st October last year and on the 31st October this year?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The total strength of the Royal Marines on shore on October 31 last year was 6,081. The force available for immediate service was 3,854. The effective strength on shore this year was 5,138, and 2,984 were available for immediate service.

### ARMY—LARGE GUN PRACTICE—COMPENSATION FOR DAMAGES.

MR. GREER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether it is a fact that damage has been done to private property by the firing of large guns at Carrickfergus Castle, during the recent training of the 2nd Brigade North Irish Division Royal Artillery; and, if so, whether he is prepared to give compensation for such damage?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Two claims have been received for damage due to the firing of heavy guns at Carrickfergus. They have both been refused, upon the general principle that compensation is not granted for damage caused by concussion from the firing of guns from a fixed battery.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (SCOTLAND)—PROCURATORS FISCAL—THE DISTURBANCES IN THE HEBRIDES.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, What measures he proposes to adopt in view of the threatened agrarian troubles in the Hebrides, to ensure the impartial administration of justice, considering that the Public Prosecutor, the Procurator Fiscal, is also the principal resident land agent, and law agent of the largest landlords in the district; and, whether he is aware that, after the agrarian disturbances in Uig some years ago, the then Sheriff of the County superseded the gentleman who was then the Procurator Fiscal, and who held the same offices for the landlords as the present Procurator Fiscal, on the ground that he (the Sheriff) considered it incompatible for the same person to act for the Crown and also for the landlords?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR), who replied, said: I am afraid I cannot add anything material to the answer I gave the hon. Member when he put substantially the same Question on the 16th of June last, which I will read. It is as follows:—

> "The gentleman who was Sheriff of the county at the time referred to—1874—is now dead, and I am therefore unable to obtain precise information as to the reasons which induced him to recall the appointment of the Procurator Fiscal; but I believe that one reason—I cannot say that it was the sole reason—for his doing so was the fact that the Procurator Fiscal was also the factor upon the estate—that is, manager for the proprietor. It is necessary to distinguish between factor and law agent; and I do not think that holding the office of law agent can have been considered by the Sheriff to be incompatible with the office of Procurator Fiscal, because the gentleman whom he appointed on that occasion was, as I understand, then, as now, the local law agent of the proprietor. He was not, however, and is not, factor on the estate. I may add that at the date in question Procurators Fiscal held a commission from the Sheriff, which he could recall at pleasure, and without reason assigned; but by the provisions of the Sheriff Court Act, 1877, they are only removable by one of Her Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State for inability or misbehaviour, upon a report by the Lord President of the Court of Session and the Lord Justice Clerk."—(3 *Hansard*, [289] 399.)

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: In consequence of the answer of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I beg to ask whether the proprietor has any other law or land land agent in the Lewis or Hebrides except this gentleman, the Procurator Fiscal; and if he will be good enough to state to the House where this gentleman whom he calls factor resides?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I cannot tell as to that matter; but my information is that this gentleman belongs to a firm who are the local law agents for the proprietrix—that is say, who do any legal business that may be required. Law agent is not the term that we should use in Scotland. Further, according to my information, this gentleman is not a factor, and the estate is managed by other persons.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: The right hon. and learned Gentleman says the factor was non-resident, and that this law agent was not factor. I wish to know whether the proprietor has any other factor except this Procurator Fiscal?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I am not in a position to state. I will inquire. My information is that he is not factor.

DR. CAMERON: I wish to ask the Lord Advocate whether the information upon which he has acted in sending armed police there, who are said to be supported by Marines, has been got from the Procurator Fiscal, who is also in the employ of the landlord there?

MR. MACFARLANE: Before the right hon. and learned Gentleman answers that Question, I should like to ask, with reference to the despatch of a police force on the ground of riots, whether there is any truth in the statement that 300 Marines are being sent to the Island of Skye; and whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman would be good enough to state what had occurred in the Island of Skye to require the presence of a military force?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I must say, in the first place, that there is a confusion of localities in both Questions now put to me. It is not uncommon to have Highland names which have the same significance occurring in different places. This Question relates to Uig, in the Island of Lewis, and there have been no police arrangements there that I am aware of. What I believe the other Question relates to is Uig, in the Island of Skye. I am not in a position to state at the present moment what arrangements it has been thought necessary to make for the preservation of peace and order. These will be made known in due time.

DR. CAMERON: This is a very important matter, as a collision is threatened. Things have a very serious aspect. May I ask whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman has taken, or will take, care to inform himself as to the actual state of facts from some thoroughly independent and reliable source before taking steps?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I need not say in a matter of this sort that the Government have taken, and will continue to take, the most careful steps; and it so happens, with reference to this place in Skye, that there has never been a whisper against the Procurator Fiscal. At all events, the information which the Government received is derived from a variety of sources, and is really not open to dispute.

MR. MACFARLANE: The Uig I mentioned is not that in the Island of Lewis, but Uig in the Island of Skye. I wish to ask whether it is true, as stated in a Central News telegram, that 300 Marines have been sent off to the Island of Skye?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I stated to the hon. Member that I shall not at this moment mention here what arrangements the Government have thought necessary to make.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY: In consequence of the answers of the right hon. and learned Gentleman, I wish to ask the Prime Minister whether it is the Home Secretary or the Lord Advocate for Scotland who is responsible for the proceedings which have been taken in Skye at the present moment, and which have been alluded to in my Question?

MR. GLADSTONE: Undoubtedly, my right hon. and learned Friend the Secretary of State for the Home Department is the person principally responsible, and properly responsible, for the maintenance of peace and order in England and Scotland.

Subsequently,

MR. GLADSTONE added: I want to say, with reference to the answer which I just gave, that I understood the Question to be this—Whether the Government were responsible as between one Member of the Government and another? Of course, I do not mean to say that my right hon. and learned Friend is responsible in derogation of the functions which belong to the Local Authorities with respect to the maintenance and preservation of peace.

### THE PATENT OFFICE—THE LIBRARY.

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether, considering the effect of the new Patent Law in increasing the number of visitors at the Library and the Reading Room of the Patent Office, he has in contemplation any plan for rendering this portion of the establishment more adequate to present requirements, and also more accessible than by the ascent of a difficult staircase of some sixty steps?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: The Board of Trade has for some time past had under consideration the question of enlarging the Library at the Patent Office, and it has been decided to increase the existing Library so as to afford about double the present accommodation. The work will be commenced as soon as the money has been voted for the purpose. I fear that I cannot hold out any prospect of doing away with the staircase of which the hon. Member complains, as there is no room on the ground floor of the Patent Office for a Library of the requisite size.

MR. JAMES HOWARD asked whether there was any intention on the part of the Government to build a new Patent Office?

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: No.

### AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND.

MR. R. T. REID asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether in view of the statements in the public papers that the Boers in Zululand have been communicating with Sir Henry Bulwer for the purpose of order being restored to that Country, he is in a position to state that the time has come (to which he referred in his speech made on the 30th July last) when the British Government can be useful in promoting the peaceful settlement of Zululand; and, whether he can state what steps are being taken in that direction?

MR. GLADSTONE: There has been no such communication down to the present date between the Boers and Sir Henry Bulwer as would, in our judgment, constitute any ground for intervention in the affairs of Zululand beyond the Reserve; and, although adhering to the declarations we have made, we do not think that the time has come when any intervention of that kind could be usefully attempted. I may say that further Papers will shortly be laid upon the Table, and I believe that they give a clear and accurate account of the state of the facts. In the meantime, I am assured that, according to the best judgment of the Colonial Department, there seems to be no reason to fear any violation of the Reserve territory.

### EGYPT—THE VOTE OF CREDIT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I wish to put a Question to the Prime Minister, of which I have given him private Notice. I wish to ask him, When he expects to bring forward the Vote for the Expedition up the Nile, and what will be the course of procedure with regard to it? Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will also inform us when he thinks it probable that he will have to make any communication to the House on the subject of the Earl of Northbrook's Report?

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not had an opportunity since I received the right hon. Baronet's note of holding communication with the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who has been at Cambridge to-day in connection with a melancholy event; but I think that I am correct in saying that it is our intention to bring forward this Vote immediately upon getting the Franchise Bill through all its stages. We have not yet got the Speaker out of the Chair, and I should not like to-day to endeavour to estimate the time or to name a day; but we should be prepared immediately—we should hope to-morrow—to be able to make a forecast. We will do so if we can, and I will then also advert to the other Question with regard to the recommendations and the Report of the Earl of Northbrook.

MR. ONSLOW: In consequence of that answer, I beg to ask will the right hon. Gentleman consider further whether he will lay on the Table the instructions given to Lord Wolseley in regard to the relative position of himself and General Gordon?

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: I do not think it is in my power to add to what has been already stated by myself and my noble Friend. I stated that I would lay these instructions upon the Table as soon as we felt that it could be done without practical inconvenience.

## REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL—EXTENSION AND RECTIFICATION OF BOUNDARIES—INSTRUCTION TO THE COMMITTEE.

**Sir WILFRID LAWSON**: I wish to put a Question to you, Sir, in order to obtain your decision upon a point of Order. I see that the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) has placed upon the Paper an Instruction to the Committee on the Representation of the People Bill, the object of which is to provide for the extension and rectification of boundaries. You are aware, Sir, that we discussed that question for two nights last week; and I wish to know whether, having already decided the point, it is competent for the hon. Gentleman to raise it again to-night?

**Mr. SPEAKER**: It would have been in Order for the hon. Gentleman to have moved the Instruction—which I understand he does not intend to do; but of that I have not been officially informed. It would be perfectly in Order to move an Instruction to the Committee to do what it would otherwise not be able to do.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

—o—

## REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[Bill 1.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

**Mr. TOMLINSON** said, that he had decided not to move the Instruction to the Committee which stood upon the Paper in his name, inasmuch as he found that it had no chance of obtaining the favourable consideration of the Government.

**Mr. J. LOWTHER**: Sir, I do not rise on this occasion for the purpose of making a speech, but for the purpose of saving time, and what is of still more importance than the saving of time, of preventing misunderstanding hereafter. I think it right that it should be distinctly placed on record—as far as I am myself concerned, and as I believe many hon. Members on this side of the House are concerned—the fact that we have abstained from placing upon the Paper Amendments to the Bill in the interests of the time of Parliament, and not on account of our being in any shape or form satisfied to accept the Bill as it stands. The reception accorded to the proposals made upon this side of the House, during the last Session, was not such as to encourage those who desire to propose practical Amendments to again bring their views before the House of Commons. I think it also right that some reference should be made to the tone in which some observations from this side of the House during the recent debate have been received by the Party opposite both inside and outside this House. Attempts have been made to interpret the moderate and conciliatory language which has happily characterized recent debate in this House into an abdication on the part of the Conservative Party of those cardinal principles from which it never has receded—principles from which, I venture to say, it never will recede. Those principles are distinctly embodied in the very clear and unmistakable Amendment of my right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley)—an Amendment which I think has very properly been made an exception to the general abstention from moving Amendments on this side of the House to which I have referred. There can, however, be no greater mistake than for any impression to get abroad that any person or persons could, under any circumstances, be authorized to commit the Conservative Party to any abdication of those great fundamental principles which are embodied in the Amendment of my right hon. and gallant Friend, and in those Resolutions and proposals which have already been submitted from this side of the House. I was somewhat amused to see the eagerness with which the right hon. Gentlemen the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) seized upon an expression which he evidently had wholly misunderstood, and which he thought had fallen from my right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross). The construction which he put upon that expression was that anything would satisfy the contention urged on this side of the House—anything short of a compliance with the proposition which had been formally laid down in Amendments for which the Conservative Party has made itself responsible in both Houses of Parliament. I may say that I entirely repudiate the construction which the President of the Local Government Board placed upon the conciliatory and most statesmanlike remarks of my right hon. Friend the late Home Secretary (Sir R. Assheton Cross). That construction totally differs from the true text of the speech of my right hon. Friend. The idea that any Resolution, however unanimously acceded to by this or the other House of Parliament, could in any shape or form remove the objection which has always been persistently and consistently entertained among all Members of the Conservative Party to deal with the question of the franchise without having at the same time placed on the Statute Book an enactment dealing with the redistribution of seats! However, it is not Resolutions unanimously acceded to, it is not schemes of contemplated Bills —whether surreptitiously or formally communicated to the public—which we want. We do not want Resolutions or Bills; what we want is an Act of Parliament. I would venture humbly to throw out this suggestion — that any person or persons who place any reliance upon rumours of backstairs intrigue, or attempts to settle a great question behind the back of Parliament, are reckoning without their host. When certain proposals had been made known to the public, designedly or otherwise, and were generally assumed to embody the views of Her Majesty's Government, my right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) took the earliest opportunity of intimating that he would not even discuss the proposal unless formulated on the authority of Her Majesty's Government and presented to Parliament. I have thought it right to state my view of this matter —a view which I think will commend itself to the great mass certainly of the Conservative Party. With regard to the Bill now before the House, I must again express my regret that Her Majesty's Government have impaired the Bill, and have presented it, being apparently prepared to do so, without having in any shape or form taken into consideration the great and fundamental question of representation of minorities. Upon this subject I should have liked to make a proposal to the House, but it would evidently have been open to the charge of uselessly consuming the time of the House. Again placing on record my protest against the Bill on that and on other grounds, I wish to guard myself against any application of the *nemine contradicente* doctrine.

MR. LEWIS said, he also wished to guard himself against any repetition of what took place on the previous occasion. He was present at the celebrated *nemine contradicente* scene, and, like a good many hon. Members, was rather taken by surprise. He wished to take this opportunity of protesting that the Conservative Party had not in the least withdrawn from the position which they had hitherto taken up, and he could, with the full knowledge of his constituents, say that in their opinion nothing could be more disastrous to the future prospects of Ireland than the application of the Bill to that country. They had the strongest reason for believing that it would only aggravate the existing troubles in Ireland.

MR. MACARTNEY said, he also desired to state that he was quite opposed to the inclusion of Ireland in the Bill. And on behalf of a section of Irish Representatives — although they did not put Amendments on the Paper to impede the passing of the measure—it was not to be supposed they approved of the application of the Bill to Ireland.

MR. GLADSTONE: The speeches of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) and of the hon. Gentlemen who followed him represent a sentiment of stern opposition to the principles of the present Bill. I think that the House is indebted to them, and that they have exercised a sound discretion in not renewing debates on matters which have been fairly decided and exhaustively discussed by the House. I thank them for that very Parliamentary and reasonable conclusion. However, I do not quite understand the capacity in which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) spoke; because, at one time, he appeared modestly to disclaim the character of one who commits others by his declarations, but rather to speak for himself, or, at any rate, for some section of Gentlemen on the other side of the House. He was sustained in that proposition by cheering, which was extremely lively and warm, but what is called very thin, proceeding from a number of Gentlemen who might be counted on the fingers, and on the full complement of the fingers, but who undoubtedly did by zeal make up for want of numerical strength. The right hon. Gentleman went further, and made an apology or an explanation on behalf of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross), who is not now in the House, and said that my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) had altogether misconstrued a declaration or an expression of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire with respect to proceeding by Resolution. If there was any such declaration, the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) entirely disavowed it, and authoritatively retracted it. He did not say, however, that he had received any authority from the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) to retract it. There was a decided gap in the statement of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) upon that point of the case; and I may observe that when that expression was used by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross), it was noticed by my right hon. Friend (Sir Charles W. Dilke) in careful and guarded terms, simply speaking of it as an indication of a friendly and pacific spirit. The right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was in the House when my right hon. Friend spoke; he listened to my right hon. Friend's observation, and he appeared to be eminently well contented with it. I am puzzled by this very authoritative retraction which the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. J. Lowther) seems to give, not in consequence of his having been delegated to do so by the right hon. Gentleman who made the declaration, but apparently in consequence of a kind of supreme dominion which overrides all the declarations of other Members. That is a reserve power like the sacred power of Parliament, which can do anything except change a woman into a man. The right hon. Gentleman endeavoured to mend the inaccuracies and errors of hon. Members around him; and I take it that, in the exercise of that power, he made the explanation to which we have listened. I beg to thank him for the intention which he has announced, and I think he has arrived at a sound and wise judgment.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I regret that my right hon. Friend the Member for South-West Lancashire (Sir R. Assheton Cross) was not aware that the subject would be raised, or he would have been in his place. I myself distinctly understood that what my right hon. Friend said on the last occasion was somewhat in the nature of an *obiter dictum*, and it was perhaps taken up by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister with more keenness than perhaps my right hon. Friend supposed would be the case. I do not know, however, that we shall gain very much by a discussion of the point. I am only anxious that no mistake on the subject should be made; and I say again what I have said frequently on this subject, that while we assent to the passing on of this Franchise Bill we do so on the understanding, and as far as we are able to enforce such an understanding, that it must be accompanied by a distinct and clear measure of redistribution.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, he was certain that the Franchise Bill would not be passed unless the Prime Minister brought forward his Redistribution Bill and placed it upon the Table. What had they been fighting for through the Recess? [*Ministerial cheers.*] Yes; and there had been a significant answer from South Warwickshire. He was informed that if there was one thing more than another which turned that election it was whether or not the House of Lords was to be supported in the position it had taken up. Would it not be wise and prudent, if the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister was anxious that the Franchise Bill should be passed, that he should bring in a Redistribution Bill? By adjourning the House over Christmas he would have up to next June to pass it. If he declined to bring it in, upon his head and his alone must rest the responsibility.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

*Preliminary.*

Clause 1 (Short title of Act) *agreed to.*

*Extension of the Household and Lodger Franchise.*

Clause 2 (Uniform household and lodger franchise).

COLONEL STANLEY, in moving, as an Amendment, in page 1, line 11, after the word "and," to insert—

> "After the passing of this Act, and of an Act to be passed for amending the Acts which settle and describe the divisions of counties, and the limits of cities and boroughs of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of the election of Members to serve in Parliament,"

said: In rising for the purpose of moving the same Amendment which it was my duty to propose last Session, I need hardly assure the Committee that I do not propose it any obstructive spirit. I think there is a desire on all sides of the House—and it was even evinced just now by my right hon. Friend the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther)—that the debate upon the Bill should not be any longer protracted here. I need also hardly say that I propose this Amendment not in a hostile spirit, but with a two-fold object. First of all, that we may place on record, in the most formal manner, that which is our opinion; and, at the same time, in order that we should see whether, in Committee, by an interchange of views—which is, perhaps, easier and less hampered by forms in Committee than at any other stage of the Bill—means may not be found for bringing this question nearer to some final adjustment. I ask pardon if I speak plainly to the Committee. I ask leave also to put aside many references which I should like to have made, under any other circumstances, to speeches which have been delivered in the Recess; but I think that at this period, standing as we do, it is far better that we should entirely put aside reference to all extreme statements of opinion, which otherwise might form an obstacle to steady and quiet proceedings, and that we should, as far as possible, look carefully and judicially at the position in which this House and Parliament find themselves placed at the present moment. The main question which I venture to ask, and which I think the country asks, is—"Are the differences between the two sides of the House, upon this great question, now insurmountable?" In proposing this Amendment, I need hardly say that I wish to anticipate at once the very fair objection which the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister took when I proposed this Amendment last year. I take his actual words, and I have no right to complain that the right hon. Gentleman made use of them. He said, truly enough, that this Amendment, if carried, would completely hang up the Franchise Bill, and make it dependent entirely upon the passing of the Redistribution Bill, and it would follow that if no Redistribution Bill were ever passed, the Franchise Bill would be for ever suspended. Of course, I make the right hon. Gentleman a present of that argument. If I could have been able, I should have been glad to find words that would express the meaning of hon. Members on this side of the House which would not be open to that objection; but, however logical that argument may be, I ask whether the right hon. Gentleman really believes, or whether anyone in this House or in the country really believes, that, at the present moment, such a proceeding as the right hon. Gentleman indicates is possible? I venture to sum up, briefly, the differences which it seems to me exist between the two sides of the House, and in doing so it is with an earnest desire, by examining them, to make those differences smaller, and to bring them to a vanishing point. But there is a certain point, as the right hon. Gentleman himself said, up to which we have a right to retain our opinion, if possible, although, on the other hand, there is nothing we have said which we desire to conceal, and in regard to which we are not open to discussion, and, if necessary, to conviction. Where there seems to be a fundamental difference is that the Government—as shown by the opinions expressed by the Prime Minister—seem to think that the conferring of the vote is that which has the greatest value—that the attaching and giving of the vote to the individual is that which is the most important part of this measure. We, on the other hand—and I will ask the Committee to follow the distinction—rather look at the giving of the vote to the individual as enabling that individual to do his duty to the constituency, and to the country of which the constituency forms part, in forming the opinion of the constituency, and in recording, in his opinion, that which is best for the constituency and the country. The argument of the right hon. Gentleman goes only to the conferring of the franchise, giving the right to the individual to vote, and leaves untouched the more important part of the question —namely, whether that individual shall exercise the franchise as one of 10,000, of 40,000, or of 100,000? That, in the view of the right hon. Gentleman, seems to be altogether immaterial. We, on the other hand, say that we are fully aware, and think it right both for the country and for the persons exercising the franchise, that they should know where they are to exercise the vote, in what proportion, and with what general reference to the vote of the constituency and the representation of the country of which the constituency forms part. Then there comes this other difficulty. We say that if you dissociate the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill—however honourable the intentions of the Government may be, however fairly they may wish to carry them out—and I, for one, do not doubt their sincerity—there can be no guarantee that circumstances may not prevent you from getting the second part of the question dealt with either by this Parliament or by the next Parliament, but by a hybrid Parliament which would neither represent the old constituencies nor the new. One of the Colleagues of the Government has left on record a speech which will be read even now with some admiration as to its logic and the clear common sense which it contains. As the question is one of controversy, I only want to show very briefly where the differences lie between us. The Government say that they are anxious that redistribution should follow closely on the franchise; we, on the other hand, say that it should be part of one measure, or that it should be simultaneous. The Government say that they are anxious, to have the measure dealt with in one Parliament; we say that it is not only advisable, but essential. In the discussions which have taken place within the last few days, of which I, for one, have been glad to see the conciliatory tone, I do not suppose there is, as to all the other points—the question of population, the simplicity of the Bill, its equity towards the four divisions of the country, and the general justice which it does to the community — the slightest difference in principle on either side of the House. Then, what is the argument of the Government? We think we have a strong argument, we think we have shown a just ground, looking at its effects on future constituencies, and next as to the possible miscarriage between the passing of the one Bill and the passing of the other—we think we have shown good reason why those two Bills should be closely associated. The one answer of the Government is, that if they were to introduce a Redistribution Bill, they might jeopardize the Franchise Bill. The reply I will humbly make to that is, that they jeopardize far more the fate of their Bill by keeping back the information which the House desires, and upon which, I honestly believe, the majority of the House would very gladly act. It is my own opinion—it may be a very simple one, but I cannot help expressing it—that a fair Bill would receive fair treatment, and that distrust, or what appears to be distrust, of this House, is sure, on the other hand, to bring distrust in its turn. I have endeavoured, as I said before, to see in what form I could possibly cast this Amendment, so that it should be in a form, I will not say palatable, but the least obnoxious to the criticisms which it is likely to meet with from the Government; but I frankly confess I have failed to do so, and I have been unable to put it in any other form than that in which it stands. I am all the more convinced, if we have to record our view, that it is best we should do so in the simplest and broadest form, rather than accompany it with a reference to any date, or to hang up the Bill for a certain time in a manner which, however well meant, might, in the event of certain contingencies, form a source of serious misunderstanding between the two sides of the House. As to the fate of the Amendment, I freely confess that I have hardly a parental interest. But I may say this—that the Amendment is framed with an honest desire to facilitate, and not to obstruct, the passage of the Bill. There is only one quotation which I will venture to make, and it is one which the right hon. Gentleman will hardly dissent from, seeing that the words fell from himself a very short time ago. It is his belief that there is a feeling in many parts of the House that all our efforts in all quarters should be directed to the safe and fair adjustment of redistribution. I believe there is a general feeling that it is not for the credit of the House, nor for the credit of Her Majesty's Government, nor for the credit of Parliament, that things should be hung up in this way any longer. The right hon. Gentleman thinks there would be danger to this Bill by introducing the subject of redistribution. But surely he underrates the general feeling of the country; he underrates his own abilities; and more than all, perhaps, he underrates the merits of this question in entertaining that opinion. The people ask whether, all this time that we are debating about procedure, we could not have passed a Redistribution Bill? My belief is that if the Government, even now, were able to add to the information which they can give to the House, and to indicate clearly the general lines and principles upon which their scheme is to be founded, so far from creating any obstacles to themselves, they would have done that which will facilitate the passage not only of this, but of both Bills, during the present Session. I do not think the other side of the House is blind to the possible circumstances which may arise from our present want of information. With a little more confidence on one side, and perhaps a little less fear on the other, there ought not to be, even in the present Parliament, any obstacles or difficulties in the way. I do not venture to speak on all these points as though I were the mouthpiece of others; but I have ventured to put before the House what I myself feel with regard to this question. I do most earnestly appeal to the Government, in the sense in which they have met us within the last few days, to amplify what we have sketched out in words by giving us further information, so far as may be, of a tangible character; and if they do that, they, I think, will have done more than all to place this great question in the position in which we wish to see it—on the surest foundations. I beg to move the Amendment which I have placed on the Paper.

Amendment proposed,

In page 1, line 11, after the word "and," to insert the words "after the passing of this Act, and of an Act to be passed for amending the Acts which settle and describe the divisions of counties, and the limits of cities and boroughs of the United Kingdom, for the purpose of the election of Members to serve in Parliament."—(*Colonel Stanley.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

MR. GLADSTONE: The right hon. and gallant Gentleman has said that he does not make this Motion in any obstructive spirit, and I fully agree that it would be highly irrational in me to describe, as obstructive, the renewal in a temperate form of any proposition which he may have thought it necessary to make on a previous occasion with reference to the present Bill. Undoubtedly, though I am not able in any way to accede to his Motion, but, on the contrary, regard it now as more objectionable even than it was when made at the former period, I fully admit that it is a Motion he is entitled to make, and he has brought it forward in a temperate and conciliatory manner, with no larger demand upon the time of the Committee than he was justified in making. There were words at the conclusion of the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman which, if they stood alone, I should have heard without dissatisfaction, when he said his desire was that information of a tangible character—of course, it must be of a somewhat sufficiently definite character—should be communicated to the House, as the only means of allowing the Franchise Bill to go forward here and "elsewhere." Well, Sir, that demand is one which it was stated by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) and my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) we had no indisposition to listen to; but I am afraid the demand must be taken as being liable to be construed with another portion of the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, in which he said that nothing would satisfy him except the enactment of the franchise and redistribution in one and the same measure, or simultaneously in two measures. Then he appeals to the Government to accede to the moderate demand which he makes. But that moderate demand is the extreme demand he has ever made, or that has at any time been urged on the part of hon. Gentlemen on the other side. Our opinion, on this side of the House, is that the most decisive indications have been given, in the course of the last three months, as to the opinion of the country on this subject. When the right hon. and gallant Gentleman appeals to us to do certain things which we refused before, now that these indications—which we deem to be exceeding clear—have been given, it greatly diminishes the force of his appeal, for, as we think, judgment has been informally, but very emphatically, pronounced by those who are most interested in the matter, and a clear indication—I do not say of the feeling of every constituency—but a clear indication of the general sentiment of the nation has been given. These considerations, therefore, weaken, and do not strengthen, the appeal which the right hon. and gallant Gentleman now makes. But he asks us for further information. Now, I wish to point out to him the position in which we stand upon these two points. He admits that the object and effect of his Motion is to hang up the Franchise Bill until the Redistribution Bill has been passed. Then again he says, in distinct terms, that Gentlemen opposite—and a large portion of Gentlemen opposite—say that they are willing to grant the franchise. This means that they are willing to grant it upon conditions. Redistribution is the condition, without which they refuse to grant the franchise. It is material that it should be understood how much this compulsory friendship for the franchise, which has been so largely expressed, means. It is a willingness to grant the franchise, provided that it be accompanied by another measure, without which, in the judgment of the most moderate and favourable of the Party opposite, it is not a good measure. And yet the right hon. and gallant Gentleman calls this a most moderate demand. Then the right hon. and gallant Gentleman assures us that, although he wishes to pass an enactment which will hang up the Enfranchisement Bill until the Redistribution of Seats Bill has been passed, yet that there is no reason why we should regard a proposition of that nature with any kind of apprehension, because it is ridiculous to suppose that the Franchise Bill can now be postponed. Yes, Sir; but when we assure him of our disposition to go forward with redistribution, then he does not think it ridiculous to argue that the Redistribution Bill may be postponed. On the contrary, he says that there are all sorts of contingencies which may interfere to postpone it. Then what reason is there that I am to be so very sanguine as to the passing of a Redistribution Bill, provided we let go the hold I believe we have by the present constitution of the measure? What may happen? A Redistribution Bill we could not hope to pass very rapidly; there is no doubt about that. I am not speaking of Obstruction or anything of that kind. Putting that out of view altogether, the time, measuring from the present date, for the introduction of the measure could not occur till some fortnight or three weeks hence, when the Redistribution Bill might be proceeded with. We should then have the intervention of Christmas, and there would be an absolute necessity for some Recess—some considerable Recess, too. Then it is plain that the passing of a Redistribution Bill upon a reasonable calculation, and without assuming any resort to Obstruction, could not be hoped for until the spring was somewhat advanced. But how would it be with the actual passing of the Redistribution Bill? We are encouraged to contemplate a state of things in which the franchise is to be hung up until that interval has elapsed, and until the Redistribution Bill has passed. What may happen to the Government during that period? It is the desire of hon. Gentlemen opposite that the Government should receive its death-blow from one or more of the questions which have been raised concerning the policy of this country in other countries, independently of its policy with regard to the Redistribution Bill; and we are urged to push forward the Redistribution Bill, in order to prevent the substitution of those measures which would be fatal to it. Very well; see what is to happen. The Franchise Bill is to be hung up; we are to introduce a Redistribution Bill, and, according to the declarations of hon. Gentlemen who desire to hang up the Franchise Bill, we are to be dismissed from our Offices on account of our sins of commission and of omission in other respects. Then what is to become of the Franchise Bill? It is to be given over to the tutelage and care and guardianship of right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite. Is that a prospect very satisfactory to us? Have their declarations on behalf of the Franchise Bill been declarations of a character to fill us with confidence? As the poet says—

"Vows made in pain ease will recant
As violent and void."

And I must say that most of the vows in favour of the Franchise Bill have, in the strictest sense, been vows made in pain—vows which were made because hon. Gentlemen could not help making them. And under those circumstances, we are not very ready to hand over to your tutelage the future fortunes of the Franchise Bill. But, now, hon. Gentlemen want information. What sort of information do they want? I have said, and others of my Colleagues have said, that we are most anxious, if it were possible, that a Redistribution Bill should be founded on ideas that are generally acceptable to the House. We have said that explicitly, and we are ready to repeat it. We have said—and I think we know enough of the advantage of conciliatory steps—that we are disposed, in regard to redistribution, to sacrifice any extreme and particular predilections on this side of the House. We know, or we think we do, enough to give us no great difficulty as to the kind of Redistribution Bill we should introduce, so far as to make us confident of its receiving a favourable support on this side of the House; and, of course, if we did not carry it, we should be bound to resort to the alternative which is always looked upon as the Constitutional and only alternative course in such circumstances. There is, therefore, no difficulty as far as the majority of the House is concerned. But we are told that we ought to consult the wishes of the minority. We want to consult the wishes of the minority to the utmost degree which our principles will permit; and as far as I know we have no reason to say that we shall be precluded from consulting their views. But what are the wishes of the minority? It is not that we ask the minority to develop every particular on which they desire this or that; but we ask the minority not to stand in contradiction to itself; and we respectfully submit that at this moment, from the indications it has given on the subject of redistribution, it does stand in palpable contradiction to itself. [Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: How?] The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) asks me how. Does he think that the speech which he made on Friday night—and I heard it in many respects with satisfaction—gave the same indications of opinion in regard to redistribution as were given a few hours before by the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill)? The right hon. Gentleman asks "How?" and I have answered him. I do not assume, for a moment, that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, whatever his abilities may be, has a position equivalent to that of the right hon. Gentleman; but the speech of the noble Lord was in strict conformity with many other indications which have come forward in various forms, and notably with the declarations which have proceeded, or which have been reported as proceeding, and which in some cases have absolutely proceeded, from Lord Salisbury. Indeed, is there any doubt about this? The speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock—I do not find fault with it—as far as I could understand it, was an able and an extremely clever speech, and it was a speech which gave me the idea that the speaker was desirous, from his point of view, to arrive at a settlement of the question; but, undoubtedly, as far as I could comprehend, the drift of the speech of the noble Lord was to recommend that electoral areas should be recast on the single basis of population, qualified only by one consideration, and that one consideration was to be the ripping asunder, if I may so say, of rural and urban constituencies, and rural and urban pursuits. I desire to avoid exaggeration. That was my construction of the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock. But the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) spoke later in the evening with distinct reference to the clear and forcible speech which my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) had just before delivered. My right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon has referred to various other principles to which it seemed that he wished considerable scope to be allowed, such as regard to prescription and possession, where privilege had not been abused, regard to the principle of community and municipal life and principles of that kind, which would cross and traverse the simple principle of population. And the right hon. Gentleman opposite, if I understand him rightly, distinctly accepted the view of the right hon. Member for Ripon, and was anxious that all that diversity of considerations should be introduced in the construction of a sound Reform Bill. That is what I mean when I say that, at this moment, the minority stands in contradiction with itself. And I do not hesitate to affirm that, at this moment, there is no imaginable Bill for the redistribution of seats that we could introduce into this House with a reasonable confidence that it would not be made the subject of a fierce Party conflict. And, Sir, it is under these circumstances that this pressure for information comes. But that pressure for information would not be a matter of difficulty for us if we were to introduce a Bill that we believed would suit the views of the majority of the House. But you are calling upon us to meet your views, and at the same time presenting your views in a form in which they are absolutely incompatible with each other. And what does the introduction of a Redistribution Bill mean if it is to be made the subject of a Party contest? It means the introduction of a Bill that it would be impossible to pass in the present state of Parliamentary practice against the will of the House—it means the handing over of the whole question from the majority to the minority. The entire settlement of the question of redistribution would not rest with us, but with hon. Gentlemen opposite, if there were a disposition to use the means which Parliamentary Rules permit for resisting a Redistribution Bill. All this time, according to their proposal, the Franchise Bill is to be what is called "hung up," and its chances are to be mixed up with all those general accidents of political vicissitude from which we are determined, if we can, to keep it separate. Now, does the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, in his own mind, really think it possible for us, under these circumstances, to agree to what he proposes? Do not let it be supposed that I am now finding fault. At this moment I am not finding fault either with the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock, or still less with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon. Speaking for myself, individually, I am not ashamed to say that my desire is to have an agreement on this subject if we can. I do not say that we are willing to agree with either; but I will say this, that it is quite impossible to agree with both. If you hold the contrary, and say that it is possible to agree with both, I must beg, in condescension to our obtuse understanding, that you will develop a little the ideas that you entertain, and show us what it is that you want. I believe I have been long enough in dealing with the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman, and there is no necessity for me to detain the Committee longer. We have, I think, on the whole, by the speeches made on this Bench, explained with tolerable clearness what our disposition is. I recede from nothing that I have said. I am sure that I may say the same for my right hon. Friends near me, and for my noble Friend (the Marquess of Hartington), not now in his place, in regard to what has fallen from them which tends towards harmony and a speedy settlement. But the demand for indefinite postponement, and, in fact, for giving over the whole of our contention, supported as we are by the great majority of the House—a majority which apparently has no tendency to diminish—the demand to give over the whole of our contention to the minority opposite, is really making a proposal to us which might almost be received with silence, so absolutely impossible must it be for us, in that form, to make any approximation towards meeting the wishes of hon. Gentlemen opposite.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I must confess that I rather gather from the speech of the right hon. Gentleman that his idea is that the Opposition should draw a Bill for him. Now, I think that is not reasonable, and that it would rather invert the position which the two sides respectively hold in the House of Commons. We are desirous honestly and fairly to discuss the principle and details of a Redistribution Bill; but we think that the Government ought to take the responsibility of introducing the measure. I do not raise a question as to whether it is fair to us to ask us to lay down principles; but I ask whether it is altogether fair to the House—whether it is the quickest way of proceeding, to take the lowest ground —that we should be called upon, in the first place, to formulate the basis on which the discussion is to be carried on? That is a matter which the Government and the majority ought to undertake, and which distinctly rests with them. All that we can promise them is a fair and full consideration. [*Laughter.*] That statement seems very much to amuse the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere). I know not whether he thinks a fair consideration is something that ought to be despised or not. Or does he think we ought to accept, in the same spirit as the followers of the right hon. Gentleman, whatever proceeds from his mouth without any discussion at all? I do not think that that is really the manner in which legislation of this importance has ever been conducted, or ever will be. What has often been remarked in regard to the legislation of this country, and what is probably true and of very great importance is, that we have had measures of the largest character brought forward from time to time which have occasioned warm contests between the two Parties in the State, and, after all, one settlement has been arrived at after another, and the result of the final settlement has generally been accepted by the whole country, let alone, and not subsequently disturbed. Why is that? It is because these measures have been made the subject of fair discussion on each side of the House. Each Party has had the opportunity of saying its own say, and when the decision has been come to, like Englishmen we have agreed to abide by the result of the decision. That is all we ask now. I sometimes think, from the indications I see on the opposite side, and certainly from the Benches immediately fronting me, that hon. Members opposite have some kind of suspicious fear that we have some terrible design in the background, and that we intend, when they have brought forward their measure, to take some insidious step which will destroy the settlement of the question. I can assure them that this is entirely a delusion. I assure them that we are prepared to discuss this matter in perfectly good faith. As the Government have seen fit to bring this question before the country and before Parliament in the serious manner they have done, we are prepared to meet them, and to endeavour to give effect to their desires in the direction of enlarging the franchise. But what we do say is this—that it is necessary that such a step as that should be accompanied by a proper redistribution of political power. We say that if you are going to bring in this large quantity of new wine, it should not be put into old bottles; but it should be new wine and new bottles. You are not treating the two measures as in point of fact being one measure, and you are running the risk of doing what the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister has indicated may possibly happen — namely, that after passing one measure, the other may be sacrificed by Party considerations. We have often been told, when we have said that we want to be assured that the two measures will be passed— "Why cannot you accept the assurances of the Government? Why cannot you take the word of the Prime Minister and all those securities which are offered to you in regard to the two measures?" We have always said that we do not doubt the word of the Prime Minister, or any assurances that may have been given by the Government, as far as they are able to give effect to them; but we see, as well as the right hon Gentleman sees, that there is a possibility of circumstances entirely extraneous to this question, rendering something necessary which may prevent the Government from doing that which they say they are all desirous of aiming at. What I hope and trust is that the right hon. Gentleman will look at this matter in a more practical spirit. I cannot altogether accept his views that the Amendment of my right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) is less appropriate now than it was when he brought it forward last Session. I do not altogether endorse the view the right hon. Gentleman has expressed, nor the view of the right hon. Gentleman with regard to the strong expression of opinion which he says has been given in the country. I do not myself see were the proof of it is. True, we have had some indication. Not only within the last three months, but even within the last three days, events have happened which would lead us to consider that, at all events, there are two opinions on the matter, whatever may be the relative strength of those two opinions in the country; and it is by no means too certain that those who wish to see this question treated as a whole are so very much weaker, or so much more in a minority, than they were before. I am quite certain, Sir, that when any Question is to be put from the Chair, you will take the voice of the House, "Aye" or "No," and that you will pronounce your decision according to the best of your judgment as to which appears to be the larger voice. But, Sir, with all respect to you, that will not be taken as conclusive, and you will, I think, if your decision is challenged, at once direct that the Ayes and the Noes should separate into different Lobbies, so that it may be seen which is really the larger Party. What we say, when we dispute the inferences the right hon. Gentleman and the Goverment are in the habit of drawing from the discussion in the autumn is, that we do not accept the statement that these discussions have proved their case, and show that the country is in their favour. The natural thing, we should have thought, was that they should propose that the Ayes and the Noes should go into opposite Lobbies, and really ascertain what the state of the case is. But I do not wish to prolong this discussion. What I am anxious to do is to support the Amendment of my right hon. and gallant Friend, on the ground that it is entirely consistent with the position which we have all along taken up. The position which we have all along taken up, and which we hold now is, that, if this measure is to become the law of the land, it is most desirable that there should be some security that the other measure should pass also. I see the right hon. Gentleman the senior Member for Birmingham (Mr. John Bright) in his place. I took the liberty of referring to him the other day in some observations which I made in his absence; but I said in his absence nothing which I would not say when he is present. I claimed the right hon. Gentleman as an authority upon the very great importance of a redistribution of seats accompanying any measure for the extension of the franchise. The question whether they are to be in one Bill or two is not the question I raise. The right hon. Gentleman has undoubtedly explained his statements with a view to show that there is no inconsistency in advocating the present separation of the two measures; but the right hon. Gentleman can hardly deny that he has stated, in the strongest terms, that a measure for the redistribution of seats was at least as important, or even more important, than the mere question of the extension of the franchise. He, himself, has said something to this effect—"Reduce your franchise as you please, and if you will give me the distribution of seats, I will undertake to alter the whole effect of giving the franchise." That is what we hold to be the case. We hold that if in this matter the new Parliament is to give proper expression to the feelings and wants of the country, it must be carefully provided, in the settlement of this question, that Parliament shall really represent the different interests of the country. How that should be done is a matter for very serious consideration, and we say that the country has a right to ask the Government to undertake the consideration. We say that any Government, especially a Government which is as strong as hon. Members opposite represent—and which believes itself to much stronger than it looks—ought to give whatever consideration is necessary, and ought to produce its measure. We, on our part, promise the fairest possible consideration and discussion of that measure, and I trust that we shall not have it thrown in our teeth that we are obstructing it practically by asking that we shall have an opportunity for the full and reasonable consideration of it.

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I think it was not necessary for the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) to insist upon the importance of redistribution. That is one of the propositions which has not been denied, as far as I understand, in this controversy at all, nor is it one of the issues raised by the Amendment. The question is, how we are to proceed with regard to the question of franchise and the question of redistribution. I will ask the House to consider what is the light in which this matter is put before us in the present Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman said—"Why are you so suspicious; why do you think that if the franchise is postponed until redistribution is settled, that it will endanger franchise? I can assure you on the other side of the House that we have every desire to forward and secure the Franchise Bill." I am quite willing to accept that assurance on the part of the right hon. Gentleman; but how does he accept our corresponding assurances? When we say—"Do not distrust us; do not think that because we pass a Franchise Bill, that, therefore, we desire to give the go-bye to redistribution." Does he accept our assurances? Is he willing to act upon them? Is he willing to say —"We trust you, and therefore we will pass the Franchise Bill?" No; not at all. I venture to say that in this demand for controversy there ought to be some reciprocity; but I do not observe the smallest particle of reciprocity on the part of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The right hon. Gentleman, although it did not appear to be very germane to the present discussion, referred to a recent election. Well, I remember very well the winter of 1879, and the early months of 1880, when there were some very promising elections for those who then sat upon these Benches; but when they came to reap the harvest, the ears did not prove to be as full of grain as they had expected. I would not advise them, even now, in that matter, to count their chickens before they are hatched. But what is the practical proposition offered to us by the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Stanley) in his Amendment? It amounts to this, and it can be put in one sentence—it means that no Franchise Bill shall be passed until a Redistribution Bill is passed, which is agreeable to the majority of the House of Lords. [*Loud cheers.*] You may turn and twist the matter how you like; but that is what it means. And when the right hon. and gallant Gentleman talks of the verdict of the constituencies, he may take it for granted that, ultimately and at the proper time, we shall not be afraid to take the verdict of the constituencies. The right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) has talked a great deal about discussion in this House. In this House the opinion of the majority does not always, but ought, at all events, to prevail. I think it was admitted by the right hon. Gentleman in his speech that, after full discussion, the opinion of the majority prevails and is accepted. That may be true of the House of Commons; but when the Bill goes to "another place" it is the majority of the House of Lords, which represents the minority of the House of Commons, which is ultimately to prevail on this question. And, therefore, this Amendment means nothing else—for it is, of course, the Amendment which is to guide the action of the House of Lords—the meaning of the Amendment is, that these 2,000,000 of people shall not enjoy the franchise, except upon this one condition—that the majority of the House of Lords shall dictate how they shall enjoy it.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, that the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Home Department regarded the Amendment as a *reductio ad absurdum;* but the arguments they had adduced in support of that contention were not of a very convincing character. The Prime Minister had drawn a dreadful picture. He said—"If you pass this Amendment the Franchise Bill will be hung up until the Redistribution Bill is passed, and we may be turned out of Office for our numerous misdeeds at home and abroad; and then," the right hon. Gentleman went on to say, "the conduct of this great question will fall into your hands." So monstrous did he regard such a possibility, that he seemed to think it absolutely disposed of the whole question. And why, in his view, was it impossible that the Conservative Party could deal fairly with the Franchise Question? The Prime Minister told them, in the plainest manner, that he could not rely on their professions as to desiring Reform. And he said that, if they were not absolutely false, at all events they were of such a character, and made under such circumstances, that they could not be expected to adhere to them. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) believed the Conservative Party, one and all, repudiated that assertion. What he wanted to point out was this. If the Government were justified in throwing doubt on the repeated promises made, in the most formal manner, by every leading Conservative statesman with regard to the franchise, on what possible ground did they come down to the House and expect the Conservative Party to put confidence in the pledges of the Government as to their desire to pass a Redistribution Bill? As the Secretary of State for the Home Department said just now, confidence should be reciprocal; and if hon. Members opposite thought so ill of the honesty of the Conservative Party as to believe they were false in their profession of a desire to pass a Franchise Bill, on what ground could they ask the Conservative Party to put the slightest confidence in their desire for the passing of a Redistribution Bill? The Secretary of State for the Home Department seemed to think that very little confidence was to be placed in auguries resting upon bye-elections. Now, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) did not himself place any great amount of confidence in the result of a bye-election; but although he did not place much more confidence in that than he did upon the mere fact, if it were a fact, which he greatly doubted, that hon. Gentlemen had been able to collect a larger and noisier crowd to hear their speeches during the Recess—if that were a fact, it was not a fact of such a kind as to afford any solid augury of the opinions of the people. Although he did not, in the least degree, wish to rest more upon the Warwickshire Election than it ought to be rested upon, yet he must say that it was the clearest, the most Constitutional, and the most certain indication of what the country thought. It had been stated by the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition that the Conservative Party had no intention of using the Redistribution Bill as a means of destroying the Franchise Bill; and he felt certain that that was the opinion held in every quarter of the House, and held also, as far as he could judge of these things, by the majority in "another place." There was not the slightest desire either to prolong unduly the discussion upon the Redistribution Bill, or in any way to use that Redistribution Bill as a means for giving a secret stab to the Franchise Bill. He failed to see upon what grounds the Government were justified in throwing a doubt upon that statement. Had there been the slightest indication that the Opposition desired to destroy the Franchise Bill in that way? Could it be possibly shown that they had any motive in destroying the Franchise Bill? If the Government could not give them credit for common honesty, would they not, at all events, give them credit for common sense? The Secretary of State for the Home Department, in the speech he had just delivered, drew a parallel between the confidence which the Government asked the Opposition to place in them, and the confidence which the Government was asked to place in the Opposition; but the truth was that there was no parallel between the two things, and he would explain why. The confidence the Opposition asked the Government to place in them was a mere confidence in the honesty of their intentions with regard to the Franchise Bill; and they were perfectly ready to repose precisely the same kind of confidence in the Government, so far as the matter rested in the honesty of their intentions with regard to the Redistribution Bill. They were prepared to give the Government full credit for the honesty of their intentions; but the difference was this—that where all the contingencies the Opposition had to deal with rested with themselves, all the contingencies the Government had to deal with did not rest with themselves, but depended upon considerations absolutely outside their own control. It rested with the Opposition whether they would obstruct the Redistribution Bill, or use it as a means of destroying the Franchise Bill. They disclaimed all such intention, and asked the Government to believe them. They, in return, were quite ready to believe that the Government sincerely meant to bring in a Redistribution Bill, and to make it a fair Bill; but what they said was that the intentions of the Government did not exhaust the possibilities of the case. What the right hon. Gentleman on the Front Bench had stated and pointed out, as he had often done before, was that there might be circumstances over which the Government could have no control, whatever the honesty of their intentions might be, but which might, practically, compel a Dissolution before they could pass their Redistribution Bill. Therefore, it was not sufficient that they should place mutual confidence in each other because the position of the Government and that of the Opposition did not, in reality, balance. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister had made a great deal of the difference he had found in the speeches of the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) and of his noble Friend the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), as to what the nature of the Redistribution Bill should be. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) altogether failed to see any wide difference or inconsistency between the two statements. He had listened very attentively to his noble Friend's speech, and he certainly had not put upon it the interpretation which was given to it by the Prime Minister. His noble Friend undoubtedly did lay down the proposition that population ought to be one of the chief considerations.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The sole consideration.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, he did not think the word "sole" was used. The Prime Minister, in his speech that night, said that the redistribution sketched out by his noble Friend was made to depend on electoral areas, with due regard to the interests and pursuits of the agricultural population.

Mr. GLADSTONE: By ripping asunder the rural and urban interests.

Mr. A. J. BALFOUR said, the second proposition entirely destroyed the first. They could not have a Redistribution Bill which was solely a measure for constituting electoral areas, and a Redistribution Bill which would divide the rural and town population. He was sorry that his noble Friend was not present to explain his speech. As far as he had understood his noble Friend, all he desired the House to undertake was that population should be very largely indeed taken into account in deciding how they were to frame a Redistribution Bill; and he did not see anything inconsistent in the speech of his noble Friend and the speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon. The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir William Harcourt) had brought down tremendous cheers from all his Friends below the Gangway when he stated that, putting the Amendment into one sentence, it practically amounted to a proposition that no Franchise Bill should become law until a Redistribution Bill was approved by the majority of the House of Lords. He (Mr. A. J. Balfour) thought that was a correct representation of the statement of the right hon. Gentleman; and the right hon. Gentleman therefore regarded as a *reductio ad absurdum* the statement of his right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley). Now, he (Mr. A. J. Balfour) wanted to know whether any Bill had ever yet been presented to the House of Commons which did not require the sanction of the majority of the House of Lords before it became law? Was there anything, then, so novel and so monstrous in the proposition that the House of Lords must pass the Bill before it became law that the mere statement of that fact should condemn the Amendment proposed by his right hon. and gallant Friend? The Government were making rapid strides. They now thought that the fundamental and original laws of the country were so absurd that it was only necessary to state them in order to make them appear ridiculous in the eyes of their followers. He was sure that no speech had been made in the course of these prolonged debates on the subject of the Franchise Bill which would be received in the country with more disappointment than the speech of the Prime Minister. Those hon. Gentlemen who, like himself (Mr. A. J. Balfour), had listened silently to the debate on the second reading, had been struck with one peculiarity more forcibly than another—namely, that the Front Benches had been largely occupied in complimenting each other on their moderation of speech. He thought that moderation was admirable. He thought that a spirit of conciliation was admirable; but, so long as it was merely confined to words and phrases, of what possible use was it? What was gained, in the cause of peace, by the Prime Minister coming down on the second reading, and making the softest, the mildest, and the most conciliatory speech that could be conceived if, directly any proposition was made that would have the effect of solving at once all their difficulties, he came down to the House and rejected it as absolutely impossible, and as a thing which he could not even take seriously into consideration? The only interpretation which could be put in the country upon speeches of that kind was that the Government, or that certain Members of the Government, at all events, were very much more anxious to get political capital by fastening a quarrel on the House of Lords than they were of passing a Franchise Bill; because he was perfectly certain that there was not a single man sitting on those Benches who did not, in his heart, know that if his real and primary object was to enfranchise 2,000,000 of people as soon as he could, the best way, the most certain way, and the quickest way, was to adopt the Amendment of his right hon. and gallant Friend.

Mr. ALBERT GREY said, that, personally, he very much regretted that the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Stafford Northcote) had not seen his way to meet the challenge of the Prime Minister, and to make a declaration as to what the views of the Opposition were in regard to redistribution. The right hon. Gentleman seemed actually indignant at the very thought that an Opposition should have any opinions at all; and it appeared to him to be monstrous that the Opposition should give those opinions, if they had any, to the world. He (Mr. Albert Grey) thought the circumstances which had occurred during the last few days rendered it very desirable that the Leader of the Opposition should say what the views of the Front Opposition Bench were on this question of redistribution. His hon. Friend the Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) told the Committee that there was no divergence and no inconsistency between the speech of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill) and that of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon. If that was the case, they must search for the opinion of the right hon. Gentleman in the speeches of the noble Lord; and he (Mr. Albert Grey) happened to have an extract from a speech of the noble Lord, which, with the permission of the Committee, he would read. The noble Lord said, on Friday evening last—

> "For my own part, I believe that a redistribution which is based upon the population principle will be more likely to unite the two Parties."

That declaration must be taken in conjunction with the former declaration of the noble Lord at Carlisle, when he said—

> "I believe myself that the scheme of redistribution most likely to secure the assent of Parliament, and the approval of the country, is one which approximates most nearly to representation, based solely upon numbers, and which, whilst preserving the distinction between the manufacturing and agricultural districts, establishes, as a general rule, single-Member electoral areas."

He wished to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon whether he assented to those views? The right hon. Gentleman had given the House a perfect right to believe that he did assent to them, because the Prime Minister had distinctly challenged him on the point. The Prime Minister had pointed to the fact that the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock had given expression to this doctrine in his speech on Friday night, and the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition had thus an opportunity of disowning and disavowing that view; but the right hon. Gentleman had taken very great care not to take advantage of it. He had carefully refused to accept the challenge of the Prime Minister, and had, by his silence, given the Committee the right to believe that he gave his assent to the view of the noble Lord. ["No!"] They had a perfect right on that side of the House to suppose that hon. Gentlemen sitting on the other side had views in regard to redistribution which went in the direction of representation based upon numbers, and based, also, on a system of single-Member electoral districts. He wished to put to the right hon. Gentleman the difficulty in which he (Mr. Albert Grey), as an independent Member, was placed, owing to his silence on the subject. He would remind the right hon. Gentleman that he was one of those Members on the Liberal side of the House who had from the first attached great importance to the connection between the extension of the franchise and redistribution—not such a connection as would insist upon including both subjects in one Bill, or upon the simultaneous treatment of the two Bills; but such a connection as would be provided by the insertion in the Franchise Bill of a provision which would give Parliament a full and ample opportunity of carrying a fair and just Redistribution Bill before the Franchise Bill came into full and active operation. His reasons for wishing to have such a provision inserted in the Franchise Bill were these. He recognized that the existing system, which carefully maintained a broad distinction between the town and county franchise, afforded the country ample security for that variety in the representation which was regarded as so essential to the composition of a good House of Commons; and he also recognized that as soon as, by a uniform franchise, they swept away that security, they were bound to provide another security as vital but less objectionable than the old security they had decided to remove. Now, the only other security which he believed could be put up was that which was provided by a wide and vigorous application of the principle of proportional representation to our electoral system. It was because he had believed that there was a greater chance of obtaining support for the principle of proportional representation from the present Parliament than from a Parliament elected by the new and unredistributed constituencies that he had been anxious to provide for the settlement of redistribution before the Franchise Bill came into force. But now, if he was to understand that the views of the noble Lord were those of the Conservative Party—and the silence of the Leader of the Opposition left him no other choice—then he saw great danger in the settlement by this Parliament of the question of redistribution. The danger of the passage of a Redistribution Bill based on the principle of single-Member districts, which, at its worst, was only probable in the event of redistribution being settled by the new electorate, became almost certain in the event of redistribution being settled by the present Parliament. What, therefore, he had wished for most yesterday he wished for least to-day. After what had taken place, he was no longer anxious for a close connection between the two Bills. It rested with the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) to set him right if he was wrong; but, unless he repudiated the view of the noble Lord, he believed that they had a better chance of obtaining a wide and vigorous application of the principle of proportional representation in the coming Redistribution Bill if they dissolved on the extended franchise before the passing of a Redistribution Bill than they had if they proceeded to settle the Redistribution Bill now. The strides that the Conservative Party were taking were very rapid. It looked very much as if the game of 1867 were to be played over again; and he thought it would be well if those on both sides of the House who had pinned their faith to the principle of proportional representation were to look carefully to the declarations of the Conservative Leaders during the last few days, otherwise they might be left in the lurch as much as they were before.

MR. CHAPLIN said, the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Northumberland (Mr. Albert Grey), who had just sat down, no doubt, thought he had cast a most ingenious fly for his right hon. Friend the Leader of the Opposition to jump at. He (Mr. Chaplin) sincerely hoped, however, that hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House would decline altogether to enter into a discussion of the details of a Redistribution Bill which was not before the House, and which ought not to be before the House at all, until it was introduced by Her Majesty's Government. What was the position in which the Committee were placed? He really thought the proposals of the hon. Member for South Northumberland were the most unprecedented he had ever heard put forward in that House. A Government, supported by an immense majority, after due deliberation, after holding conferences in all parts of England, had come to the decision that it was their duty to introduce a Reform Bill into Parliament. They had told the House that both parts of the question must be dealt with, and that, although they proposed to introduce the franchise first, they felt themselves bound to deal with redistribution as well. That being so, the hon. Member for South Northumberland got up in his place, and coolly proposed that the Opposition should introduce the Redistribution Bill, instead of Her Majesty's Government, whose duty it was. The hon. Member could not, surely, be serious in his proposition. What he proposed to the House was absolutely without precedent, and preposterous in the highest degree. He (Mr. Chaplin) did not understand why a complaint was made of the conduct of hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House in regard to the representation of proportional majorities. He was not aware that that question had ever yet come on for discussion; and it would be time enough for the hon. Gentleman to make a charge against the Opposition when they had expressed some decided view upon the question. As to their views upon redistribution, the hon. Member ought to know that it would be useless for the Opposition to formulate them after what the Prime Minister had told them that night. The right hon. Gentleman wound up his statement by a declaration to the Committee that no imaginable Bill could be introduced on the subject of redistribution which would not give rise to Party contention; and, therefore, it was impossible for the Government, under those circumstances, to take the course of introducing a Bill. He should like to know why? He did not agree with the Prime Minister, although he presumed that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. A. Grey) did. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister said the Opposition were disagreed on the question. How did the right hon. Gentleman know they were disagreed? There had been no discussion upon it, and they were not called upon to state their views until the Government did that which was their duty, and placed their Bill before the House. He shared the regret which had been expressed by the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) at the attitude which had been taken by the Prime Minister upon this question. He was quite sure that hon. Gentlemen on the opposite side of the House must acknowledge and admit that the Opposition had gone as far in the direction of conciliation as it was possible for Gentlemen to do; and they had been met by a declaration from the Prime Minister that night, which he (Mr. Chaplin) could only regard as the death-warrant of his Bill. When the right hon. Gentleman alluded to vows on the question of Reform being made in pain, he should like to ask if the right hon. Gentleman limited those vows to that side of the House alone? It was not so very long ago that the Prime Minister himself either voted against, or refused to vote for, a Motion of precisely the same character as this, when it was brought forward in that House by the right hon. Gentleman who was now the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan). He (Mr. Chaplin) would like to ask the Prime Minister whether the vows he had made on the subject since then were vows made in pain? What was the case of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington)? It was only in the last Parliament that the noble Marquess, on two or three different occasions, found it necessary to walk out of the House on this question of Reform. He (Mr. Chaplin) would like to know what sort of vows the noble Marquess had made since then; and whether they were made in pain or in ease? He only noticed this matter because, he thought, taunts of that sort were totally out of place; and, if they were to be indulged in at all, they applied to hon. Gentlemen on the other side of the House quite as much as to hon. Gentlemen upon that. The Amendment of his right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) raised the whole question which was at issue between the two sides of the House; and personally he was glad that his right hon. and gallant Friend had moved the Amendment that night, because a sort of idea, somehow or other, seemed to have spread abroad that hon. Members on that side of the House had decided, to some extent, to abandon the attitude they had formerly assumed. There could not be a greater mistake as to the present intentions of the Conservative Party as a whole. They had not departed, and they did not intend to depart, in the slightest degree from the position they had taken up from the first. Why should they? Nothing had occurred during the Recess to induce them in the least to alter their opinion. The Prime Minister said they had had a clear indication of the feelings of the country, alluding, he supposed, to the Division they had the other night. It was quite true that there was a great majority; but he (Mr. Chaplin) was not in the least concerned at that majority. It did not follow in the least that a large majority of the House of Commons at the close of a Parliament necessarily represented the feeling of the nation. Past experience taught them exactly the reverse. He remembered the large majorities in that House which supported the foreign policy of Lord Beaconsfield—a much larger majority than that now enjoyed by the Government. He remembered when the noble Lord in that House commanded double, treble, and quadruple his normal majority, time after time, on questions of supreme importance to the welfare of the Empire, yet, if he could judge from what followed in that case, he could only reckon upon the comparatively small majority of the right hon. Gentleman disappearing and being swept away altogether when he made his appeal to the country. Some stress had been laid upon the fact that Conservative Members were now heartily adopting views to which they had formerly been in opposition upon this question; but he thought that Conservatives were entitled to lay some stress upon the majority which the hon. Member for South Warwickshire (Mr. Sampson Lloyd) had obtained at the recent election. It was desirable that they should remember that South Warwickshire was the county in which the movement on behalf of the agricultural labourers originated. It was the home of Mr. Arch. The labourers had had the advantage of hearing the views of the Conservative Party during the contest; and it was remarkable that, although it had been perfectly possible for the agricultural labourers in that county to make their feelings known, and to show that they disapproved the course taken by the Opposition, not only had there not been any striking manifestations in that direction, but they had shown their approval by returning the hon. Gentleman by a very large majority. His right hon. and gallant Friend had, at the commencement of his speech, asked if these difficulties were insurmountable, and he (Mr. Chaplin) would repeat that question. He was unable to see why they should be so; but this he knew—that if the Prime Minister maintained the attitude he had taken up, there would be no possibility of settling this question in a satisfactory manner; and the responsibility would, therefore, rest upon the right hon. Gentleman and his Party.

MR. WADDY said, in consequence of the remarks of the hon. Member who had just sat down (Mr. Chaplin) he desired to say but a very few words. They had been told that the Conservative Party had not changed their minds, and that they did not mean to change them. It was clear, therefore, that the conciliation which hon. Gentlemen opposite wanted was expected to come from one side alone. Now, the Liberal Party had a sincere desire for conciliation; they had tried it with the Opposition earnestly during last Session, and it did them no good. Since then both Parties had been before the country. The Conservatives were not pleased with the result; the Liberals were, and they had seen the clearest indication that the one point that was settled last Session in that House was a settled point in the country. To that point they must hold, and the only fear of hon. Members on those Benches was that there might be too much conciliation. They wished to press upon their Leaders that they should not be too ready to conciliate in a quarrel of which they well knew the result, and of which result they were not in the slightest degree afraid.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:*—Ayes 109; Noes 194: Majority 85.—(Div. List, No. 10.)

Amendment *negatived.*

Clause *agreed to.*

Clause 3 (Tenure of house by office or service not to invalidate vote).

MR. MACFARLANE asked whether the Bill, as it stood, would give the franchise to workmen in factories, quarries, and similar places, whose rent was deducted by their employers from the weekly wages paid to them?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that if rent were deducted from wages in the way described by the hon. Gentleman, such deduction would be equivalent to payment which would entitle the individual to vote.

Clause *agreed to.*

### *Prohibition of Multiplication of Votes.*

Clause 4 (Restriction on fagot votes) *agreed to.*

### *Assimilation of Occupation Qualification.*

Clause 5 (Assimilation of occupation qualification) *agreed to.*

### *Supplemental Provisions.*

Clause 6 (Voter not to vote for county in respect of occupation of property in borough); Clause 7 (Definition of household and lodger qualification, and other franchises, and application of enactments relating thereto); and Clause 8 (Definition of "Representation of the People Acts" and "Registration Acts") severally *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Definition and application of Rating Acts).

SIR ALEXANDER GORDON said, he believed the wording of the part of this clause which he proposed to amend was purely the result of inadvertence in drafting the Bill. He would not dwell upon that point further than to express a hope that the matter would be rectified. The Amendment he was about to move did not touch the merits of the Bill, as far as it went; but, unless it were adopted, the Bill would have the effect of inflicting great injury upon a large class of tenants who were about to be enfranchised—that was to say, the small tenants of under £4 valuation would have to be inserted in the Valuation Roll, and would, therefore, become liable to assessment. Now, the custom in Scotland was not to put such tenants on the Valuation Roll; the proprietor paid the rates, and got the amount back from the tenant if he thought proper. In the three or four pages of the Valuation Roll of his own county, which he held in his hand, there were several entries of the kind he was alluding to—first, of 12 tenants of under £4 valuation, and 10 of a total valuation of £2 6*s.* 11*d.*, for whom the proprietor was rated and paid the amount in one sum. But if the Bill remained as it now stood, these tenants could be assessed by the Local Authority and the School Board. Further on in the Valuation Roll, there were entries of three tenants of under £3, and four of under £4 valuation, and on the next page he observed in one entry no less than 44 tenants of under £4 valuation. As he had already pointed out, the tax-gatherer received the rates on this property, not from the tenant, but from the proprietor; but, as the Bill stood, the whole of these small tenants would become liable to pay, a result which would make the measure very unpopular amongst the class who were now asking that it might be passed. The Bill provided that a separate column should be added to the Valuation Roll, for the purpose of including these tenants. He asked that a separate list might be used instead of a separate column. Another effect of this Bill, as it stood, would be that the size of the Rate Book, already very large, would be enormously increased; and this would have to be constantly altered on account of the large number of labourers who, in Scotland, changed their residences about every 18 months. The book would, in fact, have to be altered every year. There were in the Valuation Roll of his county no less than 23,000 entries at the present time; but if the Bill passed in its present form there would be no less than about 40,000 entries. In Aberdeenshire alone there were 49,800 inhabited houses, and, deducting females, there would be probably 40,000 voters. Another difficulty was that the one column which the Bill provided for would not be sufficient to give the information necessary to make up the Electoral Roll. The very form which the Bill called upon proprietors to fill up had three columns in it, and the information contained in it must be inserted in the Valuation Roll if it was to be of any use. He therefore ventured to say that unless the alteration he proposed were made in the Bill, instead of benefiting the tenants in question it would be a very great inconvenience to them. Then there was another result that would follow from the Valuation Roll being encumbered with the names of these tenants. In some villages of Scotland the same name constantly repeated itself. For instance, in one village of his own constituency, under the present franchise, there were 16 men of the name of Stephens; in another village, 18 of the name of Stephens; in another, 24 men of the name of Noble; and in one village there had not long ago been only two names amongst the inhabitants. This recurrence of the same name would necessarily cause great difficulty in identifying the individuals when they came to be put on the Roll as voters in large numbers. It was difficult to identify them under the present arrangement, and that difficulty would be enormously increased by the vast augmentation of the list required by the Bill. He also held in his hand the Electoral Roll of his Division; and hon. Members who had studied the subject would know how difficult it was to get a correct Electoral Roll with a small number of columns. There were in the Roll six columns to each name for the purpose of preventing fraud; and it was easy to perceive how careful it would be necessary to be, when there were upon the Roll four times the present number of names, in order to prevent imposition and wrong. Then there was another very important change introduced in this paragraph — namely, that proprietors of holdings were required to give a list of persons residing on their property who were entitled to be registered as voters. Now, those words were not in the Bill when it went through Committee last Session; they were put in on the Report; and the effect of them was that the proprietor would have to state, under a penalty, whether a man was entitled to be registered as a voter or not. But how could he state that; could he guarantee the age and qualifications of every one out of, say, 44 tenants, which, as he had pointed out, were on the property of one proprietor in his county? It was next to an impossibility that he should do so; and yet, if he did not, the Bill proposed to fine him for a pure inadvertence. The object of his Amendment was that, so far as related to Scotland, a separate list, to be attached to the Roll, might be substituted for the additional column required by the Bill. The Valuation Roll was prepared under statute, obviously and purely for rating, and not for electoral purposes, the Commissioners and persons who prepared that Roll not being responsible for the Electoral Roll. Again, the proposed change would open the door to a good deal of trickery. Proprietors might, for instance, put down the names of tenants whom they believed to be favourable to their views, excluding others for the opposite reason, and in that way great injustice might be done. There was only one other matter to which he wished to call attention. The Bill provided an alternative mode of collecting rates. The assessors, or rating authority, might apply to the tenant, or the landlord, as they thought fit. Now, that would result in there being three different systems of collecting rates. The clause as it stood would cause very great inconvenience, both to those who had to prepare the Roll and also to the small tenants; and, therefore, he hoped the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) would agree to the Amendment, an Amendment which did not in the least interfere with the principle of the Bill as it stood. The Amendment simply amounted to an addition, which would give great facility for carrying on the business of rating, and also for preparing the Electoral Roll. He begged to move that the words which stood in his name be added to the clause.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 11, after the word "book," to insert "in Scotland a separate list instead of a separate column may be added for such entries."—(*Sir Alexander Gordon.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

SIR JOHN HAY said, he did not wish to detain the Committee; but, as he moved an Amendment of this character in the Spring, he was very anxious to support the proposition of his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Alexander Gordon). He would not go into the details the hon. and gallant Gentleman had gone into; but merely point out the difficulties which would arise under the service franchise, if it were necessary that the names of those entitled under that franchise should be inserted in the Valuation Roll of the counties. In the two counties with which he had to do, he had heard, both from the assessors and other authorities, that if the names of electors under the service franchise were to be added every year—and, of course, there would be great changes every year—the expense of reprinting the Valuation Roll would be very great indeed. It seemed to him that the proposition of the hon. and gallant Gentleman was a very wise one—namely, that the Valuation Roll for rating purposes should continue as at present, and that a subsidiary list of those persons who would vote under the service franchise, and who were not rated, should be printed and circulated for the purposes of registration. The great cost to the counties of printing the Valuation Roll in each year, and added thereto twice the number of names of persons, none of whom would be necessarily on the Valuation Roll for the purposes of assessment, seemed to be a charge on the counties of Scotland it was unnecessary they should incur. He trusted the right hon. and learned Lord Advocate (Mr. J. B. Balfour) would, by the acceptance of the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman, or some similar Amendment, save the counties of Scotland the unnecessary expense they would be obliged to incur under the Bill as it now stood.

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR) said, he hoped that a very few words of explanation would lead his hon. and gallant Friends (Sir Alexander Gordon and Sir John Hay) to see that the reasons which had led them to support this Amendment were not valid.

There were two classes of persons whom the provisions of the Bill, to which the Amendment had reference, affected, and of whom it would, therefore, be necessary to say a word. These classes were, firstly, the small tenants with holdings under £4; and, secondly, those persons who would come on the Roll under the service franchise. The cases were distinct; and he would, therefore, explain in a few sentences how they respectively stood. As regarded the first class of persons, the general scheme of the Valuation Act of 1854 was to make every holding or every occupancy appear on the Roll; but there was a Proviso at the end of Section 2 which enacted that it should be in the power of the Commissioners of Supply, —the authorities who made up the Roll —if they thought fit, not to insert in any Valuation Roll under the Act the names of the tenants or occupiers of any lands or heritages let for a shorter period than one year, or let for a rent not amounting to £4 per annum. The leading idea of the Act was that all holdings, whether under or over £4, should appear on the Roll; but the fact was that in Scotland the practice varied very much. In some counties the authorities put on, and in other counties they omitted from the Roll all holdings under £4. The Valuation Roll in Scotland was the basis of the Voters' Roll; and, accordingly, inasmuch as this was not a Registration Bill, and as they had to take the existing machinery and work upon it, the problem came to be what should be done with respect to the Proviso to which he had referred. They had not only very good reason in principle, but they had precedent in the Burgh Reform Act of 1868, which, in substance, wiped out the Proviso, and made it compulsory to put on the Roll the names of all those occupying holdings under £4. The effect of the provisions of the Bill, as they stood, was simply to make the Roll in all the counties the same as in the burghs, and the same as it was then in very many counties. So far, therefore, they were simply adopting and carrying out the scheme of legislation which existed down to 1868. It was seen that if, in doing away with that Proviso, it would still be competent to rate as previously, there would be a defect. Accordingly, by Sub-section 6, provision was made to the effect that in every county in Scotland the Commissioners of Supply, or the Parochial Board of every parish, or any rating authority entitled to impose assessments according to the Valuation Roll, might, if they thought fit, levy such assessment in respect of lands and heritages held for a shorter term than one year, or let for less than £4, in the same manner, and for the same purposes, as if the names of the tenants or occupiers were not in the Valuation Roll. The combined effect, therefore, of the various provisions of the Bill as it stood was, that while it was compulsory to put tenants under £4 on the Roll—and if they did not appear on the Roll they would not get the vote—there was a Proviso which made them not rateable on that account. These provisions were the result of careful consideration, not only with the assessors, but with the representatives interested in small holdings under £4, and the persons consulted were perfectly satisfied with the suggested provisions. He was persuaded that when his hon. and gallant Friend (Sir Alexander Gordon) perceived the effect of the provisions of the Bill as they at present stood, he would not press his Amendment, which he could not help thinking the hon. and gallant Gentleman had made under some misapprehension. Then, again, in regard to the service franchise, his hon. and gallant Friend had said that the duty of making up the Returns was not a duty which ought to be laid on the overseers. Now, if this objection were a valid one, it was common to England, Scotland, and Ireland alike. He apprehended that, when the matter was looked into, it would be found it was quite as essential in regard to the service franchise as it was with regard to the tenants under £4 that they should get the names on the Valuation Roll, which was the only basis there was for the Voters' Roll. Then, again, it would have been a defect if they had not taken care that the persons coming on under the service franchise were not rendered liable for rates. They had provided for that. His hon. and gallant Friend could not have read the Bill, or else he would have found that by Sub-section 5 it was provided that, if a man was entered on the Valuation Roll by virtue of any office, service, or employment, the entry should not make him liable to be rated. Anyone who read the Bill would see that his hon. and gallant Friend was under a total misapprehension when he imagined that it would be possible to rate servants. The next point of complaint of his hon. and gallant Friend was that it was not reasonable to ask the holder of a large estate to give a return. There was no difficulty in giving a return. It was necessary to get a return from someone; and who would the hon. and gallant Gentleman ask to furnish it, if not the proprietor in whose employment the servants were? He now came to the question whether the persons entitled under the service franchise should go on a separate list. As a matter of fact, a separate list would not be consistent with the scheme of a Valuation Roll. The only advantage of a separate list that his hon. and gallant Friend and the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Sir John Hay) had pointed out was that there would be a great saving in printing. That matter was considered when the Bill was passing through the House last Session. There were two modes in which the Valuation Roll or the Electors' Roll might be dealt with. The one which had previously prevailed in boroughs was that the list should be reprinted annually, and the one which previously prevailed in counties was that only the alterations in the list were printed annually. Hitherto, no doubt, the changes in counties were few; but when the franchise was extended to householders in counties the changes would be manifold; in short, the County Rolls would then assume very much the character of the Town Rolls, and the reasons which led to the Town Rolls being printed annually would come to obtain in the case of the County Rolls. It was after consultation, not only with hon. Members representing counties, who aided the Government with many suggestions, but after personal consultation with the assessors, who were accustomed to make up the Valuation Rolls of the most populous counties in Scotland, that the provisions of the Bill, as they now stood, were introduced. The Government saw no reason for doubting that they were the best provisions. He could not think that the Amendment of his hon. and gallant Friend would improve matters. In the first place, he thought it was moved under a misapprehension; and, in the second place, it would tend to complexity, and would not have the advantages which the hon. and gallant Gentleman held out. He had omitted to notice what his hon. and gallant Friend said with reference to the similarity in names. No doubt, in Scotland there were in the one village many men of the same name. In Sub-section 3, however, the overseers were required, besides giving the name, to describe the situation, or give a description of the dwelling-house, in respect of which the man was entitled. There might be three Charles Smiths in the same street; but to meet a case of that kind the overseer was required to specify which Charles Smith was intended.

Question put, and *negatived.*

COLONEL NOLAN said, the Amendment which he had to bring to the attention of the Committee was one which he sincerely hoped would meet with the acceptance of the Government, because some such provision as was therein embodied was very much needed in the case of Ireland. The object of his Amendment was to provide against the disqualification of a man who accepted medical relief under the Poor Law. The Amendment might, with very good effect, be applied to Great Britain as well as to Ireland; but he should be quite content that its operation were limited to Ireland. It would be extremely hard on the new voters if the majority of them found themselves disqualified—it would be very hard, for instance, if 15,000 men in his county were made new voters by the action of the Prime Minister, and that, for the want of a little Amendment like his, 10,000 of them were disqualified under the Dispensary Act in force in Ireland. If the Bill did not provide that men should hold the franchise although they received dispensary or medical relief, the effect would be very serious. The system of medical relief in Ireland was this—the Poor Law Authorities appointed a certain number of doctors, and these doctors were supposed to attend everybody in the districts to which they were appointed, unless the patients were well-to-do farmers, or persons in a comparatively affluent position. The system had got such a hold on the country parts of Ireland that the people never thought of employing an independent practitioner. Now, a man might be very well able to exercise the franchise, although he did accept medical relief. In his opinion, it would be very hard if a man who accepted dispensary relief, or consulted the Poor Law doctor about a toothache, or if his wife had a cold and saw the doctor at the dispensary, were to be, in consequence, disfranchised. What would it lead to? In the first place, a large number of men would be disfranchised without knowing it; and, in the second place, many would say—"We do not want to be disfranchised, and therefore we will not go to the doctor." They would not pay for an independent doctor, so that it was not at all unlikely that people would die, owing to the want of attention. The dispensary system had so grown in Ireland that everybody, except tolerably affluent men, availed themselves of it. Everyone considered himself entitled to go to the dispensary doctor, and get a ticket for medical assistance. It was, therefore, highly desirable that the Government should let it be clearly understood that application for medical assistance would not disenfranchise a man. When the question came to be thoroughly understood in Ireland, it would become a most important one; and, therefore, he hoped the Committee would consent to his Amendment, which was to add to the clause—

"Provided, That the right to vote established or conferred under this Act shall not be annulled or in abeyance from the fact of a voter or householder having applied for or received for himself or his family any medical assistance, relief, or comfort, or sanitary assistance from the poor law authorities."

The Committee would notice that he had used the words "sanitary assistance." He was the Chairman of a large Union, and was, consequently, well versed in these details. Sometimes the authorities ordered that a man's house should be whitewashed, possibly without the man's consent. They certainly tried to make the man pay for it; but if he did not, it would never do that the man should lose his vote on account of the course pursued by the authorities in the interest of the public health.

Amendment proposed,

In page 6, line 11, at end, to add, "Provided, That the right to vote established or conferred under this Act shall not be annulled or in abeyance from the fact of a voter or householder having applied for or received for himself or his family any medical assistance, relief, or comfort, or sanitary assistance from the poor law authorities."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. WARTON rose to Order. In his opinion, this point could not be raised on this clause at all. He took the liberty of suggesting to his hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Nolan) the propriety of withdrawing his Amendment, and of proposing it, possibly, on the next clause.

Colonel NOLAN said, he was obliged to the hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Bridport (Mr. Warton) for laying down the law on this matter. He (Colonel Nolan) was tolerably well acquainted with the Poor Law system, and with the system under which men acquired their votes. He was quite certain that this was the exact place in which to introduce his Amendment. The clause provided that the overseers should put certain names on the list; and if a man was disqualified by reason of his having accepted medical relief his name would be kept off the list. He (Colonel Nolan) wished to provide against any such disqualification.

The CHAIRMAN: On the point of Order raised by the hon. and learned Member (Mr. Warton), I am bound to say I cannot see how the Amendment of the hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Nolan) is out of Order.

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, he had a great deal of sympathy with much that had fallen from the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for Galway (Colonel Nolan); but he was sorry that he could not, on the part of the Government, accept the Amendment. This matter was discussed at great length when the Bill was in Committee last Session. A similar Amendment to the present was then moved by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Roscommon (Mr. Commins), and the same arguments were then advanced. On that occasion the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke), who unfortunately was not now present, made a statement which was received with unanimous approval, and in consequence of which the hon. and learned Member for Roscommon (Mr. Commins) withdrew his Amendment. In the first place, the right hon. Gentleman stated that this was a broad question, inasmuch as the Amendment included all medical relief—not only dispensary relief, but all medical relief granted by Poor Law Guardians. The right hon. Gentleman further pointed out, very properly, that if the Amendment were adopted, the inducement to many persons who were not absolutely paupers, but who were very poor, to belong to friendly and provident societies would be removed. Men, unquestionably, did join provident associations in order that they should not lose their votes, by having recourse to medical assistance. It was clear that if the Amendment were adopted, the inducement to join friendly and provident societies would be taken away; besides which, a great blow would be struck at those societies, and also at the cultivation of those provident habits which he was sure the hon. and gallant Gentleman himself (Colonel Nolan) wished to see encouraged. Last Session the hon. Gentleman the Member for South Leicestershire (Mr. Pell), who took a great interest in our Poor Law system, asked the hon. Gentleman the Member for Roscommon not to press his Amendment, especially after the satisfactory statement then made by the President of the Local Government Board. He (the Attorney General) did not know whether the hon. and gallant Gentleman's attention was called to the debate on the subject which took place during the last Session of Parliament; if it was, the hon. and gallant Gentleman would recollect that the President of the Local Government Board made a statement as to the course the Government proposed to pursue. The right hon. Gentleman spoke of the compulsory removal to hospitals of persons suffering from infectious diseases; and he also referred to vaccination, and said that if the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Commins) thought fit to introduce a Bill dealing with such instances of relief, the Government would be willing to co-operate with him in passing it. The right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) pointed out that this was a question which must be considered from a sanitary point of view, and that the Government were willing to deal with the question so far as they thought it could be safely dealt with, and give medical relief where it was required in the public interest without its affecting a man's right to vote. But now the hon. and gallant Gentleman made the broad proposition that medical relief under all circumstances should not prevent a person from voting. That was further than the Government were prepared to go. They must, therefore, oppose the Amendment; but he hoped the hon. and gallant Gentleman would not think he had treated the Amendment in a hostile manner.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he was quite aware that there were these provident societies in England, and that they extended to large towns in Ireland—to Dublin, for instance, where, proportionately to its size, they existed probably as extensively as they did in London. In the country districts of Ireland, however, they were not heard of. In his own county of Galway, and in Mayo—in fact, throughout the Provinces of Connaught and Munster—such things were unknown. What the Government were proposing to do was, in reality, to give men a vote with one hand, and to take it away with the other. He, however, had been advised not to divide the Committee on the matter, and he was inclined to follow the advice. Still, he thought the subject was one of great importance; and believed that this was an example of the manner in which English Members, legislating for Ireland, fell into grievous mistakes through their endeavour to adapt the circumstances of England to Ireland. The explanation they had had of the way in which these societies worked showed that England was pointed to. In Ireland the societies were, practically, non-existent. The dispensary method worked through the whole social system, and it would be a most serious thing to interfere with it. He believed the resolution of the Government would cause a great deal of trouble in Ireland. He ought to force his Amendment to a Division; but he would not do so, as he had no hope of support from the English Members. No doubt, all the Irish Members would be ready to support him; but, with their votes alone, he would not be able to carry his Amendment. He, therefore, should not press it.

MR. WARTON said, he did not wish to lay down the law, or dispute the decision arrived at. He wished to point out, however, that the 2nd sub-section was one dealing only with a certain class of voters—namely, those who were other than the owners or holders, and that the words proposed by the hon. and gallant Member would include persons who were actually owners. The 2nd sub-section was limited to a particular class of voters other than those rated, or liable for rating.

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the hon. and gallant Member withdraw his Amendment?

COLONEL NOLAN: Yes; but I have another of the same nature.

THE CHAIRMAN: The one before the Committee must be withdrawn first.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

COLONEL NOLAN said, he wished to move, in page 6, line 11, after "book," to insert—

> "Provided, That no right to vote established or confirmed under this Act shall be annulled or impaired from the fact of a voter being in arrear of any payment under the Seed Act (Ireland)."

When the Seeds Act was originally brought in, it was expressly provided that the acceptance of relief under it should not affect a man's vote; but some of the Poor Law Unions connected this Seed Rate with the other rates, and the consequence was that some of the people in difficulties had got into arrear. Looking at the peculiar circumstances of Ireland, he did not think it would be right to deprive a man of his vote—to disqualify him—through being in arrear under the Seeds Act. The object of the Seeds Act was not so much to relieve the people—although, of course, that was an object indirectly—but to change the seed in Ireland; and that, he was glad to say, had been effectually done. He would submit to the Government that they should insert in the Act a provision declaring that the fact of being in arrears under the Statute in question should not disfranchise a man. The provision should, of course, apply to England.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 6, line 11, after "book," to insert "Provided, that no right to vote established or confirmed under this Act shall be annulled or impaired from the fact of a voter being in arrear of any payment under the Seed Act (Ireland)."—(*Colonel Nolan.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, the reason the Government could not accept the Amendment was a very simple one. Under the Act of 1880, a contribution was to be levied for seed as part of the poor rate; and before a man could vote he must have paid his poor rate. If the course proposed were adopted, they would, by omitting the necessity of payment of these arrears to qualify for the exercise of the franchise, be conferring an advantage on one person, whilst they withheld it from another. The Seed Rate now was at an end; but it might be necessary to renew it. He hoped the hon. and gallant Member would not press the Amendment.

MR. WARTON said, he wished to point out that the form of the Amendment was peculiar. The hon. and gallant Member spoke of voters being "disqualified" and "disfranchised." He presumed the hon. and gallant Member referred to disqualifying and disfranchising persons having a right to vote. At present the persons in question had no such right.

COLONEL NOLAN said, he would not put the Committee to the trouble of a Division.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Remaining Clauses *agreed to.*

Schedules *agreed to.*

Bill *reported,* without Amendment; to be read the third time *To-morrow.*

SIR MICHAEL HICKS - BEACH asked what Business, if any, the Government would take on Wednesday?

MR. GLADSTONE said, he was not quite sure that they would be able to turn Wednesday to account for Supply, because the House must have some little Notice.

## POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 9.]

(*Mr. John Redmond, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Barry.*)

SECOND READING. [ADJOURNED DEBATE.]

Order read, for resuming Adjourned Debate on Question [5th November], "That the Bill be now read a second time."

Question again proposed.

Debate *resumed.*

MR. GIBSON said, he could not allow this Bill to pass the second reading without making two or three observations on the view he took of its provisions.

The Bill proposed to make very large changes in the mode of election of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland, and in the powers they would possess, and in the different classes that would use them. In reference to some of the broader changes, as to the mode of allowing Guardians to hold office for three years, electing by ballot, and giving the Local Government Board enlarged powers, and also the regulation of questions arising on the validity of elections, he did not propose to say anything. But to the provisions of the Bill for the abolition of the right of proxy voting, he should, unless amended, give his strenuous opposition. That clause, as drawn up at present, did not assimilate the law in Ireland with the law in England; for the law in England did not contain any such drastic provisions in dealing with Poor Law elections in this country. The history of this clause was very curious. It was proposed two or three years ago, and was met by a very considerable amount of opposition. In that opposition he believed most people recognized a great deal of substance and fairness. The right to proxy voting was a right which was to a great extent necessary for the representation of the fair claims of property. It was not a mere right of convenience to enable a man to vote by proxy because he would not take the trouble to vote in person, nor was it a luxury or privilege. It was the necessary machinery whereby property could alone in many cases obtain adequate representation. In the case where an owner had land in several Unions, it was necessary that he should be able to vote by proxy. No matter what arrangements were made by the Local Government Board, it was practically impossible for a man to vote in more than one Union on one day, and this was in itself a great and a gross injustice. It should be remembered that in Ireland property had to bear a great proportion of the rates, and that where it was under £4 rating it had to bear the whole, and it was right that it should have full representation. He objected also to Sub-section 5 of Clause 25, limiting the number of *ex officio* Guardians. It seemed as if it had been thought that the landlords were too powerful already and must be checked. Both the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) and the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had, in former speeches on the subject, seemed to be proud of the way the noble Lord (Lord Fitzgerald) had presented this question in the House of Lords last Session; but the noble Lord had expressed his regret that the Bill was deformed by these two clauses. He should not oppose the Bill as a whole on the present occasion, but should reserve his opposition on the points he had indicated, as well as his detailed criticism, until the stage of Committee on the Bill.

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN, having congratulated Irish Members on the Bill coming on so early in the evening (8 o'clock), said, the Government were very much of the same opinion towards it as they were last Session. They considered its provisions were reasonable, politic, and wise. With regard to the clause dealing with *ex officio* Guardians, he believed that the wording did not really convey the idea of the provision. The general idea was that *ex officio* Guardians should not be more than one-third of the whole body; whereas this clause provided for not more than one-third of the elected members. But he did not wish now to go into detail; and he hoped it would suffice for him to say that the Government maintained their adhesion to the Bill, and would do all in their power to secure its passing into law. He thought, however, that it was hardly possible that this Bill could come into action in February, as it was now late in the year.

MR. SEXTON, after commenting on the change in the spirit of the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), with regard to this Bill, said, he hoped this change would be maintained until the Bill had passed through the House of Lords.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read a second time, and *committed* for *To-morrow.*

## *MOTIONS.*

—o—

### PROMULGATION OF STATUTES (IRELAND).

*Resolved,* That it is expedient that the recommendations contained in the Report of the Committee appointed by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the application of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, to consider and revise the List of 1801 for the

Promulgation of the Statutes in Ireland, and the Revised List contained in the said Report, should be adopted; and that the Controller of Her Majesty's Stationery Office should be authorized and directed to cause the printing and delivery of copies of the Public General Statutes and the Public, Local, and Private Acts, according to the mode of distribution contained in the said Report and Revised List; and the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with the sanction of the Treasury, may vary the distribution anthorized by the said Revised List from time to time.—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

### PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN) BILL.

On Motion of Mr. Woodall, Bill for confere ring the Parliamentary Franchise on duly-qualified Women, *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. Woodall, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Mr. Stansfeld, Baron Henry De Worms, and Mr. Yorke.

House adjourned at half after Eight o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Tuesday*, 11*th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—Public Bills—*Second Reading* —Justices' Jurisdiction (2); Law of Evidence Amendment (3).

### NEW PEERS.

The Right Honourable John George Dodson having been created Baron Monk Bretton of Conyboro and of Hurstpierpoint in the county of Sussex—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Sir Walter Charles James, Baronet, having been created Baron Northbourne of Betteshanger in the county of Kent and of Jarrow Grange in the county palatine of Durham—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox, Earl of Arran in the Peerage of Ireland, having been created Baron Sudley of Castle Gore in the county of Mayo—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

John Robert William Viscount de Vesci in the Peerage of Ireland, having been created Baron de Vesci of Abbey Leix in the Queen's county—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

### JUSTICES' JURISDICTION BILL.

(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

(NO. 2.) SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord BRAMWELL, in rising to move that the Bill be now read a second time, said, its object was to enable Justices at Quarter Sessions to try cases of burglary. The Bill had been already passed by their Lordships' House in a former Session, as also had the other Bill on the Notice Paper which he was about to ask their Lordships to read a second time. Both Bills were sent down to the other House, and heard of no more, and he supposed that would be their fate again. He did not say they had been treated with contempt, as had been charged against their Lordships by a right hon. Gentleman with reference to their treatment of the Custody of Infants Bill. He was quite sure that if the right hon. Gentleman who made that statement had known the facts of the case, he would have seen that it was utterly untrue. He appealed to the noble and learned Lord who had charge of the Bill (Lord Fitzgerald), and to the noble and learned Earl on the Woolsack, to say whether there was anything like contempt, or anything but proper respect shown on the occasion of the discussion on that Bill? He hoped he had given a sufficient reason for making that statement to their Lordships.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2$^a$."—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read 2$^a$ accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

### LAW OF EVIDENCE AMENDMENT BILL.—(No. 3.)

(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

SECOND READING.

Order of the Day for the Second Reading read.

Lord BRAMWELL, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, that its object was to remove the disability of all persons, including married women, to give evidence in Courts of Justice.

*Moved*, "That the Bill be now read 2$^a$.—(*The Lord Bramwell.*)

LORD FITZGERALD said, in reference to what had fallen from the noble and learned Lord as to the Custody of Infants Bill, he quite agreed that it was not treated with the slightest contempt in their Lordships' House. It was introduced in the House of Commons in February last, and was not brought up to their Lordships' House till the 4th of August. It had passed through the other House after much discussion, and its rejection was moved on more than one occasion. No doubt it came up to their Lordships with the very high sanction of the Law Officers of England and Scotland, and of Sir R. Assheton Cross and other leading Members of Parliament, and he undertook the charge of it in that House. It was a Bill dealing with a very important matter, as it proposed to alter the law in reference to the custody of infants. Objections were taken to the Bill by the noble and learned Earl opposite (Earl Cairns), who asked him not to press it on at that late period of the Session, as, if he did, he should be obliged to move that the Bill be referred to a Select Committee. He (Lord Fitzgerald) felt the force of the observations of the noble and learned Earl, and could not resist a Motion to refer the measure to a Committee upstairs. It was only in consequence of the late period of the Session that he felt compelled to withdraw the Bill. He had hoped to introduce the Bill again this Session, and would have done so if he knew that there would be an Adjournment, and not a Prorogation. At all events, he hoped to introduce it next Session.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, it was certainly somewhat irregular for a conversation of this sort to take place on the Bill before the House, as it was irrelevant to it; but as they had not much to do that evening, and as they had excused his noble and learned Friend, so he hoped their Lordships would excuse him if he made a few observations in reference to the statement made by the noble and learned Lord (Lord Bramwell). He confessed that he shared in the disappointment very naturally felt by those who, with great labour and pains, had conducted the Custody of Infants Bill through the House of Commons almost against hope. After the best study that he (the Lord Chancellor) could give to the Bill, he thought that the general object and principles of the Bill were sound, and its provisions well considered, and that their Lordships' House would be justified in passing it. He would, therefore, have been very glad if his noble and learned Friends, whose assistance the House looked for, had been as far advanced in their judgment upon the merits of the Bill as himself. But he could not but say that it appeared to him improper to deny the right of such great authorities as his noble and learned Friends to have time for the deliberate consideration of changes in the law on a subject of such great importance. His noble and learned Friends thought at that time — the Session being close at an end—that there was not sufficient time for consideration. He felt, therefore, unable to resist the proposal of his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns), that the Bill should be postponed, because he did not think it would be reasonable—or, indeed, possible—to press the matter at that time against the opinions of his noble and learned Friends.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said, that his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns), who was not then present, was himself very much influenced by the fact that the Bill had not undergone any careful or exhaustive discussion in the House of Commons, and that it had passed through its several stages at very late hours of the night. He had thought that the subject was not one of trifling importance, because the Bill, if passed, might have made a revolution in the domestic concerns of a vast number of families in this country. Therefore, his noble and learned Friend thought that under those circumstances it would not be seemly, right, or safe to put upon the Statute Book a law of this kind, without the certainty that it had been fully considered by at least one of the Houses of Parliament.

Motion *agreed to;* Bill read $2^a$ accordingly, and *committed* to a Committee of the Whole House on *Thursday* next.

## IRELAND—THE NEW MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART, DUBLIN.

### QUESTION.

VISCOUNT POWERSCOURT, in rising to ask Her Majesty's Government, The reason for the delay in commencing the works for the new Dublin Science and Art Museum? said, he had received private information that the matter had been settled; and, therefore, he need not detain their Lordships about it. But the Dublin public were very anxious on the subject, and they would be glad to have a public intimation that the building was about to be commenced.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL), in reply, said, that there were questions raised by the Treasury upon the designs for the new building, and that they had involved a good deal of correspondence between the different Departments; but those questions were now settled. He was glad to tell his noble Friend that all was now going smoothly, and that, at the beginning of this month, the Treasury had sent their order to the Board of Works in Dublin to enter into a contract for the erection of the remaining buildings.

### THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON'S STATUE —THE SITE AT ALDERSHOT.

#### QUESTION.

VISCOUNT ENFIELD asked, Whether any steps had been taken towards re-erecting the statue of the Duke of Wellington in a suitable spot at Aldershot Camp; and, when the work in question was likely to be completed?

LORD SUDELEY: In reply to the noble Viscount, I have to state that the statue of the Duke of Wellington is now safely housed at Aldershot, where it will be erected in the course of next year. His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales proposes shortly to visit Aldershot, in order, in conjunction with the Military Authorities there, to select an appropriate site.

THE EARL OF LONGFORD said, that this was an instance of the inconvenience of dealing with a question by halves. The Question of the noble Viscount (Viscount Enfield) only referred to half the matter —the re-erection of the statue—and it did not take into consideration the completion of the alterations and improvements at Hyde Park Corner. He would remind their Lordships that last Session they had also the assurance given them that there should be no unreasonable delay in re-erecting the statue in a suitable manner, and yet the delay had occurred. It was obvious now that the object was to clear the space in order to make room for future statuary and other ornamental decorations at Hyde Park Corner, and that those things were much more in the mind of those who had promoted the scheme than any honour to the Duke of Wellington.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Five o'clock, to Thursday next,
a quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Tuesday*, 11*th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—NEW WRIT ISSUED—*For* Hackney, *v.* the Right honble. Henry Fawcett, deceased.

PUBLIC BILLS — *Second Reading* — Salmon Weekly Close Time (Ireland) [17], *debate adjourned.*

*Committee—Report*—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland [9].

*Third Reading*—Representation of the People [1], and *passed.*

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### NAVY—THE DOCKYARDS—HAND-DRILLERS AT PORTSMOUTH.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the Board have yet received the petition from the hand-drillers in Portsmouth Dockyard; and, whether the same is being considered?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY, in reply, said, that no such petition had been received by the Admiralty.

### SEA AND COAST FISHERIES (IRELAND) —TRAWLING IN GALWAY BAY.

COLONEL NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he has made the inquiries promised on the 3rd November, as to whether a majority of the fishermen and coast inhabitants of Galway are anxious to have trawling forbidden as before in the inner portion of Galway Bay; if he has made these inquiries, what are the result; and, will he obtain the prohibition of trawling as is now the case in Dublin Bay?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have looked further into this matter. There is no doubt that the Claddah fishermen and other persons on both sides of Galway Bay are opposed to the permission of trawling; but no valid reason in support of this objection has ever been given at any inquiry held by the Inspectors. This local feeling on the subject was fully before them, when, after careful and protracted investigations, they arrived at the conclusions which were acted on in 1877, and which they have not since seen any reason to alter.

In reply to a further Question from Colonel NOLAN,

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Well, Sir, I have stated before that these inquiries were carried out at great length, and such fishermen as desired made suggestions on the subject. The Board do not propose to make any alteration.

MR. KENNY: Will the right hon. Gentleman kindly say whether he has any objection to give the reasons of the Fishery Commissioners, and lay them upon the Table of the House?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know whether the Reports are published; but I will inquire.

## NATIONAL EDUCATION (IRELAND)—TEACHERS IN THE COLERAINE DISTRICTS—RESULTS FEES.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What is the amount of Results Fees paid in the Coleraine District each year since the present Inspector of National Schools took charge, and the amounts for an equal number of years during his Predecessor's tenure of office; if the reduction is occasioned by the adoption of too high a standard, or by fewer pupils being presented for examination, or by deterioration in the teaching staff; if it is not a fact within the experience of the Commissioners of National Education in Ireland, and borne out by the statistics and records of the Education Office, that, when inspectors of comparatively limited experience in inspection and examination of schools are transferred to a new district, the Results Fees are cut down by one-third or one-half; whether it frequently happens that schools obtaining a high and satisfactory per-centage of passes one year are reported on next year as insufficient and unsatisfactory under a new inspector; what guarantees do the rules of the Commissioners of National Education provide to secure their teachers from the whims and prejudices of the Board's officers; and, whether the records of the Education Office do not show that, if a teacher takes any action against his inspector in order to assert his rights, he becomes a marked man amongst the official staff, and that his professional career continues to be reported ever after as unsatisfactory?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, that the Commissioners of National Education entirely objected to the production of Returns having for their object comparison of the results examination by different Inspectors. Such a course the Commissioners believed would be a severe blow to the independence of the Inspectors. In that view he entirely concurred. The Commissioners had taken elaborate precautions to secure absolute fairness in the examination. No new Inspector was commissioned to take charge of a district until he had mastered all details connected with his duties under two or three experienced Inspectors. He might mention that in the Coleraine district the test examinations showed almost an identity of judgment. The public rules of the Commissioners provided for appeal on the part of any manager or teacher who felt aggrieved by the results examinations. He was assured that the suggestions in the last part of the Question were absolutely without foundation.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—COUNTY CAVAN—POSTPONEMENT OF PETTY SESSIONS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is aware that in county Cavan it often happens that cases have to be postponed at Petty Sessions from the scarcity of Local Justices of the Peace; and, whether he will draw the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the subject, with a view of remedying the defect?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: From inquiry I find it to be the case that several Petty Sessions have been adjourned owing to a sufficient number of magistrates not being in attendance. The attention of the Lord Chancellor will be called to the matter.

### PRISONS (IRELAND)—REPORT OF THE COMMISSION.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any steps have been taken to carry out any of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Irish Prisons; and, if so, what steps have been so taken?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Report of the Royal Commission has been only a few weeks in the hands of the Government, and the evidence upon which it is based has not yet been issued. I can, however, assure the right hon. Gentleman that the valuable and important recommendations of the Commission are receiving careful consideration on the part of the Irish Government, and that no time will be lost in coming to a conclusion with regard to them.

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS: Will the right hon. Gentleman allow me to point out that there was a very strong recommendation with regard to those prisoners kept in confinement for a long period before their trial? With regard to these prisoners it would seem important that their cases should be taken into consideration as soon as possible.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The point which the right hon. Gentleman refers to was taken into consideration, and will be immediately dealt with. But it will be necessary, in the first place, to consult as to what had best be done with regard to them. I have the Report, which I only received yesterday.

Mr. HASTINGS: I will put to the right hon. Gentleman a Question, of which I have given him private Notice. I would ask him whether, in view of the serious disclosures contained in the Report of the Irish Prisons Commissioners, the right hon. Gentleman will be willing to receive a deputation who are prepared to lay before him additional facts and representations with regard to the existing administration of prisons in Ireland?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Yes; I shall be glad to communicate with my hon. Friend in the matter.

### CHOLERA HOSPITALS ACT, 1884—MOVABLE HOSPITALS (IRELAND).

Colonel NOLAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If there are any temporary and movable hospitals now in the possession of the Local Government Board, or any other body in Ireland; and, in what time such a hospital could be delivered at a railway station?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: There are no temporary movable hospitals in the possession of the Local Government Board; but there are a few Constabulary huts obtainable, which might be purchased by Sanitary Authorities in cases of emergency, and which could be delivered without any delay. Under the Cholera Hospitals Act of last Session local Sanitary Authorities have power to take sites compulsorily, and the Local Government Board ascertained and reported in July last that iron hospitals can be put up in a short time by Messrs. Maguire and Son, of Dublin, and by Messrs. Brady and Co., of Euston Road, London; also that they are kept in stock by Humphreys, of Albert Gate, and can be supplied immediately when ordered.

Colonel NOLAN: Could the right hon. Gentleman name the number of hours which would be required to move one of these huts?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No; I cannot name the number of hours.

Colonel NOLAN: I will ask the right hon. Gentleman can he inquire and name the number upon next Thursday?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I will.

Mr. SEXTON: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware whether any "Land League huts" are available?

[No reply.]

### LAW AND POLICE (METROPOLIS)—DISTURBANCE AT VICTORIA PARK TABERNACLE, HACKNEY — "THE EX-MONK WIDDOWS."

Mr. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, With regard to a serious disturbance recently at the Victoria Park Tabernacle, Hackney, on the occasion of "a lecture on the fallacies of the Church of Rome" by a person describing himself as "the ex-Monk Widdows," whether the police have inquired into the antecedents of this person; whether he formerly lectured against Protestantism in Canada, was the cause of a riot in Toronto, and underwent an imprisonment of eight months in the gaol of that city for a felonious offence; and, whether any steps will be taken to prevent him from continuing to obtain money by false pretences, and to cause breaches of the public peace?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am informed that there was a disturbance at a lecture given by a person who seems to bear this name; but I have no power to prevent persons in this country from lecturing either for or against Protestantism; and if people attack them it can hardly be said that the lecturers cause the disturbance of the peace. I cannot see how I can interfere in this matter; but I have given instructions to the police to prevent a breach of the peace in future, should there be a likelihood of disturbance occurring.

MR. SEXTON: If this impostor attempts again to lecture, and if there is a reasonable probability of his attempting to do so leading to a breach of the peace, has the right hon. Gentleman no power of interfering?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: What the hon. Gentleman asks me to do is rather beyond my power, and certainly a very difficult task—namely, to prevent any impostor from lecturing.

### SCOTLAND—THE CROFTERS AND COTTARS IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS—LAND LAW REFORM—DISTURBANCES IN SKYE.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether Major Fraser, the landlord upon whose estate the movements of the Crofters took its rise, is a member of the Board of Commissioners of Supply at Inverness, and whether this Board is responsible for the despatch of the body of police which came into collision with the Crofters; whether the Crofters have hitherto abstained from violence, and that their demands are nothing more than "a fair rent, and the restoration of the sheep land of which they were deprived many years ago;" whether the Government have considered the expediency of creating a public tribunal to fix the rents to be paid by tenants in the exceptional condition of Crofters in the Highlands and Islands; and, whether the intimation of the Right honourable Gentleman that the Government are considering the Report of the Royal Commission, with a view to act upon it, may be interpreted to mean that the Government, at the opening of the ensuing Session, will ask the House to legislate on this subject?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: These Questions seem to invite me to express the opinion that there is some palliation or justification for the defiance of the law and the breach of the peace which have unhappily occurred at Skye. I can give no answer at all in that sense. I regard these proceedings as entirely unjustifiable and without extenuation. If there are grievances there are other means of redressing them; and the first duty of the Government in these matters is to take measures to support law and order and maintain the public peace. So far from "the Crofters having hitherto abstained from violence," that is entirely contrary to the information which I possess on the subject. With regard to the latter Question of the hon. Member, I have already stated that the Government will feel it to be their duty to take action at the earliest possible time, so far as they can, upon the Report of the Royal Commission. I have already given the reasons for not making any further statement at present on the subject.

MR. SEXTON: Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman be good enough to answer the first part of the Question?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I do not know whether it is so or not. I do not know how that affects the question. There is no reason why the police should not act because one individual, whose house was burned down, was on the Police Committee.

MR. SEXTON: I put the Question as to whether the person who passed for the landlord had not used his position on the Board of Commissioners in order to provoke these disturbances by sending the police.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: If it is suggested that the action of the Police Committee was the action of Major Fraser, I have no reason to believe it was so. On the contrary, I have reason to believe it was not so, and that the action of the Police Committee was called for apart from the case of Major Fraser.

MR. MACFARLANE: May I ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman if there has been, in the locality to which the military and police, it is said, are being sent, a single failure in the operation of the Civil Law? Has any civil process been stopped by violence which it is necessary to carry out by the employment of additional police?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: There has been an open and flagrant defiance of the law. Threats were used towards persons in that district that made it necessary. I think it proper that the Police Committee should have acted as they had in not allowing the people in the district to declare that there should be no police in the district, and that they should by force turn the police out of the district. I think they have acted quite properly in supporting the police.

Mr. MACFARLANE: The right hon. Gentleman has not answered my Question. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and Interruption.*] If I am not entitled to put my Question, the Speaker will rule me out of Order. I will repeat the Question to the right hon. Gentleman, Is there a single instance of the failure of the operation of the Civil Law in the district to which the police are being sent?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir. What I have told the hon. Member is that there have been all sorts of petty outrages. I have already said the Papers will be laid before the House. But, quite apart from that, it is not possible that a district can be allowed to say it will not allow the Local Authorities to place in that district whatever police they may think necessary. That is what has been done—the police were going there, and they were forcibly expelled.

Dr. CAMERON: Is there any chance of these Papers being presented before Friday, when there is to be a debate on the subject?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I am afraid they cannot be presented before Friday.

Subsequently,

Sir HERBERT MAXWELL asked the Home Secretary if he could state whether the very serious accounts in the Scottish papers of the state of affairs in the Island of Skye were substantially correct, and especially whether it was true that three hundred marines were on their way to the Island?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I suppose the hon. Member was not in the House; but I have already made a statement in answer to the Questions put to me upon that subject, and I do not think that, in so grave a matter, the hon. Member ought to ask me to say whether I entirely endorse, or entirely deny, the statements in the newspapers. It is far too grave a matter to be dealt with in that way. The official Report on the subject we are about to lay on the Table. I have also stated that Her Majesty's Government have decided to take energetic measures to support the police in Skye in the execution of their duty.

## EGYPT—THE EXPEDITION UP THE NILE.

Sir HENRY TYLER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether any, and, if so, what preparations have been made, and what plans and route have been decided on, for withdrawing the garrisons and refugees from the Soudan, on the arrival at Khartoum of the British Expedition now proceeding up the Nile? He wished, further, to ask whether any confirmation had been received by the Government as to the rumours of the fall of Khartoum, which had appeared in *The Times* of that morning?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: No confirmation of the rumours in question has been received either at the War Office or the Foreign Office. With regard to the Question on the Paper, I have to say that it is quite impossible to form, at the present time, a definite and final decision, still less to announce that decision on matters which must be considered in the various circumstances which may arise. A great deal must depend upon the General commanding on the spot in order to make the best arrangements.

Sir HENRY TYLER asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether his own information confirms the reports which have been published of the delay and difficulties experienced in transporting the troops and stores of the Soudan expedition by row-boats along the Nile, and the length of time and labour that such a system must entail; and, whether Her Majesty's Government will now take further into consideration the question of constructing a Railway from Suakim to the Nile, such as may be of use in establishing communication with Khartoum, with drawing the garrisons and refugees from the Soudan, and forming a permanent route for commerce with Central Africa?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: We have received no official Report of any greater delay or difficulties than we anticipated in transporting troops and stores by means of row-boats. The Government are not of opinion that it is necessary to reconsider the question of constructing a Railway from Suakin to Berber. These matters will, however, be more conveniently discussed when the Vote in connection with the Expedition is moved.

### INDIA (BOMBAY)—THE CIVIL SERVICE.

MR. GIBSON asked the Under Secretary of State for India, What is the number of high (or gazetted) appointments in the Bombay Civil Service having a salary of 400 rupees and upwards per mensem, now held by the following classes respectively:—(a) Covenanted civilians; (b) Natives of India (other than Covenanted); (c) Military officers; (d) Uncovenanted Europeans?

MR. J. K. CROSS: According to *The Bombay Civil List*, there were, on July 1, 1884, 633 Civil appointments in the Bombay Presidency, with salaries of 400 rupees and upwards per mensem. They were distributed as follows:—159 were held by Covenanted Civil Servants, 113 by Natives of India (other than Covenanted), 98 by Military officers, and 263 by Uncovenanted Europeans. There were also 57 Civil Medical appointments, of which 50 were held by Military Surgeons, five by Natives of India, and two by Uncovenanted Europeans.

### ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—REMOVAL OF PLACARDS AT DROGHEDA.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that, on the 7th instant, a policeman at Drogheda publicly removed from the shop window of one of the principal newsagents of the town the coloured cartoon supplement of *The Weekly Freeman*, and of *United Ireland*, and threatened him with prosecution in the event of its being again exhibited; whether this was done by the authority, or with the approval, of the Government; whether it is true that on former occasions, when similar conduct on the part of constables was complained of in this House, the representative of the Irish Government stated that the acts were done without authority, and that steps would be taken to prevent their repetition; and, whether, in the event of the constable having acted without authority, and proceedings being taken against him, he will be defended at the public expense?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The cartoons were posted up outside a shop window in a very narrow thoroughfare, and caused an obstruction by collecting persons at that point. It was on this account they were interfered with, and not because of anything in their character. The newsvendor had previously received several cautions as to obstructions at his door; and on this occasion the person in charge of the shop was asked to remove the cause of the obstruction before the police interfered with it. If the obstruction was real, the police acted within their instructions, which, as regards placards, are, that they must not allow them to be posted in situations where persons collected to read them intercept the passengers. The former cases to which the hon. Member refers were not, I think, analogous, there having been no question of obstruction. With regard to the last paragraph of the Question, the rule is that when proceedings are taken against the police for alleged violation of duty, they are required to defend themselves; and the question of reimbursement depends upon whether or not it is shown they are to blame.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS: Was the placard outside the shop, or placed inside the window, in the ordinary way?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: It was posted outside the window.

MR. CALLAN: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether it is the fact that for the last 10 years the same newsvendor has posted placards in that same identical spot, and has never been even summoned by the police?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not know whether it was the same newsvendor; but it could not have been the same placard.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Then, am I to understand from the right hon. Gentleman that it is the character of the last placard that is objected to? If I understand aright, the right hon. Gentleman did not deny the statement of my hon. Friend that this newsvendor has posted these placards without any opposition from the police for the last 10 years, and that exception was taken to it for the first time in the case of the last placard. Further, I would like to ask the right hon. Gentleman if he is aware that no person in existence, except himself, believes the explanation of the police-constable?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I do not think the last Question is intended to be answered. In answer to the previous Question of the hon. Member, I have no information as to what has taken place during the last 10 years. I have read the Report received on the subject, and which gives, *primâ facie*, sufficient reasons for what has been done.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—THE MESSRS. SYNNOTT, CO. ARMAGH.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been drawn to a report in *The Irish Times* of the 7th November of the case of Mark S. Synnott v. Margaret Murphy, heard before the Queen's Bench Division, in which Mr. Justice O'Brien is reported to have stated that there had been a gross fraud upon the Treasury; whether he has made himself acquainted with the facts of this case, and whether he is aware that the persons implicated in this matter, namely, Mr. Mark S. Synnott and Mr. Parker G. Synnott are both in the Commission of the Peace for the county of Armagh, and the former also a deputy lieutenant; and, whether it is intended to direct a prosecution against them for this alleged fraud, or to call the attention of the Lord Chancellor to it?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to answer. I have seen the Report referred to; but I am informed that what Mr. Justice O'Brien said was that a fraud would be practised on the Treasury if the sale was allowed to stand. The proceedings under the Arrears Act were quite regular, and no prosecution could be sustained under that Act. The action of the landlord consisted in endeavouring to execute a judgment which was in legal effect satisfied. There may, no doubt, be a civil remedy for this against the landlord; but it is not, in our opinion, a case in which a criminal prosecution could be brought, or the matter should be referred to the Lord Chancellor.

## BOARD OF TRADE RETURNS, No. 258 (SHIP INSURANCE)—MR. MAC IVER.

Mr. MAC IVER asked the President of the Board of Trade, If he can give any explanation of the circumstances under which the name of Mr. Mac Iver, M.P., was inaccurately inserted in Parliamentary Return No. 258, in connection with the loss of the steamer *Stromboli*, amongst a "list of Delegates and Members of Parliament who, during the five years ended 1882, lost 65 ships, with 367 lives;" whether it is within the knowledge of the Board of Trade that the *Stromboli* belonged to the Cunard Company at the time of her loss, and that Mr. Mac Iver, M.P. had absolutely nothing to do with her, having sold his interest in the Cunard steamers, and retired from the firm of D. and C. Mac Iver on the 30th September 1874, some five years previous to the disaster; and, if it is true that the Board of Trade, upon being asked to correct their mistake, not merely omitted to do so, but wrote, attributing to Mr. Mac Iver, M.P. the loss of the steamer *Thessaly*, which had not been lost, and suggesting that he might write to the newspapers?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The compilers of the Return were not aware at the time that the hon. Member for Birkenhead had ceased to belong to the firm of D. and C. Mac Iver or Burns and Mac Iver, and the *Stromboli* was entered in the Return as having been wrecked; but in the Return the name of "C. Mac Iver" was entered in the column for name and address of owner, and the hon. Member's own name was only entered as a delegate. As regards the *Thessaly*, she did belong to Mr. D. Mac Iver, and she was reported as wrecked; and her crew were taken off by another vessel. She was what is known as a "constructive" total loss, for it appears that she was subsequently got off the rocks and repaired. She was, however, reported to the Board of Trade and the Registrar General of Shipping as a wreck, and her certificate registry was cancelled in consequence. A full Return of the loss of ships during the last five years, with the names of the owners, has been ordered, on the Motion of the hon. Member for Carnarvonshire (Mr. Rathbone). In this Return I will take care that the name of the ship which was lost during its ownership by Mr. D. Mac Iver is correctly stated as the *Thessaly*, and not the *Stromboli*.

Mr. MAC IVER: I am sure that the House will allow me to say that it is not true that the *Thessaly* was ever a constructive total loss, though she was on the rocks. She was the property of the Company of which I was Chairman, and, as far as I know, she is in perfect safety at the present moment.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: The statement of the hon. Member is not inconsistent with my own. It is a peculiarity of constructive total losses that in many cases after the vessel has been returned as lost it is again repaired. The hon. Member himself, in a letter, states the steamer *Thessaly* was stranded in 1879, and was consequently removed from the Register.

Mr. MAC IVER: I think I may be allowed to say that a constructive total loss means that a ship has been seriously damaged and has been handed over to the underwriters. The ship in question met with a serious disaster; but she was got off the rocks, and I myself paid more than one-fourth of the cost. She was distinctly not a constructive total loss.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—ACQUITTAL OF MR. FITZGERALD.

Mr. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether, considering the determination of the Crown to put Mr. P. N. Fitzgerald on his trial before trying the eleven Tubbercurry prisoners, and the fact that Mr. P. N. Fitzgerald was yesterday acquitted, the Crown will now immediately cause the discharge of the eleven Tubbercurry prisoners from custody?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) was understood to reply that he had telegraphed for information, and had not yet received any reply.

## CRIMINAL LAW—APPEAL IN CAPITAL CASES.

Sir EDWARD WATKIN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering recent discussions in which suspicions have arisen that innocent persons have been sentenced to death and to long terms of servitude, Her Majesty's Government are prepared, in the pending Session, to introduce a measure providing for appeal in cases of sentences of death and of penal servitude for long periods?

Mr. GLADSTONE: In reply to this Question, I have to say that in 1883 Her Majesty's Government made proposals upon this subject, and a Bill was submitted to the Grand Committee and passed by that Committee; but, owing to the opposition which was manifested on the other side of the House—I do not know whether it was confined to that side of the House—the Bill was not prosecuted during that Session. The Government have not since then arrived at any new decision on the subject; but it will be their duty to consider the matter before the time comes round for arranging the annual Business.

Mr. WARTON asked the right hon. Gentleman, whether the reason why the Bill he had referred to could not be brought before the House was because it was linked by the Attorney General to a large measure for the codification of the Criminal Law?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I must refer the hon. and learned Gentleman to the Attorney General for an answer to that Question.

## PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—SUPPLY—THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK'S MISSION.

Mr. GLADSTONE: In pursuance, Sir, of an engagement which I entered into yesterday, in reply to a Question put to me by the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), I wish to refer to the proceedings which we propose in Supply, and also with regard to Lord Northbrook's Mission. With regard to Supply I partially answered the Question last night—that when we get through the Franchise Bill we shall proceed with Supply. We now propose to take Supply on Thursday, and the necessary Notice of the Supplementary Estimates which will then be moved will be laid on the Table. As far as we are concerned, we shall proceed with respect to them as we should proceed with respect to other Supplementary Estimates, and move them in the same way. It is our intention also to be prepared to proceed on Friday if we are able, but we do not intend on Friday next to interfere with the Friday Rule. Should it be necessary, however, to do anything to expedite financial business, we shall not hesitate to make a proposal on the subject. With regard to Lord Northbrook's ;Mission, his Report, properly so called, is not yet in form; but his Colleagues are sufficiently cognizant of his general plans to take them into consideration, which they will do, and on some day in the coming week I hope to state to the House the course that we propose.

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I understand that it is in the contemplation of the Government to propose a Vote for Sir Charles Warren's Expedition to Bechuanaland. If that is so, I would express a hope that before the Vote is proposed to the House we may be furnished with the instructions given to Sir Charles Warren. There have been rumours on that subject of a very grave nature, and I think the House ought to have them.

MR. GLADSTONE: I shall see that that matter is considered. I was not aware there was any question on the subject.

MR. JOSEPH COWEN: I would like to ask the Prime Minister if he contemplates the House taking any other Business during the Autumn Session save that which arises out of the Franchise Bill and the Votes for South Africa and the Nile Expedition, and the discussion on Lord Northbrook's proposals?

MR. GLADSTONE: There has been no change in the general intention of the Government, which was to make this Autumn meeting subservient, as far as they could, to purposes connected with the Franchise Bill. Then there has arisen the necessity in connection with the Expedition up the Nile and the military preparations having reference to Bechuanaland. That, of course, the Government must take upon themselves, and whatever grows naturally out of it. The hon. Gentleman has referred to the discussion upon Lord Northbrook's Report under his commission. With respect to that matter the Government have nothing to propose to Parliament at the present moment. I have already said that we shall be prepared to refer to the matter next week. With respect to anything beyond, I think our understanding was this—that the Government did not contemplate at this Autumn meeting—did not consider this Autumn meeting the proper time, or would last sufficiently long, for the prosecution of the general legislation of the year. That proposition we adhere to. At the same time, it will be readily understood that occasionally subjects arise with regard to which there may be some peculiar pressure, and the scope of which is not of any great extent, on which, if the Government see cause, they may make an exception. There is, for instance, the subject referred to at the close of last Session—the federation of the Australian Colonies. Undoubtedly, as regards the general Business, our views are as already stated; and I should say in the exceptions I have made, and for which I have left the door open, I spoke of Business which, besides being small in character, is what may be called of a non-contentious nature.

SIR JOHN HAY: I hope the Navy is not going to be neglected.

MR. GLADSTONE: There is a pledge that a Government statement shall be made on that subject, which pledge holds good. I am obliged to the right hon. and gallant Gentleman for mentioning the matter.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: There is an expression of the Prime Minister which I do not quite understand. Speaking of Lord Northbrook's Report, the right hon. Gentleman said there was no proposal which the Government would have to make. ["No, no!"] That is just what wants clearing up. The right hon. Gentleman said he would give us some information; and I should wish to know whether he means that the Government do not at this moment contemplate calling attention to Lord Northbrook's Report, or whether, having considered it, it would not be necessary to make any proposals at all? If he contemplates having proposals to make hereafter, we should be glad to know when we shall be furnished with any Papers on the subject; and also whether we shall have further Papers as to the Expedition up the Nile?

MR. GLADSTONE: As regards the Expedition up the Nile, I am not in a condition to answer. I am not aware that there are such Papers. The right hon. Gentleman has made reference to Lord Northbrook's Mission, the allusion to which arose out of the Question of my hon. Friend (Mr. J. Cowen). This Question assumes that the Government would have something to propose; and all I wished to convey was that that assumption was premature. I do not mean to convey either that we had or had not anything to propose. My intention was, as I have said, to state that the matter was under our consideration, and that I hoped to be able to announce the course we shall take. With regard to the Papers, I will bear in mind what has been said by the right hon. Gentleman.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL: As the Vote for the Soudan is to be laid on the Table this evening, and as there may be some delay on the part of the printers, perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will state what the amount will be?

MR. GLADSTONE: It is no part of my duty to deal with Votes in the nature of Supplementary Estimates. These are entirely under the charge of the Ministers of Departments; and as I believe there are a considerable number of Votes charged under different heads, I do not think it would be possible to enter upon particulars, nor do I think it would be convenient in anticipation of the Vote.

## WESTMINSTER HALL (RESTORATION).

In reply to Mr. MITCHELL HENRY,

MR. SHAW LEFEVRE said, the removal of earth in front of the buttresses on the west side of Westminster Hall was merely for the purpose of levelling the ground. No money would be spent on the structure until the Committee had reported, and it would not be necessary to replace the earth whatever was done.

## QUEEN'S SPEECH — HER MAJESTY'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRES.

THE COMPTROLLER OF THE HOUSEHOLD (Lord KENSINGTON) *reported* Her Majesty's Answer to the Address, as followeth:—

*I receive with much satisfaction your loyal and dutiful Address.*

*I rely with confidence on your assurance that the Measures which may be submitted to you will receive your most careful consideration.*

*You may count on My cordial co-operation in your endeavours to promote the happiness and contentment of My People.*

## CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE MAAMTRASNA MURDERS—CONVICTION OF MYLES JOYCE AND OTHERS.

MR. O'BRIEN (for Mr. HEALY) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether the dying depositions of the two men executed with Myles Joyce were taken by and before a resident magistrate; whether each deposition was made independently by each of the condemned men in his own cell without any knowledge or communication of what the other had said or done; and, whether any copies of the depositions have been made, in whose custody do the originals remain?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): There were no "depositions" taken; but statements of the two men referred to were made before a Resident Magistrate. They are in the custody of the Irish Government, and will remain there. As the Government have declined, for reasons already fully stated, to produce those statements, I must respectfully decline to give any further information regarding them.

MR. MITCHELL HENRY: Are we to understand that these depositions were sworn depositions?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): On the contrary, I have conveyed that they were not sworn.

MR. O'BRIEN: Might I point out to the hon. and learned Gentleman that he has not answered the most important portion of my Question—whether each of the depositions was made independently by each of the condemned men in his own cell without any knowledge or communication of what others had said or done?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I have answered all that I could consistently with the statements already made, and as far as the Irish Government are prepared to answer.

## LAW AND POLICE—THE CLEATOR MOOR RIOTS, CUMBERLAND.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to *The Carlisle Journal*, of November the 4th, with reference to the evidence of Superintendent Sempill at the Cumberland Assizes; whether he is aware that the *Journal* states that, on reference to—

> "Another and perfectly independent report of the same portion of Mr. Sempill's evidence,"

as that impugned in the case of the

*Journal* report, it was found to read as follows:—

> "There was also a constable from Longtown named Tomer. Tomer was brought down because he was an experienced detective officer;"

whether he has observed that the learned judge in summing up the case showed that he was under the same impression as to the evidence in the following remarks in reference to Mr. Sempill's evidence:

> "I think it would have been better if the Deputy Chief Constable had candidly admitted what the object of the proceeding was. Instead of that he somewhat insults our understanding by telling us that he got this experienced detective from a distance for the purpose of ascertaining the state of the man's mind, and whether he was likely to injure himself in his cell;"

and, whether, under these circumstances, further inquiry will be made into the matter?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he did not see how he could make any further inquiries that would lead to any different result than he had already stated. The Superintendent of Police, Superintendent Sempill, had informed him that the man referred to in the Question was not a detective, but an ordinary police-constable, and he had had a statement to the like effect from the man himself. That being so, he did not see that there was any use in making further inquiries.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.—[BILL 1.]

(*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Attorney General, Mr. Trevelyan, The Lord Advocate.*)

#### THIRD READING.

Order for Third Reading read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. Gladstone.*)

MR. GOSCHEN: Before this Bill passes to "another place" I wish, with the permission of the House, to make a few observations. No one can fail to have been struck by the fact that yesterday there was a change of tone in all parts of this House on this matter, and that the hopes of a very speedy arrangement, satisfactory to all Parties and to the country at large, seemed yesterday to be more distant than they had done before. Any regret which I may feel for the fact, whether or not it has an echo on either side of the House, is, I feel sure, shared by a great many persons out-of-doors. And in proportion as they see the prospect both of these measures—the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill—being passed by the present Government, and the present Parliament receding from view, so there will be a very great regret that this Parliament has not been able to arrive at that solution which, I believe, the country desires. I should like to ask what is the cause of the change that seemed to come over the House of Commons with regard to this matter yesterday? Was it that the House considered that, after the hints and the suggestions which had been made by the responsible Leaders of both Parties, there was less hope than there was before that some agreement might be arrived at? Or did it appear that there was less prospect of agreeing to a Redistribution Bill when that Redistribution Bill had been introduced? Or was it that one isolated political event out-of-doors so changed the opinions of hon. Members opposite — ["Oh, oh!" *from the Opposition*]—that that which they seemed to approve of before was not approved of yesterday? I call the attention of the House, not only to the speeches, but to the cheers and the demeanour of hon. Members opposite. [*Laughter.*] I do not see why hon. Members opposite should indulge in merriment at that suggestion, and I do not think that the part I have taken with regard to this measure should disincline hon. Members opposite to listen to my observations. If I now venture to address hon. Members opposite, I have not shrunk from speaking frankly to my own Friends; and it is not in any spirit of opposition, but it is because I feel certain that the country will regret the prospect of a solution of this question receding, that I venture to make this appeal. I do trust that the Conservative Party will not think that they are serving the cause they have at heart, or that they will strengthen the position of the House of Lords, or that they will promote that solution which they so much desire—namely, the speedy introduction of a Redistribution Bill—by giving way to any feeling which may arise in their minds that their success at an isolated election means that the country endorses the position which they have taken up. Supposing that that were so—supposing that that election had been fought on the ground that the Lords had done right, and that the election had been won on that ground—and, indeed, for my part, I believe there was much force in the remark of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), that the action of the House of Lords has brought the question of redistribution nearer than it was in the last days of August; that we are now standing in a different position from what we were then; and that we have a greater certainty that it will be dealt with, and greater guarantees, and more prospect of performance, than we had before. Nevertheless, even if the late election expressed that opinion, I think distinctly it would be a great pity if the prospect of other elections, such as South Warwickshire, were to change in any respect the conciliatory attitude which I understood the Conservative Party to assume on Thursday and Friday last. I do not know whether the position of the Government has been thoroughly and correctly understood; but, to my mind, their position is this—not that they invite the opposite Party, as has been represented, to introduce or sketch a Redistribution Bill themselves, but that the Government are prepared at the very earliest date to introduce their Redistribution Bill, provided they only have some indications—not formal, not complete indications, but some indications of the attitude which the other side, or, rather, which the whole House, is likely to take with regard to these proposals. [*Cries of* "Oh, oh!" *and* "What are they?"] I will tell hon. Members what they are are. They are, that the Redistribution Bill shall not be founded simply upon the principle of population; that in the Redistribution Bill the principle of communities as against individuals shall be maintained; and that the Redistribution Bill is to be fair and just as between rural and urban districts. All these indications have been given by the right hon. Gentleman speaking on behalf of Her Majesty's Government; but the House has had no indication, the country has had no indication whatever, of the attitude which will be taken by the Conservative Party with regard to any one of these great principles, and so I understand the position of Her Majesty's Government to be, that they invite some indication of opinion, being convinced in their own minds that they are going to propose a Redistribution Bill which will be satisfactory to hon. Members opposite. I am afraid that, standing in this place, it is incidental to political human nature to express oneself with more warmth than one would desire; but what I wish to suggest to hon. Members opposite is simply this—that they should return to the frame of mind in which they were on Thursday or Friday last. [*Opposition laughter, and cries of* "No, no!" *from below the Ministerial Gangway.*] I quite understand "No, no!" coming from that quarter, and it is because I understand it so well that I make my appeal to hon. Members opposite. Why have hon. Members opposite wished, and why have some of us wished, that these two Bills should be carried together? Because they consider, and I agree with them, that the present Parliament is a fit Body to deal with this question of redistribution, and will deal with it, possibly, in a fairer spirit than the new electorate would before redistribution has taken place. But there is a danger that is equal to that danger, and that is this—that we should now embark upon a controversy between the two Parties who, in the heat of an election, will produce rival schemes of redistribution. For my part, I think that the whole of that subject will be dealt with in a fairer spirit, and in a manner much more representative of the true interests of the country, and with a consideration for all sides, if it is done by a friendly arrangement after the manner suggested by the Prime Minister through the action of the whole House, than if we were to go to the country with each side making this question of redistribution one of the planks in its political platform, and with both sides bidding against each other in order to secure popular, and even democratic, support for their proposals. I do not think that the Conservative Party will find that their views will be subserved by such a course, because it appears to me that even Conservatives will go much further in the heat of election, and even in a bye-election, when they publish their addresses, than they will do when they are sitting in this

House and carefully considering the question like statesmen. On the subject of redistribution Lord Salisbury says that he has been misrepresented when it is said that he has adopted the principle of population as the basis of representation. In his article in *The National Review*, which circulates in clubs, and which is read in society, he complains that any reference on his part to the four rules of arithmetic before popular audiences is considered as showing that he is in favour of making population the basis of representation. But, certainly, if, on a public platform, the noble Lord says that a district is entitled to so many Members in proportion to its population, it is highly probable that that district will think that that means business. You cannot dangle these arithmetical problems before an excited audience without their drawing their own deductions from them, and it is not by any kind of explanations in *The National Review* that the effect of such statements will be diminished. But the moral of that appears to be that we must make every effort to deal with this question of redistribution before a General Election. Hon. Members opposite will see, I trust, that it is with no feeling against them that I make these remarks. I believe that statesmanlike and steady principles will be more likely to be introduced into the Redistribution Bill, which I trust may be—and, indeed, which must be—introduced within the next few weeks. [An hon. MEMBER: The next few days.] Very well, the next few days — [*loud Opposition cheers*]—which I trust will be introduced within the next few days, after the invitation of this side of the House has been met, and hon. Members opposite have somewhat lifted the veil with regard to their views concerning redistribution, which we, on this side of the House, have been unable to penetrate. But as long as hon. Members opposite do not give us the slightest indication as to what degree of favour the sketch made by the Prime Minister is likely to be met by with among hon. Members on that side, so long it is difficult and almost impossible for Her Majesty's Government to produce their Bill. I was about to say that I see in the very language the Prime Minister has used this night that he intends to reserve this Session for the question of redistribution as well as of the franchise. There were words carefully chosen, too, in the Queen's Speech which indicated the same thing; and I implore hon. Members opposite to do what they can in order that that which they themselves have hitherto wished may be brought about, and that the country may see that, to the credit of this Parliament, we are able to carry out the wishes of the people, which I believe to be that both these great questions may be dealt with forthwith. By doing so I believe that we shall best vindicate the practical character of the House of Commons, and that we shall also vindicate the position of the House of Lords, which will be saved from an agitation which cannot be to its advantage; and, above all, it will be possible tranquilly and quietly to consider that scheme upon which the future of England must depend, and which we ought to be able to consider in this House like men of business, and putting the interests of the public above the interests of Party, rather than in the heat and turmoil of a contested election. In that spirit we might be able to consider that scheme of redistribution which, if both sides would only approach each other and pass over that small interval which still seems to separate them, I believe could be devised to the satisfaction of both Parties in this House and to the great advantage of the country.

*Mr. Goschen*

LORD JOHN MANNERS: I am disposed to agree with the right hon. Gentleman in the expression of his regret at the change of tone which was perceptible in the debate of yesterday; but I think that it is necessary to make this qualification—that that change of tone was only recognized after my right hon. and gallant Friend the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) resumed his seat. There was no change of tone in his speech, which was moderate and temperate; the change of tone was only perceptible in the reply of the Prime Minister, and in what I venture to call the hectoring speech of the Home Secretary. If there was such a marked change of tone in the speeches we heard yesterday from the Treasury Bench, and equally, undoubtedly, on this side, the House and the country out-of-doors must place their own construction upon the causes of that change. The right hon. Gentleman has invited us to recur to the frame of mind in which he supposes we were on Thursday and Friday last. I wish to give the right hon. Gentleman every satisfaction in my power, and if I could recur to the frame of mind in which I was on those days I would endeavour to do so; but the fact is that I am in exactly the same frame of mind now as I then was. I am quite at a loss to understand what the right hon. Gentleman means when he says that not only the language but the demeanour of the whole Conservative Party has undergone some wonderful change since Thursday and Friday last. I cannot enlighten the right hon. Gentleman as to the causes of a fact which has no existence. But the right hon. Gentleman proceeded to refer to three possible causes for that change of language and demeanour. The first, and, as I assume in his opinion, as he dwelt the longest upon it, the most important, of those causes is the result of a recent contested election. But there have been one or two contested elections lately; and when the right hon. Gentleman says that the change in the whole demeanour of the Conservative Party of the House is probably to be attributed to the results of a single bye-election, I feel disposed to ask him to which bye-election he refers, because, if I am right in my assumption that the change of tone is on the Ministerial side of the House and not on this, then it must be the Scarborough and not the South Warwickshire Election to which the right hon. Gentleman refers. What inducement does the right hon. Gentleman hold out to us to depart from the position and principle which we have hitherto inflexibly maintained? The right hon. Gentleman says if you will only kindly tell the Government what your general scheme of redistribution is, and, more than that, if every section of this House will kindly tell the Government what their scheme of redistribution is, then he has little doubt that Her Majesty's Government will forthwith proceed to introduce a measure which will satisfy everybody and will discontent nobody. Was ever so extraordinary a proposition submitted to the House? Has the right hon. Gentleman himself communicated his scheme to Her Majesty's Government, and have his hon. Friends who sit around him—the highly respectable, but, I fear, the somewhat diminishing, Whig Party—communicated to Her Majesty's Government what scheme will find favour in their eyes; and has that banded phalanx of the enthusiastic supporters of Her Majesty's Government who sit below the Gangway on this side of the House communicated to Her Majesty's Government the scheme of redistribution which they will support? I might also go through every Bench below the Gangway on the Ministerial side of the House, and ask whether the hon. Members who sit upon them have told the Government what their scheme of redistribution is? No, Sir; the appeal is really made to Her Majesty's Opposition, and to Her Majesty's Opposition alone.

> "'Will you walk into my parlour?' said the spider to the fly."

Now, Sir, had it not been for the rather lugubrious tone of the right hon. Gentleman, I was rather disposed to congratulate you, and the House at large upon our impending relief from the vexations and troubles of what obviously, since the speeches from the Government Benches, is about to be a barren and a fruitless Session. I think this House and the other House of Parliament and the country ought to know that, while on some occasions Her Majesty's Ministers can speak in honeyed accents, and appear to be in the most amiable of minds, in reality they intend not to budge one single inch from the position they have taken up; and that, while they insist upon this isolated measure being placed on the Statute Book, they will not take this House nor the country into their confidence as to the corresponding measure of reconstruction which this Bill renders absolutely necessary. For I must contend that while the Government are complimented upon the simple character of this Bill and upon its enfranchising qualities, there is another aspect and another character of it to which, I think, too little attention has been directed, and that is its disfranchising influence. This is a Bill in reality—and I am not sure that the same thing was not pointed out last night by the hon. Member for South Northumberland (Mr. A. Grey)—which logically and practically destroys the existing system of the borough representation of the Three Kingdoms; and this is a Bill which annihilates practically the existing county constituencies of the Three Kingdoms. It is not too much to say that this Bill throws down the Parliamentary walls of every borough which does not contain a population of above 50,000. And this Bill, by merging those towns in the adjacent counties, and by the emancipation of county voters by its other provisions, does substantially disfranchise, as far as political power is concerned, the existing constituencies of the counties. Well, Sir, these being the two disfranchising effects of this measure, I would ask what are the proposals of Her Majesty's Government in the way of reconstruction? What they do in the way of destruction is patent and obvious. What they are prepared to do in the way of reconstruction, I say, has always been, and still remains, vague, indefinite, and uncertain. The right hon. Gentleman who has just resumed his seat has told us that nothing could be clearer or more definite than the principles of reconstruction laid down by the Prime Minister. I take exception to that statement entirely. I should say that, compared with the statements of the right hon. Gentleman last Session, those which we heard with respect to reconstruction the other night are still more vague and still more indefinite. Now, let me take one—and I take one only—of these five principles, as I think the right hon. Gentleman called them—perhaps some will call them propositions, some perhaps—certainly nobody in this House—might be tempted to call them Parliamentary platitudes—but whether principles, propositions, or platitudes, I will test by one, and by one only, what they really mean, and what construction anybody can place upon them. I will take the fourth. Last Session the right hon. Gentleman was, I thought, clear and distinct on the subject of that fourth proposition—the proportional representation between the Three Kingdoms. Ireland was to keep the whole of her present representation; Scotland was to gain new Members; and England was to lose Members unless Parliament should agree to an increase of Members of this House. I am sure some hon. Gentlemen will remember the sort of shudder which passed through the crowded Benches when it was proposed to increase the numbers who were to sit upon them. This Session all that is dropped. Now, what is the fourth proposition or principle of the right hon. Gentleman? It comes in these words—

> "Further, and to this I attach immense importance, it must be equitable and liberal, as between the great divisions of the country; and in speaking of these great divisions I have avoided the term 'the three countries known in the Constitution,' because it is not unnatural to speak of the four countries, England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales."

That is the sole amount or item of information which we have had communicated to us by the right hon. Gentleman. Last Session Ireland was to keep all her Members; this Session we are not told that. Last Session Scotland was to gain Members; this Session we are not told that. But the proposition, like all other propositions, is regulated by a qualification; and the qualification in this proposition is that it must be equitable and liberal, as between the great divisions of the country. How are we to interpret those two epithets? If we look at the first epithet, and take it as the ruling epithet of the sentence, we may be disposed to think that, after all, Ireland and Wales probably will not keep their present number of Members. If, on the other hand, we disregard the epithet "equitable" and think only of that which follows, "liberal," the Irish Gentlemen below the Gangway may even hope for a considerable addition to their number. And so, Sir, throughout all the divisions of the country. Is Wales to gain, is Scotland to gain, is England to lose? This will all be regulated by those two epithets in conjunction "equitable" and "liberal." Now, Sir, when we press our well-founded demand—from which in principle I apprehend the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) does not dissent—that redistribution should accompany this scheme of extension of the franchise, what are the answers which we received in the course of yesterday from Her Majesty's Ministers? They were twofold. First of all, that to which the right hon. Gentleman has referred, the information which has already been vouchsafed to us, and with which we are told to be content, that no more will be afforded to us until the Franchise Bill is placed upon the Statute Book; and the other is an answer of the most extraordinary character I think I ever remember even in this House. We are told in answer to our demands—"Oh, why do not you come forward and tell us what you wish for?" I object altogether to either of these answers being regarded as satisfactory. I have already given the reason why I think the information with which Her Majesty's Government have favoured us is altogether illusory and insufficient; and with respect to the other argument—the only new one which I heard from the right hon. Gentleman yesterday—it was certainly an injudicious one—the argument of fear. The right hon. Gentleman said in effect—" I fear if we do not first of all enrol the Franchise Bill on the Statute Book, something of a very unpleasant Parliamentary character may ensue, and this House of Commons may, in my greatest need, desert me, and on some question connected with Egypt or South Africa I may find myself in a minority, and then what becomes of the Franchise Bill? Why, it would be intrusted to your suspicious, suspected, unfriendly hands, and that is a danger which I dare not face." Now, I have always had a high opinion of the courage of the right hon. Gentleman, but it would seem to be destroyed by himself if this argument is admitted. But I would bid the right hon. Gentleman to take encouragement from the recollection of what has occurred during every Session of this Parliament. Cannot he rely, after all that has gone by, on the unswerving fidelity and the dauntless resolution of his bands of serried followers. What amount, I should like to know, of humiliation, or disgrace, or calamity is likely to sever them from his victorious car? The right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down passed an eulogium—a very well deserved eulogium—on himself for the impartiality and fairness of his conduct on this and all other questions; but unless my memory deceives me, the right hon. Gentleman himself, on that very Egyptian Question, condemned the conduct of the Government in his speech, but abstained from recording that unfavourable opinion in the Division Lobby. No, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman may address his followers in a classical and well-known quotation—

> " O passi graviora, dabit Deus his quoque finem."

But, supposing—because the right hon. Gentleman at least desires that the House of Commons should suppose, the position he has placed before them is, at any rate, a possible one—suppose the catastrophe which he dreads should occur, and he should find himself in a minority on some crucial foreign question—what would happen? A change of Government would ensue. Would the right hon. Gentleman or anybody on the other side of the House contend for one single moment that any Government which could be formed in this House of Commons could remain in Office a week without an appeal to the constituencies of the country? Therefore, it is not that the right hon. Gentleman dreads this House, not that he dreads his supporters or his opponents here; but what he dreads is that there must be under those circumstances an appeal to the country. He dreads what sort of answer the country would have to give even upon this question of the Franchise Bill. I will not ask the right hon. Gentleman to trust to the honour of his political opponents. Let him think as meanly and as poorly of us as he pleases. Let him suppose that we are capable, after having accepted the principle of the Franchise Bill on the condition that the measure is accompanied by a full scheme for the redistribution of seats—let him suppose that even after that we are mean enough to throw over the whole subject if we have a chance. Let him think all that if he pleases; but what can he think of the country, of the constituencies, without whose consent or assent, base as we might be, we could never hope to perform so extraordinary a feat? Now, I will say a word or two on the other branch of the question which has been put before us—namely, this new doctrine of the duty of the Opposition to furnish the Government with their views on the question of redistribution. It is the first time during my long career in Parliament that I have heard such a proposal made to an Opposition. I am quite certain that the right hon. Gentleman himself the last time he dealt with the question of Reform never invited the Opposition to favour him with their views on redistribution. At first, it is true, he was a little shy of introducing his Redistribution Bill; but after awhile his repugnance was conquered, and he placed before the House his scheme of redistribution, as well as the scheme for the extension of the franchise. The present proposal is a complete and entire novelty, not likely to lead to satisfactory results, or to the due discharge of the Ministerial responsibilities of the Government. If the right hon. Gentleman is sincerely anxious—and I do not for a moment doubt his sincerity in the matter—to obtain the support of a large section of the House for the scheme of redistribution to which he has given his assent, he must wait for the exposition of that approbation until the proper time and opportunity have arrived, and that will be when he submits his scheme on his own Ministerial responsibility to the attention of Parliament. This is no new view of mine. If hon. Members will turn to the interesting work with which many of them are doubtless by this time familiar—namely, *The Memoirs of Mr. Croker*, they will find in it a very admirable letter written by Sir Robert Peel on this question. Somebody, it appears, in 1831, had made that sort of communication to Sir Robert Peel which the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon has made to us to-night, and suggested that it would be a very good thing if Sir Robert Peel would indicate in a friendly sort of way his view of Reform to the Government of the day, and this is what Sir Robert Peel said in answer—

> "My fixed determination is to keep myself wholly unfettered in regard to any measure of Reform brought forward by the Government, and to decline all communication, direct or indirect, with the Government of the day."

I think that Sir Robert Peel expressed in this sentence tersely and well the true Constitutional position which Leaders of the Opposition should assume towards the Government of the day. The Government have deliberately, persistently, and for their own purposes, tried to divorce franchise from redistribution. They maintain that position; and, so long as they maintain it, it will be impossible for us to communicate, publicly or privately, with them on the subject of redistribution of seats. When the Government show a disposition to qualify that position the whole condition of affairs will be immediately changed. But, after the speeches which we heard last night, I agree with the right hon. Gentleman the Member for Ripon we must reconcile ourselves as best we can to the impending strife of tongues which is apparently before us, and we must do in our respective spheres the best we can to maintain and promote those principles which, on one side of the House or the other, we have been sent here to maintain. For myself, I can only say that every debate which has taken place on this subject, every meeting which I have had the opportunity of attending—nay, that even the general result of the descent by the Prime Minister and his Colleagues into the streets during the autumn, have, in my opinion, confirmed the wisdom, the prudence, and the patriotism of the course which the Constitutional Party in both Houses of Parliament and in the country have adopted and maintained. That being the state of the case as it presents itself to our minds, we shall, when the Question is put, say "No" to the third reading of the Bill, animated by the conviction that in so doing we shall be simply discharging our plain and bounden duty to the constituencies, the country, and the Constitution.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I do not rise for the purpose of endeavouring to answer the speech of the noble Lord (Lord John Manners) in the spirit in which it has been conceived and delivered. On the contrary, I shall endeavour to reply to it in a tone as far removed from his as I can possibly make it; for what, Sir, is the speech that we have heard from the noble Lord? It is a speech which introduced with great ability every combative element and consideration into this debate which could tend to render it impossible that anything but a great Constitutional crisis should ensue. To widen a breach, to insure a conflict, to extinguish hopes that might yet remain of reasonable accommodation, I admit there is no man so well qualified as the noble Lord. What is the real upshot of the speech which we have just heard? It is to convey to the mind of the House that it is idle to think of aiming at any union of minds and spirits in the settlement of this great question, and that an accommodation is impossible; and, as if that were not enough, every word of that speech has been directly addressed to the purpose of rendering accommodation impossible. Now, I shall not deal with the parts of the speech of the noble Lord which may properly be called combative, for there is something more important at issue to-night than drawing cheers from those who sit upon the Benches of this House. There are greater issues even than the Motion which you, Sir, have proposed from the Chair, and the thought which weighs and presses upon my mind is, who is to be responsible for events that may possibly happen? So far, Sir, as I am concerned, and I think I may say so far as my Colleagues are concerned, we do not covet any share in that responsibility; and my duty, therefore, is to avoid all topics which, if I were to handle, I could only handle, or might be tempted to handle, in the spirit and the manner of the noble Lord. I come, then, to those portions of his speech which refer to the course of actual events, and I wish to see how far the noble Lord has made good his main contentions in those portions of his speech. He said that there had been a change in the tone and temper of the House since Thursday and Friday last, and he regretted that he could not replace himself in the frame of mind in which he was upon those days.

Lord JOHN MANNERS: The right hon. Gentleman has entirely misunderstood what I said, which was, that I could not put myself back into that frame of mind because I had never come out of it.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am sorry to say that I am afraid I have an additional cause for regret, because I did hope until I heard that explanation of the noble Lord—which, nevertheless, I must thank him for—I did hope that on Friday last he had for once been in a pacific frame of mind, and that the passing state had been so short-lived. Then I will not refer to what the noble Lord has told me of his frame of mind on Friday last. I can only condole with him on many subjects of misgiving and pain which that evening, I am afraid, suggested to him, and very much regret that he is still so faithful to ideas of a different order. But the noble Lord says there was a change of tone in the speeches made last night, but that change of tone never began till after the speech of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman (Colonel Stanley) in moving his Amendment. Was the noble Lord in his place last night? Did he hear the speech of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther)? Is he not aware that in that speech, proceeding from the right hon. Gentleman who sits in common cause and common council with the other Gentlemen on that Bench, the change of tone to which we refer was more conspicuous — if I may say so, more violent—than in any speech which followed? What does the noble Lord mean, then, when he says that this change of tone began with speeches from the Treasury Bench? Why, Sir, the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) not only gave no indications agreeable to the general tone of his speeches in this House, but he actually undertook upon his own responsibility to efface and destroy the effect of the remarkable declaration that had been made by the right hon. Gentleman (Sir R. Assheton Cross) now sitting near him, on the subject of proceeding in this matter by Resolution; and the right hon. Gentleman, whose presence would have been invaluable on that occasion, was, either inconveniently or otherwise, absent from the House——

Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS was understood to say that he had been present.

Mr. GLADSTONE: The right hon. Gentleman was not in the House. His absence was referred to at the time. He was not present in the body. He was not visible to our eyes. I shall have more to say on the subject of that declaration to which I have referred. The noble Lord, declaring that this change of tone proceeded from the Treasury Bench, has carefully avoided all verification of his assertion. He has not referred to a single statement, a single phrase, that was used from this Bench. He has conveniently overlooked the fact that more than once in the course of my remarks, while lamenting the change of tone that had been perceptible, I stated that, with regard to the conciliatory expressions that had been used, neither I nor my Colleagues receded from one syllable of them. And it is after that that the noble Lord puts out of view the speech of his own Friend and Colleague, and tells me that the change of tone was in speeches from the Treasury Bench. I do not deal, like the noble Lord, in those general accusations which are so easy to throw out against opponents, because, from their general character, they do not admit of confutation by reference to particulars. But the whole purpose of my speech last night was to point out—and to point out with deep regret—the change of tone which had taken place in the speeches and in the sentiments of hon. Gentlemen opposite. The noble Lord has, no doubt, gone carefully over the debate of yesterday, and has found himself unable to cite from my own declarations, or any declarations on this side of the House, any one proposition indicating this change of tone. [An hon. MEMBER: Friday night.] Well, I shall go back to Friday night, and to our position as taken on Friday night. The noble Lord says that it is impossible that there can be any communications, publicly or privately, between the leading Members of different Parties on this subject. Did the noble Lord make that declaration for himself? I am afraid not. The noble Lord is well able to enter into the debates of this House without any premeditation; but the speech he has made to-night bears, unhappily, too many marks of premeditation, especially considering that a very large part of it consisted in the treatment in detail of the substance of yesterday's debate. The speech of the noble Lord, therefore, does not permit me to believe that the main propositions he has delivered are the offspring of the thought of the moment alone. He lays down that there can be no communications on the subject, publicly or privately, between the leading Members of Parties. He refers to the case of Sir Robert Peel. I am glad to hear the example of Sir Robert Peel quoted in this matter from those Benches. But the misfortune is that when they quote it they totally misunderstand and misapply it. The noble Lord is now citing Sir Robert Peel as his example and justification on this subject of Parliamentary Reform, especially of redistribution; and Sir Robert Peel did decline those communications. But why? He declined them because he was opposed to Parliamentary Reform. He declined them because he was determined to be responsible for no plan of Parliamentary Reform. May I refer to the consequences of his declining them? Are those consequences so very satisfactory and so very inviting to the noble Lord? What happened in consequence? The passing of the Reform Act and the utter humiliation of the House of Lords. That was the unfortunate consequence of the course Sir Robert Peel took on that occasion; but his course was honourable, manly, and consistent. Being opposed to Reform, being determined to be responsible for no measure of Reform, and seeing that he could not disarm that question of what he thought its danger, he naturally and properly said—"I will have no communications; but will reserve my own absolute freedom on a subject of that nature." Is that example applicable to the noble Lord? Does the noble Lord love Reform as much as we do? Is he anxious beyond anything for the redistribution of seats, that even the double-distilled poison of the Franchise Bill may be diluted possibly by virtue of a Redistribution Bill, and embrace that also? To make the reference applicable, Sir Robert Peel ought to have been saying—"I agree with you in your objects, I am as ready as you are to pass a Reform Bill, I wish to consider in a fair and candid spirit every object which I conceive to be of doubtful advantage, but I will hold no communications with you." If the noble Lord could have cited Sir Robert Peel as saying that, I admit his citation would have been in point; but instead of that he has only shown how entirely out of application is the language which he held. It is necessary, in resorting to that kind of argument, to make use of liberal exaggeration. How did the noble Lord treat the point when he came to say that we had invited the expression of opinion? He said—"Has everybody given his opinion to the Government? Has the right hon. Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) given his opinion to the Government? Have the Gentlemen on this Bench, have the Gentlemen on that Bench? Have you gone round the House to every section and demanded this expression of opinion?" The noble Lord pays me sufficient respect not to pay the slightest regard to the declarations made by me on the part of the Government. I have declared, in the most explicit terms, that, so far as the great majority of the House is concerned, we were at one with them—that we felt perfectly confident as to the principles of the measure of redistribution, that it will meet their cheerful approval and assent. There is no question of referring to my right hon. Friend, or to any Gentleman connected with the majority of the House, upon the subject of the franchise and redistribution. But we did undoubtedly invite communications from hon. Gentlemen opposite, and that appears in the view of the noble Lord a great offence, and he repudiates it altogether, and says—"It is impossible to have these communications, publicly or privately." If that be so, recollect how we stand. Our own course is this—to pass the Franchise Bill, and then be secure of a fair unobstructive treatment of the Redistribution Bill. That is our plan of proceedings. But of that plan you complain, and make use of the power which by sympathy you enjoy "elsewhere." I do not say you threaten—you give warning—that the controversy shall continue, and you are ready to risk the consequences. Well, Sir, under these circumstances, what we have sought is to consider whether we could depart from our own plan and meet your views, and instead of seeking to give effect to our own political principles and desires we are asking for communication of your ideas. That is our actually pacific intention, and for that pacific intention the language of denunciation has been liberally bestowed upon us by the noble Lord. But the question, after all, is, Where lay the change of tone that has unfortunately cropped up? What happened on Friday night of a material character, and how far have the material occurrences of that night been altered? The first thing that happened on Friday night that was material was the speech of the late Secretary of State for the Home Department (Sir R. Assheton Cross). The late Home Secretary did not hold this language at all, of the impropriety and impossibility of communications between Parties with a view to an agreement. If I understood the general spirit of that speech, on the contrary, it was an encouragement to free communication. I do not presume to dwell upon the interpretation of the speech, but I do recollect one portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman, and it does not rest in my memory alone, because it was specifically noticed by my right hon. Friend the President of the Local Government Board, who followed him in the debate. When the right hon. Gentleman had expressed his desire that an accommodation should be arrived at, and his belief that it might easily be arrived at, he went on to say—I think he said very modestly—that it was not for him to determine on the form of proceeding; but it might be by Bill or it might be by Resolutions, and the choice between them was a question on which he did not think it his duty to enter. Well, Sir, that was a most conciliatory declaration on the part of the right hon. Gentleman. It was noticed as such by my right hon. Friend on the part of the Government. But what happened last night? Why, in the absence of the right hon. Gentleman, the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther) took into his own hands the entire responsibility for the late Home Secretary, just as if the late Home Secretary had been his ward, and the right hon. Member his guardian. What did these words mean, or, rather, did they mean anything at all? What between possible defects of statement and total defect of apprehension and understanding on the other side, they were words which might never have been spoken at all. But if the authority of the right hon. Member for North Lincolnshire is open to some question—although, from the seat he occupies and the tone he generally assumes in this House, I do not see how it can be questioned—we have the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote). How did he endeavour to get rid of this reference to "Resolution?" By saying that it was an *obiter dictum*, and that an *obiter dictum* —he could not very well say it was equal to nothing at all, but he brought it as nearly as possible to *obiter dictum.* I apprehend that *obiter dictum* is essentially and by the very meaning of the phrase something that has nothing to do with the issue that is directly before you. But this had to do—it was an essential part of the issue before us. It was a question as to the mode in which this desire for accommodation was to be brought about upon which the right hon. Gentleman gave his *obiter dictum.* It was a judicial utterance directly pertaining to the mode of dealing with this great issue between us, proceeding from Gentlemen in authority, and couched in such a manner that we had a right to treat it as a serious declaration, an important declaration coming from a very weighty and leading Member of the Party, and distinctly conceived in the interests of peace. Was there no change of tone in the speeches of hon. Gentlemen opposite when this most important and conciliatory declaration was described and accentuated by the Leader of the

Party as *obiter dictum?* But that was not the only point. No complaint had been made, as far as I remember, from this Bench of the insufficiency of the declarations from the opposite Bench or from the Leaders of the opposite Party with regard to the principles of redistribution. I am not aware that such complaint was made—certainly not by myself, and certainly not by either of those two Colleagues I see beside me (the Marquess of Hartington and Sir Charles W. Dilke) who took part in the debate. But what I did presume to observe was, that the declarations of the minority of the House were in contradiction with one another upon this subject; and when I said that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon called across the House "How?" I then pointed out that he himself had given an encouraging and sympathetic response to an invitation of my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen) in favour of a particular form for the measure of redistribution—a most encouraging and sympathetic response; but that form was initiatory, and if there had been a disposition to peace it would have been so recognized and so treated. My right hon. Friend referred to a Bill which, in giving great scope to the principle of population, was to have that principle limited and its application varied by the introduction of a number of other elements. I said that was one form and one possible idea of a Redistribution Bill. But we also had another declaration from the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock (Lord Randolph Churchill), and that declaration, in apparent coincidence both with previous declarations of his own elsewhere and of declarations made by Lord Salisbury, on the contrary, pointed, not to varied and diversified construction, but to the application of the principle of population only, qualified to a certain extent, as far as the noble Lord was concerned, by a division of rural and urban constituencies and pursuits. Then, when the right hon. Gentleman asked "How?" I said—"We are anxious to know the general tone and tendency of your views; but they have been laid before us in terms which are contradictory and incompatible." I endeavoured—as the right hon. Gentleman had asked me—to explain my meaning. I endeavoured to get at the meaning of the right hon. Gentleman, and asked him whether he adopted the declarations of the noble Lord the Member for Woodstock as to the scheme of redistribution? But the right hon. Gentleman maintained a persistent silence. I again challenged the right hon. Gentleman to reconcile these indications, both of them rather authoritative and both given us from the Opposition. I said they appeared to me to be contradictory, and I requested him to reconcile them and show what their real meaning was. The right hon. Gentleman deliberately avoided any attempt to reconcile, and he resorted to what I must call a mere Parliamentary shift—well known in Parliamentary warfare—that of saying that I had asked him to lay a Bill, forsooth, before us. I had asked nothing of the kind. I had not stated that either the one declaration or the other was insufficient, but I had stated that the declarations were incompatible. The right hon. Gentleman knew that they were incompatible, and, therefore, he would not, or at least he did not, attempt to reconcile them when he had the opportunity afforded him and almost forced upon him. This is the change of tone that has taken place. We can get nothing in the sense of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for South-West Lancashire; but I hope, if he speaks to-night, he will speak in his own sense and not in that of somebody else. We can get nothing to give unity or intelligibility to the two very different utterances which have taken place on the subject of redistribution. That is the change of tone that has taken place. We are not a whit less desirous than we were on Friday, or any other day, of making use of any opening that is afforded us. Is it improper to hold language of this kind? No doubt, as the right hon. Gentleman knew, when we were dealing with the Franchise Bill the Members of the Opposition were sufficiently free in reproaching us with our vigour and severity in refusing Amendments. We stood on a question of principle. We knew that the differences between them and us on the franchise were very wide, and the noble Lord's (Lord John Manner's) speech is the last evidence we have had how wide and how deep they are. We knew that on the Franchise Bill we could have no communications of that kind; but I say that where you have no reason to know that there is a difference of principle, where you are desirous upon a measure of complex structure to put the House, if you can, in the way of an easy and effectual solution, there is nothing more perfectly warrantable, there is nothing more honourable than an open invitation given to Gentlemen in this House to afford those indications which might enable us to judge whether, by some deviation from the rules and provisions we are ourselves ready to adopt, we can procure that harmony which is admitted to be so desirable, and on the attainment of which we are averting a serious crisis. Now, I hope I have shown that the change of tone of which I have spoken has not proceeded from this side of the House; and the noble Lord, notwithstanding the loud and imposing tone of his speech, has not cited one word in order to sustain his very broad and perfectly gratuitous allegations. I think, on my side, I have pointed out the changed tone. I have pointed out the difference between the reference to the Resolutions on Friday, and the speeches of the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire, and the doctrine of *obiter dictum* from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon, and I have pointed out that the object in view of declaring the difference which we see in the two schemes of redistribution, or the two tendencies of redistribution that have been declared, was not polemical. The object was to procure some reconciliation of those schemes, so that when that reconciliation had been effected we might have given full force and effect to it in determining our own proceedings. It is all very well to say —"Produce your Redistribution Bill; it shall have a fair trial." Well, I suppose you think you gave the Franchise Bill a fair trial last Session. It had! The Franchise Bill, with its simplicity of enactments and 25 nights of debate, the noble Lord says, had a fair trial. I am not making it a matter of reproach; I am endeavouring to get at the facts, and it is that kind of reception they gave to the Franchise Bill that they are now so kind as to promise to the Redistribution Bill. I am not aware that we have anything to qualify or anything to retract in the debates last week, or in the debate of this week. I have not now said a word averse to accommodation. I have explained and justified the fact that it is honourable, Parliamentary, within our history and our precedents, and within the dictates of reason, when you have no right to charge upon your opponents a vital difference of principle, to invite communications with a view to a more easy and effectual agreement. I will invite them again, in spite of what the noble Lord has said. If they fail they shall not fail through our fault. If we are not to have peace, at any rate we will leave behind us some record that we sought peace—and we esteem that record of having sought peace, with a view to the general interests of the country, much more highly than the boasts of our own consistency, or appeals to the heated sentiments of political controversy.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: I should not have interfered in the debate to-night had it not been that my former speech has been alluded to by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. I cannot help thinking he has somewhat forgotten what took place last Session, because he has taunted my noble Friend (Lord John Manners) with saying that he thought the Franchise Bill last Session was fairly and properly discussed.

MR. GLADSTONE: What I said was in answer to the noble Lord.

SIR R. ASSHETON CROSS: The right hon. Gentleman seemed to have entirely forgotten one of the many causes why those debates on the Franchise Bill were so long as they were. It was because of the positive refusal of the Government to accept the Amendment of my noble Friend—namely, that these two Bills should be taken together. If the Government had assented to that principle, in one form or another—that one Bill should have been accompanied by the other—none of those debates would have taken place on the Amendment of the noble Lord or on the Amendment of my right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley) in Committee. I listened to the speeches of last night with the greatest pain. When I left the House I said to myself I cannot imagine how it is that the tone, manner, and spirit of the Prime Minister, and of the occupants of the Treasury Bench on Thursday evening, were so entirely changed. Everyone remembers the conciliatory tone and manner of the Prime Minister on Thursday. I felt bound myself to take notice of it, and I believe the House joined with me in the expression of that opinion. At the same time, I could not help giving a warning to the House that whatever the tone and the manner of that speech might be, I was quite sure that not simply the House, but the whole country, would be much disappointed with the matter of that speech. The whole contention of the speech that I made in that debate was this. I said it was quite true that the majority of the House of Commons had passed this Franchise Bill alone; but there were many ways in which the will and feeling of the majority of the House might be intimated beyond that of the giving of actual votes. The vote simply expressed the feeling of the majority on the vital principle of the Bill itself, about which we are all agreed, because the principle is accepted by both sides. But so far as the mode of procedure went, I said that the vote was in favour of the procedure simply because it had been proposed by the Prime Minister, and there were other points upon which the will of the majority could be gathered quite irrespective of that vote. There were two points on which I thought the majority of the House had made up their minds—namely, that, if possible, this should not be a barren Session, and that there should not be a General Election after the passing of the Franchise Bill and before the passing of a Redistribution Bill. I said it was a matter of principle with us that we would not, as far as we could avoid it, run the risk of an Election upon the Franchise Bill, unless it were accompanied by a Redistribution Bill. Someone below the Gangway said "Followed by;" but I adhered to the phrase "Accompanied by." This is the principle we laid down and upheld throughout the country at the first, and which we shall uphold to the last. That being so, I had not the remotest notion but that, when we came to discuss in what way we were to avert the undesired result, it must rest with the Government to proceed with the Redistribution Bill on their own authority, and not on ours. It is quite true, I believe, that I said it would be the same whether the procedure were by Resolution or by Bill; but what I was endeavouring to urge was, that any step to be taken must be taken on the authority and the responsibility of the Government alone. I understand that my right hon. Friend (Mr. J. Lowther) afterwards said that neither Resolution nor Bill would be satisfactory, that what we wanted was a definite legislative measure, and that was what was in my mind. Of course it was. Why, my whole argument was founded upon that. It was that the Government, on their own responsibility, must bring in a Bill, and that the two must be passed, I did not say simultaneously, but I said conterminously. We were to insure the one thing, that there was to be no Election under one measure without the other. If the Government take hold of an isolated part of that speech, they remind one of a drowning man catching at a straw. If I had thought that the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Local Government Board had meant anything more than a passing allusion to that speech, I should have got up at the moment. The matter lies in a nutshell. Does the Government intend in any form or shape to meet us on that point? This is all we want to know. That we have no wish to delay the passing of this Bill is evident from what passed on the second reading and in Committee. We have given you every guarantee of our good faith we can. We tell you that if you bring forward a Redistribution Bill for the purpose of passing it, provided it is not intentionally so drawn as to give advantage to one Party as against the other, it will meet with a fair, a full, and a candid discussion, and we shall do all we can to pass it. Our desire is that both Bills shall be passed by the same Parliament. What more can we say? We say we are able to carry out the pledge we have given, and as a matter of good faith we shall be bound in honour to do so. There is no intention to oppose the Franchise Bill, and we will do all in our power to pass a Redistribution Bill. We will give you credit for all your good intentions; but you are not masters of the situation. You cannot insure the fulfilment of your pledge, because events at home or abroad may lead to an adverse vote of this House, which may render it impossible for you to fulfil your pledge. That being so, there was a great change in the tone and manner of the speeches from the Treasury Bench. From beginning to end the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Secretary of State for the Home Department was one of defiance. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: Quote what I said.] I cannot do so at once, and the right hon. Gentleman would not wish me to read the whole speech. As is usual when the right hon. Gentleman throws himself with vigour into debate, the speech was bellicose in matter and tone, and it did not in any sentence hold out the slightest hope that the Government would meet us in any way. He ended by putting the matter in the clearest possible light, when he said that the question was whether a majority of this House was to be overriden by a majority of the House of Lords. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: I did not say so.] Well, the close of the speech practically came to that; and if he did not intend to say I hope he will withdraw his words. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister seems still anxious to say he has been anxious that some arrangement should be made. Any arrangement to be made on a matter so vitally affecting the interests of the people must be made across the floor of this House. Nor is it possible for us to say what Motion or Resolution we should like to have brought forward. They must be brought forward on the responsibility of the Government of the day. Two things, to my mind, are absolutely clear. When the Government brought forward their Franchise Bill they had not made up their minds about the provisions of the Redistribution Bill. And now they have not made them up still. They know perfectly well, whatever the opinions of right hon. Gentlemen on this side may be, on that side there is the greatest possible difference of opinion, and they do not know how to draw a Redistribution Bill in order to catch most votes on that side of the House. They want to find out what the majority wants in order to draw up a Bill. I will defy any right hon. Gentleman on the Treasury Bench to get up and say—"We have a Redistribution Bill drawn." If you have, we are entitled to say—"Produce it." It must be produced some time in the course of these debates. I sincerely hope the time is not yet past when we may be told that the moment this Bill has passed this House, trusting to the good faith of what we have said as to the way the matter is to be discussed, we may be favoured, at all events, with a satisfactory utterance from the Government on this question, in order that, if possible, both those Bills may become law at the same time during the present Parliament.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I rise not to prolong this debate, but to offer some explanation with regard to the extraordinary representations made by the right hon. Gentleman who has just sat down of my speech of yesterday. I should not have complained if the right hon. Gentleman had thought my speech unworthy of his attention. But he ought not to have professed to have quoted a statement which it contained unless he was quite sure of its accuracy. The right hon. Gentleman has composed a very admirable sentence for me, and I am not sure that I differ from the sentiment of it, and if the right hon. Gentleman will lend me the sentence I will be very happy to see if I cannot use it on some other occasion. But that was not the sentence I made use of last evening. What I did say last night was, that the Amendment of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman opposite (Colonel Stanley) was a proposal that the Franchise Bill should be made dependent upon the passing of a Redistribution Bill which should be satisfactory to the majority of the House of Lords. That very plain and simple proposition is quite true, and cannot be disputed. I was observing upon the proposals which had been made on both sides of the House to see whether we could not come to some arrangement as to the Redistribution Bill. I pointed out that it was in vain to expect that we should come to that arrangement here, when it was possible that the House of Lords would take a different view from that taken in this House on that question, and that, after it was settled by accommodation between the two Parties in this House, the House of Lords might throw it over, and then the Franchise would go with it. That, I said, was a proposition which we could not assent to, because, whatever terms we might come to here, if the Franchise Bill were made dependent upon the Redistribution Bill, the final decision of the House of Lords on the Redistribution Bill would determine the fate of the Franchise Bill. That seemed to me not at all a defiant argument, but a reasonable argument, and an argument founded on the facts of the case, and I desire to make that explanation, as I should be extremely anxious not to be thought—by anything I have said or done—to throw any obstacle in the way of accommodation on this question, which I desire as much as anybody.

Mr. RITCHIE said, he was one of those who desired most sincerely that this question should be settled. He did not think, indeed, that anyone could view with a light heart a continuance of this agitation throughout the country. The working classes would have to face with the coming winter a state of commercial depression, and they would probably be called upon to undergo considerable privation. The manufacturers and traders had already felt the depression keenly; but the distress had not yet reached the artizan class. He would be very glad indeed, for his own part, to see this burning question removed out of the way, so that the artizan and trading members of the community might be the better able to devote themselves to the amelioration of their material condition. The change which had undoubtedly taken place in the aspects of this matter since Friday last he looked upon with something like dismay. He had certainly believed that the result of the discussion on Thursday and Friday last was a distinct and definite approach to a settlement of the question; and he had perused with no little apprehension the speech which had been made on the previous day by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire (Mr. J. Lowther). He understood the term "compromise" to mean that something was to be given up by both Parties. But if he understood it rightly, the speech of the right hon. Gentleman demanded that the Opposition should give nothing, and the Government should give everything. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Lincolnshire declared that nothing would be satisfactory to him but the production of a Redistribution Bill, and its passage into an Act of Parliament, before the Franchise Bill was passed. That was the position which the Conservative Party and the House of Lords took up, and which they were entitled to take up, and he thought the whole argument was in favour of that position. But recognizing, as he did, the extreme importance of a settlement of the question, and that if a settlement were to be arrived at it was impossible for the Opposition to give up all they desired, he could not help feeling that it was also perfectly impossible for the Government, after the statements they had made, and the support they had received, to yield all that was demanded of them, by allowing the Franchise Bill to stand over until the other Bill had become law. But surely there was something besides that which would reasonably satisfy both Parties. They were not children, but men of business, and if they were agreed upon so much, was it not possible to agree on the rest, and would it not be a disgrace to that Party which stood in the way of a settlement? All Parties were agreed that the franchise ought to be extended to the counties, and that it should be done quickly, and that without a Redistribution Bill that could not be satisfactorily accomplished; and being agreed on those two fundamental principles, could they not go a little further, and come to some settlement of the remaining portion of the question? No doubt, there were Members who desired to humiliate one Party or the other; but such were not worthy of the name of statesmen. It ought not to be the desire of either Party to humiliate the other. If the House of Lords were to surrender at discretion, without some tangible security for the passing of a Redistribution Bill, they would be so humiliated in the eyes of the people as to render them in the future perfectly unable to carry out their part in the Constitution of the country. They would, perhaps, still drag on an ignoble existence, neither good for themselves nor beneficial to the country. Rather than be a Member of that House under such circumstances, he should welcome some reform which would give him some power in the Constitution, and make him a useful member of the great legislative machine of the country. Those who expected the House of Lords absolutely to surrender their position were asking what they had no right to ask. But was there not a middle way? [Mr. Warton: None.] His hon. and learned Friend said "None;" but he ventured to assert that the people of this country would think it a very extraordinary thing if no middle way were to be found. The Government had let fall something of what they intended in the way of redistribution, and he had not heard that what they intended had been considered unreasonable by the Conservative Party. But as they had gone so far, why would they not lay on the Table, after the Franchise Bill had left the House, the scheme which they had indicated? He honestly believed that if the Redistribution Bill were framed in a spirit of fairness on some general principle which should be acceptable to all reasonable men, it would receive the assent of the House of Commons and be passed into law. But the refusal of the Government to do that gave a colour to the accusations made against them. Surely if the Franchise Bill would be, as they said, in jeopardy if they produced a Redistribution Bill, it would be in greater jeopardy if they did not. It was because he felt most earnestly the desirableness, not for the sake of one Party or the other, but for the sake of the country, of settling this matter, that he implored the Government to meet this question in the only way in which he thought it could be met—namely, by producing their Redistribution Bill. He did not ask for a promise that the Government would push the Bill forward and pass it into law as soon as the Franchise Bill passed into law; he did not even say that there should be any compact as between one side or the other; he only said—"Let the Government produce the Bill and throw upon the Opposition the responsibiiity of dealing with it and the Franchise Bill, after that Bill is produced." If there be a failure, and if the Redistribution Bill be a fair one, on the Conservative Party would rest the responsibility, and it would be for them to defend the position which they had taken up. He could not conceive of a reason, when they were agreed upon so much, why they could not agree upon what remained. It would be a shame and a scandal to the Party, whether the Opposition or the Government, which stood in the way of a settlement of this question, when they had already agreed upon so much.

MR. NEWDEGATE said, that while he could not go so far in retreat as the hon. Member who had just spoken (Mr. Ritchie), yet he could say this, on the part of Warwickshire, the Northern Division of which county he had now for 41 years represented, that the feeling of Warwickshire was that she would not submit to be governed by half a Parliament. North Warwickshire, nay, the whole of Warwickshire, he believed, insisted that all attempts to ignore the House of Lords, as an Estate of the Realm, should be energetically resisted. Nay, he would go so far as to declare that, if he knew the county at all, she would not accept any Act of Parliament, without using perpetual endeavours to get that Act altered or repealed, if she suspected that it had been passed by half a Parliament. In fact, the county would not regard any such Act as a legitimate Statute. ["Oh, oh!"] He (Mr. Newdegate) hoped that he had expressed that opinion with sufficient plainness. He was thoroughly convinced that such was, and would be, the determination of the county, in the representation of which he had so long shared, and that, pass what Act the majority of that House might, unless it had the full sanction of both Houses of Parliament, it would never be accepted as legitimate in the county which he had the honour to represent. Warwickshire included Birmingham, and Birmingham had often shown that it had a will of its own; and if it had any suspicion that what was termed a Statute had been passed in bad faith, he (Mr. Newdegate) had little doubt but that Birmingham knew how to practice agitation for the amendment or repeal of any such misbegotten measure. He (Mr. Newdegate) supposed that it must be accepted as a strong probability that the county franchise would have to be lowered to the level of the borough franchise created in 1867. That appeared just now to be the will of the country. The question might be asked, what had the Conservative Party to complain of? Why were they to complain of that, as the authors of the Reform Act of 1867. At the opening of these discussions in the late Session, the right hon. Gentleman at the head of the Government held up to the view of the House the example of the United States. Why, then, did the right hon. Gentleman not follow the example of the United States? What were they doing in America? Were they recommending the Lower House of Congress to set itself in opposition to the Upper House? Had they been endeavouring to supersede their Senate? Were they endeavouring unduly to exaggerate the administrative power of the President of the day? On the contrary, they were doing exactly the reverse of all that in the course they were adopting. Their determination was to strengthen the Senate; to strengthen the Supreme Court, and to control the President. The Conservative Party might well believe that the Americans were not ashamed of their origin; and might well admire the courage of the Americans in endeavouring to follow the former example of England in these respects. He might be taunted, he and other hon. Members who admired the conduct of the people of the United States, because they sat here in a minority of that House. But it must be admitted that, by the Rules of the House, a considerable minority could render the legislative action of a majority impossible in attempting a large measure of Reform without a Dissolution. Why, then, did not the Liberal Party accept their legitimate position? The right hon. Gentleman the First Lord of the Treasury referred in his introductory speech for Reform to the United States, and then sketched out a scheme for a Redistribution Bill at the commencement of these discussions in the late Session; he evidently felt the necessity for doing so. But did he not warn the House that he could not answer for his Colleagues. He (Mr. Newdegate) had a right to put this question to the right hon. Gentleman—"Is it because you cannot agree with your Colleagues now, that you shrink from producing your Redistribution Bill? Are you about to plunge the country into the difficulty which you know must ensue if you pass the Franchise Bill, and then, before a Redistribution, force a Dissolution?" What would be the nature of such an appeal to the country? It would not be a regular Parliamentary appeal; it would be more in the nature of an appeal through a Convention. This country had had Conventions. We had a Convention in the year 1660, another in 1689; but these constituted revolutionary action. And why should the right hon. Gentleman and his Colleagues drive those, who represented the stable and peaceful elements of this country, even to consider such an alternative in defence of the freedom they valued? Did the right hon. Gentleman think that they were incapable of any such action—with their Irish neighbours sitting beside them on those Benches, ready to join them, for aught he knew? The right hon. Gentleman was conscious that this possibility might arise from the action of his Administration. It was evident that they were prepared to make concessions to violence, nay, even for the purpose of avoiding the opposition from his (Mr. Newdegate's) neighbours on the left. Did the right hon. Gentleman think that these exemplars of his conduct were wasted upon hon. Members who sat upon the Opposition Benches? The right hon. Gentleman proposed to increase the representation of Ireland and of Scotland; did he think that Englishmen were blind? All the Opposition asked was, that the right hon. Gentleman should abide by Constitutional practice; that he should discourage all attempts to ignore the House of Lords as an Estate of the Realm; and that he should not shrink from the responsibility which was attached to his position, by refusing to give legitimate effect to the principles which he had introduced, and which the Bill before the House involved. The Opposition demanded nothing that was unreasonable; and he warned the right hon. Gentleman that by attempting dealings or negotiations across the Table of the House with the Leaders of the Opposition, he would rouse the English suspicion, would excite a temper among the majority of the people of this country such as had already been displayed in the firm attitude of the county which he (Mr. Newdegate) had the honour to represent. In Warwickshire, they had not yet forgotten what happened in 1867 respecting the suburb of Aston, near Birmingham. A late Speaker of that House (Lord Eversley), now in the House of Lords, was the Chairman of a Royal Commission which recommended that two additional Members should be given to Birmingham, and that Aston should be included in the borough. That proposal was laid before the House by the then Government which was in a minority, and was abandoned during the miserable proceeding of a minority struggling to pass a Reform Act. The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister of today had majority enough at his command; that was not the case with the late Lord Beaconsfield, when, owing to the exigencies of the Leadership of a Government in a minority, he was obliged to hand over the Report of the Commission, to which he (Mr. Newdegate) had referred, to a Committee of the House, who grossly mismanaged the matter. The right hon. Gentleman now at the head of the Government had no such excuse. He was supported by a large majority in the House, and had the consent of the other House of Parliament to proceed with a measure for the extension of the franchise. But the people of England felt that they had a right to expect from him this much—that if he had framed, as it was known that he had framed in his own mind, a scheme for redistribution of seats, he should insist upon the acceptance of that scheme, or of some other, by his own Colleagues. That he should conform to Parliamentry practice by presenting a scheme for redistribution to the House and the country on his own responsibility, according to acknowledged Parliamentary practice. There was nothing to prevent any communication the Prime Minister might be pleased to make in private to the Conservative Leader in the House of Lords, or to the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. But the people of England had a right to insist upon this—that the Minister who undertook the responsibility of passing a Bill for the reform of Parliament, which was almost revolutionary, should not shrink from his responsibility, or from completing his task, and that in completing his task he should give them—the people—a fair opportunity of examining the whole Bill, or the whole Bills, through their Representatives, before any measure of Reform was enacted, as complete, into a law.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he thought the country would be somewhat perplexed at the change of front which had taken place on the other side of the House since Friday. He wished to express his admiration of the spirit which the Prime Minister had shown that night, and which all through those discussions had animated him and his Colleagues, and he hoped that in even the unpromising situation in which the matter now stood that disposition would still continue to be manifested by the Prime Minister when the Bill went to "another place." He confessed that the disposition shown by the Government in meeting the views of the Conservative Party had gone much further than many independent Members on his side of the House could reconcile with their views. The great majority of Members in his section of the House had agreed to abate a great deal of what they regarded as due to the majority in the country, both in the Bill before the House and in the measure which must subsequently be dealt with. He ventured to hope that the Prime Minister and his Colleagues in "another place" would do nothing which could in any degree abate from the approbation, which the country would express by an overwhelming majority, of the fact that they had done everything which honourable men could do to settle a great Constitutional question. His object in rising was to make it known on behalf of many Members who sat below the Gangway, and a great number of people out-of-doors, that if, after all the efforts that had been made at conciliation, a struggle of a wider and more serious character should be entered upon, they, at any rate, were free from any binding obligation, either as to the character of this Bill or as to the scheme of redistribution. He admitted it would have been better for all Parties in the State if, even at some sarifice, this question had been settled for a long time to come; but he feared that the country would say that far greater changes must be made if this Constitutional struggle was not now terminated; and, for his own part, he should look forward to the turmoil and trouble that were before them with the conviction that he was justified in going thoroughly with those who demanded more extensive changes than had now been recognized as necessary by the Government. It was impossible that the people of this country should excuse their Representatives if they were to permit the rights of the representative system to be trifled with over and over again. If the discussions of last Session, the manifestation of public opinion in the Recess, and the recent majority of 140 in that House were of no avail, then he said that nothing short of a radical change in the relationship of the House of Lords with the Government of this country would satisfy the people. He unhesitatingly said that there would be ample compensation in the coming struggle for those who had been put through the ordeal which the great majority of that

House had submitted to, by the ultimate and not distant results which would follow.

Mr. STUART-WORTLEY (who rose amid some interruption) said, if the House was impatient he had no wish that the debate should be continued. Representing an important constituency, he had not yet had an opportunity of addressing the House during the recent debates of the present Session. He wished to follow the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets (Mr. Ritchie), and to say what he could to show that there were some others on that side who in voting for the Amendment of his right hon. and gallant Friend (Colonel Stanley), and in thus formulating what undoubtedly was their extreme demand, did not mean to be understood as refusing to accept anything short of what was therein demanded. But when they were asked to abandon their demands, why was there no suggestion of yielding something on the other side? Why did the Government refuse to listen to the reasonable and much-lessened demand that the Redistribution Bill should not be submitted to the House further than by being in print and laid upon the Table? There was no excuse why that could not be done, except such excuses as were based on those kinds of insinuations and imputations which were what caused the speech of the Prime Minister to be so singularly deficient in conciliatory character. He could assure the right hon. Gentleman, if he would drop these insinuations and imputations that Conservatives, in their support of the Bill, were not sincere and that in their intentions as regarded the Redistribution Bill they had scarcely masked intentions of no patriotic character, the progress of both the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill would be much easier. These were the only reasons upon which the non-production of the Bill could be defended. It was true there was also the foolish heat with which the Government had always said they would never do anything of the kind. But let them remember these ill-judged declarations were made last Session when time was limited and important, and there might be truth in the statement that to pass a Redistribution Bill in the Session was impossible. But now the case was very different; and so, before the Bill left the House, he wished to address one word of entreaty. Much of the present difficulty arose from the fact that those at the head of the Government persisted in accepting advice from those other Members of the Government who did not wish that any accommodation of the difficulty should take place. Much of the difficulty arose from the fact that the Government treated this question not as statesmen, but as men treated a contest over the card table, in which they tried to outwit each other by arts of concealment and suppresion of mutual intentions. He had seen the astute shake of the head with which the President of the Local Government Board (Sir Charles W. Dilke) invariably met the proposal that the Redistribution Bill should be made known to the public; but he could assure the right hon. Baronet that if there was one thing Englishmen loved, it was the open and fair disclosures of their intentions—one thing they detested, it was suspicion and concealment. He was confident that the declaration of the intentions of the Government with regard to redistribution would materially assist, and not impede, the Franchise Bill. There was no difficulty in the way of negotiation. He wished the Prime Minister would give a single instance in which a Bill had been settled in consultation by both sides of the House, against such a high authority as Sir Robert Peel, whom the right hon. Gentleman sought to demolish that evening. Another difficulty in the way of negotiation was their unfortunate experience in the summer of this year, in which there was a disclosure, for platform purposes, of abortive negotiations, in which they had seen formulated the extraordinary new doctrine that it lay with those who concealed those negotiations to show that they were bound to conceal, not to those who disclosed that they had a right to do so. He would not detain the House further. He hoped the difficulty would still be accommodated; and he believed that by the formal introduction of the Redistribution Bill at this present stage, or some early stage, practically the necessities of the case would be met, and, for his own part, he should be perfectly satisfied.

Mr. MACFARLANE said, that he had heard Ministers ask the Front Opposition Bench what kind of Redistribution Bill would satisfy them. His own belief was that the Redistribution Bill which would satisfy the Front Opposition Bench would be the one which would most neutralize the effect of the Franchise Bill. The extraordinary change which had come over the Opposition since Friday was probably due, to some extent, to the result of one bye-election; but it should be remembered that the hopes that were built a few years ago on the result of the bye-election of Southwark were not afterwards realized. He pointed out that if the majority of the House of Lords were united to the minority in the Commons, there would still be in the Lower House a majority of 90 in favour of the measure.

MR. PARNELL said, after the contests of giants, great and small, to which they had listened, he was very unwilling to withdraw the attention of the House from the subject it had been pursuing, and to stand in the way of the Division which might, perhaps, be expected. The question of which he had given Notice was one of some very considerable importance, and he would respectfully claim the attention of the House and of the Government for a few minutes to its consideration. His Amendment proposed to effect a reduction in the charges which Returning Officers were entitled to make upon candidates where the return was unopposed. It might, perhaps, surprise many Members of the House to learn that no change had been made in the scale of charges which the Returning Officers were empowered by law to make in the case of unopposed and opposed candidates since the Act of 1875; that was to say, nine years had gone by since the attention of Parliament had been directed to this important matter. It consequently happened that Parliament, legislating on this matter nine years ago, had in view the proportion of the then existing constituencies under the franchise, and did not, of course, take into its contemplation the greatly increased proportions which those constituencies would attain to under such a Bill as that which the House was now discussing. Now they were going to admit many persons to the franchise in England and Ireland who were not largely endowed with the goods of this world, and it was possible that in some instances those large masses might desire to be represented by persons without much wealth; and he submitted that if it could be shown—as he thought he could show—that the present charges authorized to be made by the Returning Officers at Parliamentary elections, both opposed and unopposed, would, in the presence of the existence of the new constituencies, become most exorbitant, and impossible for any but rich candidates to pay, he thought that he would then have made out a fair *primâ facie* case for invoking the attention of Parliament to the matter, which at first might appear to be a little outside the scope of the Bill. Now, on referring to the Schedule of the Act of 1875, which governed the charges which could be made by the Returning Officer, he found in some cases, which would be many in England, and which would be somewhat numerous in Ireland, charges were sanctioned by the Returning Officers, in the case of unopposed returns, ranging from £200 to £100. In the case of constituencies whose registered electors would exceed 30,000, £1,000 caution money could be demanded beforehand by the Sheriff from the candidate, and in the event of the election not being contested the Sheriff could retain £200 of this amount; and he would beg of the House to notice that his Amendment, and consequently his argument, would be limited to the excessive amount the Returning Officer was allowed to take in the case of unopposed returns; but, to a considerable extent, a good deal of what he had to say as to the excessive charges in cases of unopposed elections would also apply to opposed elections. In the case of unopposed returns, he would ask what possible justification could there be for giving the Sheriff in any constituency in England, Ireland, or Scotland, £200 for driving from his home, which was usually fairly close to the county town where the election was held, and for superintending the very few legal formalities which were necessary in the case of an unopposed return? He believed that the only expenditure the Returning Officer would necessarily incur in such a case would be the expenditure for a junior barrister to act for one day as his advising counsel, and for that a very small fee would be sufficient. His contention was that the House ought not, in contemplation of its taking a great step towards the enfranchisement of the masses, and in view of the fact that they compelled a candidate, contrary to the practice of most other countries, to pay all the official expenses connected with the election as well as his own, to insist on maintaining a charge which was manifestly not necessary, and to continue a payment to Sheriffs in the case of unopposed returns which it was obvious the Sheriff could not spend. He regretted the subject was not touched by the Act of 1883; but it was not now too late to deal with it before the new franchise came into operation, and he hoped the House would hear from the Government some expression of opinion on the subject. In conclusion, he moved that the Bill be recommitted with the view he had indicated.

Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "now read the third time," and insert the word "re-committed,"—(*Mr. Parnell,*)—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James) said, that this was a subject which deserved to engage the attention of the Government. At present, however, they had to deal with the Amendment as a practical question; and he submitted that this Bill was a Franchise Bill, and that the question of the charges of Returning Officers was not one of franchise. If the Government were now to take up that matter, they would be acting inconsistently with their previous action on this Bill. He would, therefore, appeal to the hon. Member for the City of Cork not to press his Amendment. He hoped by withdrawing it the hon. Gentleman would not be making much sacrifice. He assured him the Amendment he desired to propose would not accomplish everything that was necessary, for it did not propose to deal with certain charges now made by Returning Officers which probably the House would not be willing to continue. He thought that when the constituencies were enlarged there ought to be a revision of the Returning Officers' charges as well as of the deposits. Returning Officers ought not to be allowed to charge too much for professional services. When an opportunity occurred he should be very glad to join with the hon. Gentleman in reconsidering the present law in relation to the existing charges. But the acceptance of the Amendment at the present time would place the Government in such a position that he could not consent to adopt it.

Mr. SEXTON recognized the spirit of the hon. and learned Gentleman's comments. Indeed, it must be apparent to every Member who had listened to his hon. Friend (Mr. Parnell) that the case he made was unanswerable. He had shown that as much as £200 had to be found in some cases. Now, he presumed the House of Commons did not desire to restrict its Membership to persons of any social class. [Mr. Gdadstone: Hear, hear!] The extension of the franchise would necessitate and involve the coming forward of working men as candidates. [Mr. Gladstone: Hear, hear!] How was a working man to put down a sum varying from £100 to £200? The matter was urgent; and they wanted to know what security the Government intended to offer that these charges should be brought to a tolerably reasonable level before the time for the next General Election?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I wish to say that I entirely agree with the view of my hon. and learned Friend. I certainly think that, if possible—I do not see why it should not be possible—the opportunity ought to be taken in the present Parliament to make a just legislative provision on this subject.

Mr. PARNELL said, that, under those circumstances, he would ask leave to withdraw his Amendment.

Amendment, by leave, *withdrawn.*

Main Question put, and *agreed to.*

Bill read the third time, and *passed.*

## SALMON WEEKLY CLOSE TIME (IRELAND) BILL.

(*Mr. Healy, Mr. Leamy, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Barry.*)

[BILL 17.] SECOND READING.

Order for Second Reading read.

Mr. PARNELL, in moving that the Bill be now read a second time, said, it was a Bill to enable the salmon fishers on the estuaries of some Irish rivers to fish on Saturdays. He understood they were prevented by the existing law from fishing during some portion of Saturday. The Bill had been prepared by the late

Member for Waterford (Mr. Blake), who always took a very great interest in the question of the Irish Fisheries, and who knew more about them than any other Member coming from Ireland. The Bill was recommended to their care by that gentleman when he retired from the representation of the county, and he trusted it would be accepted by the Government without very much difference of opinion.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read a second time."—(*Mr. Parnell.*)

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he quite recognized the importance of the subject. The Bill proposed to repeal certain changes introduced about 20 years ago in the law with respect to Salmon Fisheries. The result of these changes had been to effect a most marked improvement in the Salmon Fisheries of Ireland. Everyone would agree that they ought only to alter the law affecting that industry with great care and deliberation. In this Bill there were various provisions of great importance with regard to which there was a considerable difference of opinion among the highest authorities whom they could consult. The Fisheries Board were divided in their opinion as to the effect of the changes introduced in 1863, and which were so introduced as the consequence of an inquiry. In his opinion, therefore, this subject was one calling for an inquiry to ascertain whether such changes as the Bill proposed were required; and he did not think it would be right for the Government to assent to the principle of the Bill without some inquiry which would furnish them with the basis upon which to proceed. He was not anxious to pronounce an opinion either for or against the proposals of the Bill. He would suggest to hon. Members in charge of the Bill that the Motion for the second reading should either be withdrawn or adjourned for a considerable time. In that case, the Government would be willing for a Select Committee to be appointed to consider the question of the Salmon Fisheries, and the changes that might be required.

MR. TOTTENHAM said, the Bill was one drawn exclusively in the interests of one class of fishermen—namely, those who fished by boats or other movable contrivances, to the detriment and injury of the owners or lessees of fixed nets and weirs. It proposed to limit the close time for this class to practically half the existing close time, as it threw open to them 12 hours of the daylight of the closed 48 hours. The Bill might be more accurately described as one for the more effectual destruction of breeding fish, which, in the interests of the consuming public, required all the protection they could be given rather than additional facilities for their capture. As a proof of the decline in the supply, he took the returns of Billingsgate Market, one of the principal markets for Irish salmon, and it would be seen that in 1882 the number of boxes arriving there was only two-thirds of the average of the preceding 10 years; and in 1884—the returns for which were not yet complete—he was informed the number of fish taken was considerably lower than any of the previous years. The latter part of the Bill might be called the "Poachers' Facilities Clauses," as one of the provisions of the Bill was to make different close seasons for trout and for salmon fishing in inland waters, under which it was quite possible that a man might be caught in the act of fishing, and assert he was fishing for trout and not salmon, although, as soon as he was alone, there was nothing to prevent his pulling a salmon into his boat instead of a trout. Another provision enacted that there should be a different close time in different parts of the same water. This would enable a man, who was caught in the possession of fish in the close season, to say—"Oh, this fish came from the other water in which the close season does not exist." The same argument would apply to the estuaries. The last provision was one for legalizing during a certain period the most destructive engine that could possibly be used in fishing—he referred to the half-trawl net. Therefore, he thought the Government should not only ask for time to enable them to secure full information, but that the House should resolutely refuse to read the Bill a second time now.

MR. SEXTON said, he was not surprised that the hon. Member (Mr. Tottenham) had spoken as he had, since he was anxious to prevent Irishmen enjoying free means of living by fishing. The Irish Members fully agreed with the Chief Secretary that it was not material that the second reading should be taken now; and on the understanding that a Select Committee would be appointed at the beginning of next Session, he begged to move the adjournment of the debate.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Debate be now adjourned."—(*Mr. Sexton.*)

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON said, he thought the course suggested by the Chief Secretary was the right one; but he feared the right hon. Gentleman was misinformed in several particulars.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR: Mr. Speaker, I am sorry to interrupt the noble Lord; but I have to ask you, Sir, whether he is speaking to the Motion for Adjournment?

MR. SPEAKER: The noble Lord must confine himself to the Question of adjournment, and not go into the merits of the Bill.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: Then I will support the Motion for Adjournment, and say that I have no doubt that if a Select Committee is appointed they would get some valuable information.

Motion *agreed to.*

Debate *adjourned* till *Tuesday* 9th December.

## POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 9.]

(*Mr. John Redmond, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Barry.*)

### COMMITTEE.

Bill *considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

Clauses 1 to 5, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 6 (Local Government Board to frame rules for the conduct of Poor Law elections).

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, he wished to make a suggestion to Her Majesty's Government, and he thought this was the proper time for making it. This was a Bill one of the main provisions of which was the abolition of the proxy vote in the election of Poor Law Guardians in Ireland. In supporting it last year, the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) made two concessions, in order to mitigate any hardships which might ensue from the abolition of the existing law. In the first place, he proposed to substitute triennial for annual elections, and he further said that the Local Government Board would so exercise the power they possessed in regard to fixing the dates of elections as to provide that elections in the different divisions of a Union should not take place on the same day. The right hon. Gentleman said the Government fully recognized the difficulty which would arise from holding different elections on the same day, but he added that the Local Government Board intended to exercise the power they possessed of naming the days on which Poor Law elections should be held, so that they would not be allowed to clash with each other. He (Viscount Crichton) thought it was best to have these things in black and white in the four corners of an Act of Parliament; and, therefore, he would suggest to the right hon. Gentleman the present Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) that he should bring up some provision on the Report making it imperative on the part of the Local Government Board to carry out the spirit of the suggestions made by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan) last year, and not leave it optional for them to do so.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he recognized the great convenience which would result from these elections taking place on different days; but he did not see how that could be provided for in an Act of Parliament. He had no doubt that the Local Government Board would practically carry the suggestion into effect; but he was not prepared to say that any words could very well be inserted in the Bill which would tie down the Board.

MR. GIBSON remarked, that this was a matter of considerable importance, and he did not think the right hon. Gentleman appeared to recognize either its importance or its fairness. The late Chief Secretary, the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan), took a very extraordinary course in reference to this Bill last year. The right hon. Gentleman stated that it was necessary to make some arrangement by which those who had votes should not be disfranchised, which would be the obvious effect if the owner was bound to vote in person at several elections on the same day, because, even in Ireland, no man could be in more than two or three places at the same time. It was to meet that difficulty that the late Chief Secretary said he would provide, as a matter of arrangement, that the Local Government Board should undertake to fix the elections, as far as they could, on different days. The words of the clause were very elastic, and they did not lay down any hard-and-fast line. He hoped the Local Government Board, as far as was practicable and reasonably convenient, would take care to fix the elections for such times and upon such dates as would enable owners connected with different Unions to go from one to the other, if they were so minded, in order to record their votes. He would himself suggest words to meet the difficulty when they came to Clause 9, which proposed to deal with proxies. When that clause came under consideration, he would submit an Amendment, not for the purpose of laying down a hard-and-fast line, but to empower the Local Government Board to provide that these cases should be dealt with in accordance with the obvious requirements of common justice.

MR. PARNELL said, he would strongly recommend the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to leave the carrying out of the elections, so far as the dates were concerned, to the Local Government Board themselves, because he thought, when the matter came to be considered and investigated, that it would be found to be a work of great difficulty to introduce into any Bill a provision which would absolutely carry out the suggestion of the noble Viscount. It appeared to him (Mr. Parnell) that the Irish Local Government Board might be fairly relied upon to fix the days for these elections for Poor Law Unions in such a way that the times and days would be most convenient for those who had the privilege of exercising the vote. Although he did not wish to deprecate the merits of any provision which the right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Gibson) might propose, yet he thought it might be found exceedingly difficult by any general arrangement to carry the matter further than it had been carried by the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan).

MR. GRAY pointed out that the Bill had been framed in accordance with the suggestion of the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan), which was now confirmed by the present Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). He did not see why it should be amended. His own opinion was that it would be much better to leave the matter in the hands of the Local Government Board, and to allow the arrangements to be of such an elastic character that they could be easily made to work when a difficulty arose. He did not think it was necessary to lay down any hard-and-fast line which they could not possibly change, in order to meet exceptional circumstances.

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 7 and 8 *agreed to.*

Clause 9 (Voters to vote in person).

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, he had put down an Amendment on the Paper to omit this clause; but he saw another Amendment in the name of his hon. Friend the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce), and as his hon. Friend was not present, and as he approved of the Amendment, he would move it in the place of his hon. Friend. The clause required that every ratepayer must himself attend in person to vote at the place of polling, and he proposed to add to the clause, with a view to inserting hereafter the necessary provision, the words "except as hereinafter provided." This was the vital clause of the Bill, and it made provision for the mode in which the election of Poor Law Guardians was to be conducted. In Ireland, the landlord paid one-half of the poor rate, except in the case of tenants under £4 a-year, where he paid the whole. In addition, he paid the rates for the land he held in his own hand, and in this way it was computed that the landlords paid five-eighths of the entire rates of Ireland. That being so, it was only just that they should have some corresponding influence in the election of Poor Law Guardians. This Bill, however, took from the landlord altogether the power of voting by proxy, and he would be practically disfranchised in every electoral division in which he had property except in the one in which he was able to vote personally. The clause virtually disfranchised him for every other division, but, nevertheless, he was still required to contribute very largely towards the rates. The Session before last, the late Chief Secretary—the right hon. Gentleman who was now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (Mr. Trevelyan)—recognized this hardship, and, in order to meet it, he made a proposal the effect of which was to provide that an owner of property voting in one electoral division in person should have the power of voting by voting papers sent to the Returning Officer in a registered letter in all the other divisions in which he held property. Whether the right hon. Gentleman was frightened by a Notice of opposition in consequence of the proposal put down by the hon. Member for Roscommon (Mr. O'Kelly) or not, he (Viscount Crichton) was unable to say; but, undoubtedly, that opposition had the effect of killing the Bill for the Session. The right hon. Gentleman since then had turned right-about-face, and last Session strongly opposed the very provision which he had himself previously suggested. The object of this clause was to prevent representation and taxation from going together, although that was the established principle of the English Constitution; and he hoped the Committee, by acceding to the terms of the Amendment of his hon. Friend the Member for Coleraine (Sir Hervey Bruce), would admit, to some extent, the justice of the claim made by the Irish landlords, and mitigate the injustice which the Bill, as it stood, did to them.

Amendment proposed, in page 3, line 12, after the word "polling," to insert the words "except as hereinafter provided."—(*Viscount Crichton.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted."

Mr. GRAY said, he was altogether opposed to the Amendment. Since the Poor Law Act was originally passed, its provisions had been rendered quite intolerable by the power of interference with the representative character of the Board of Guardians exercised by the landlords. It must be remembered that the Poor Law Guardians had important powers conferred upon them, which were not given to any other representative body or in connection with any other municipal institution. Nevertheless, the landlords enjoyed an undue share of voting power. As an illustration, he might mention that in certain districts there were Town Commissioners, Corporations, and Boards of Guardians; but whereas the election were conducted on the principle of personal voting, as a general rule, in the election of Boards of Guardians, the landlords enjoyed privileges which were not given to other voters. He asked if the Government were prepared to propose in the Franchise Bill, which dealt with matters relating to Parliamentary elections, that electors who had a vote in more than one county should vote in one case in person and in another by means of a registered letter? If the Government were prepared to do that, then he would have no further objection to the adoption of a similar principle in the present case; but, otherwise, he certainly could not see the necessity for introducing this objectionable principle into the election of Poor Law Guardians alone.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he could not accept the Amendment. The object the noble Viscount had in view in proposing it was perfectly intelligible, and to that extent he sympathized with it, because he had a great objection to anything which would have a disfranchising effect. But he thought they were bound to consider, before effecting a change in the law, whether that change would be antagonistic to the principles of the general law. He must say that, as far as he was concerned, he looked upon the proposal of the noble Viscount as one which would introduce a new species of proxy voting, and he could not see that it was at all desirable, in making any change in the mode of voting in the election of Poor Law Guardians, to introduce artificial arrangements for the purpose of exempting a particular class of persons from the requirements which attached to all other classes. There might be cases, but he did not think they would be very numerous, where Poor Law elections in different localities might come into collision with each other, and one individual, holding property in more than one district, might be disfranchised to a certain extent; but he thought the objections to the introduction of an elaborate and novel system of voting in a Bill of this sort were greater than any advantages which could be gained from it. It was proposed that if an elector voted personally in one division, he should have the right of recording his vote, by means of a registered letter, in any other division. Now, he did not see how the fact of an elector having voted in one division was to be known in the other divisions to which registered letters might be sent. All sorts of objections might be raised to arrangements of this kind, which were necessarily of an artificial kind. His opinion was that it was desirable to have the elections conducted in as simple a manner as possible; and although, in some instances, the present system might act as a disfranchisement, he could not see that it would be judicious on the part of Parliament to attempt, by any artificial arrangement, to remedy the evil.

MR. PLUNKET said, he was not disposed to overlay the debate with further points, when all of them had been urged over and over again; but he must enter his protest, once more, against the course which had been adopted by the Representative of Her Majesty's Government in Ireland on this occasion, as he had done formerly in regard to the same matter. It was nothing more nor less than the same surrender which was made last Session, and which was now being repeated again in order to save trouble, and to conciliate Irish Members below the Gangway. The right hon. Gentleman who had just spoken had not been able to adduce one single particle of argument in support of his contention. The right hon. Gentleman had not shown that there was any difficulty, and indeed there was no difficulty, and there could be no difficulty, in carrying out the system of voting by registered letter, which was suggested by his own Predecessor in Office. He defied hon. Gentlemen below the Gangway to suggest that there was any difficulty in the matter. As to the observations which had fallen from the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray), when he spoke of the importance of the special duties conferred on the Poor Law Guardians, he (Mr. Plunket) confessed that he did not know what the hon. Gentleman was referring to.

MR. GRAY said, that one part of the duties of the Guardians was to administer the Sanitary Acts.

MR. PLUNKET said, he failed to see in that a reason why additional votes should not be given to the owners of property in the country, who had certainly quite as deep an interest in the proper administration of the Sanitary Acts as in any other portion of the working of the Poor Law. The case was altogether different from elections for Members of the House of Commons, and the duty of the Board of Guardians was, or ought to be, to see to the proper application of the rates provided by the ratepayers. There was no elaborate or novel system evoked by the present proposal, but it simply followed out the suggestion of the late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan). If the Bill were passed in its present shape, the poorest ratepayer in the Union would have precisely the same influence as the ratepayer who owned a very considerable amount of the property of the parish. He had no wish to detain the Committee, but he should certainly vote for the Amendment.

MR. T. A. DICKSON wished to say, in reply to the right hon. and learned Gentleman who had just spoken, that his (Mr. Dickson's) experience in connection with the working of the Poor Law extended over a period of more than 16 years, both as an elected Guardian and as an *ex officio* Guardian, and, in his opinion, there could be no worse system of election than that now adopted. He thought the Local Government Board were tired of the present system of electing Guardians. There was hardly an election in regard to which there was not a contest or some dispute, and he certainly could see no valid reason why the Guardians should not be elected on the same principle as Members of Parliament. He protested against all this elaborate arrangement for fancy voting either by registered letter or by proxy. What they really required was some plain and simple plan of voting by ballot.

MR. DAWSON said, the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) said that the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had advanced a curious argument in support of the Bill, and in opposition to voting by proxy, in pointing out that the Guardians had to deal with sanitary questions and with matters affecting the health and well-being of the people. What did these sanitary questions mean? They meant an intimate acquaintance with the condition of the district sufficient to enable the persons elected to know what the evils were that required to be remedied. Persons who voted by proxy were persons who did not reside in the locality, and were, therefore, unacquainted with its wants. The very pith and marrow of the argument of the hon. Member for Carlow was that these persons who desired to vote by proxy and by registered letter possessed no local knowledge and had no personal interest in improving the sanitary condition of the district. On the contrary, their interest went entirely the other way, and they would be desirous of preventing sanitary improvements even in matters vitally affecting the lives and health of the people, in order to save their own pockets. The right hon. and learned Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) had only added strength to the argument of the hon. Member for Carlow, when he pointed out that these proxy votes were required to be given upon local questions concerning the lives and health of the people. Persons, however rich they might be, ought not to be allowed to vote by proxy, and thus to override the opinion of the resident electors.

**Mr. BRODRICK** expressed regret that the Amendment of his noble Friend the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) had not received the support of the Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman). The late Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan) always assumed a learned air in reference to Irish Poor Law matters, and the right hon. Gentleman his Successor seemed to have taken up his Predecessor's position. The right hon. Gentleman had not attempted to adduce a single argument beyond his own individual opinion on the part of the Government that the system of proxy voting was undesirable. In arriving at that conclusion, the right hon. Gentleman set his face against the arguments, opinions, and interests of the whole of the landlord class in Ireland. The right hon. Gentleman turned away from them in a contemptuous tone, and merely referred to them as "a particular class of people"—an expression that would not soon be forgotten. That was the way in which the right hon. Gentleman spoke of those who paid five-eighths of the rates in Ireland. ["No, no!"] He believed he was accurate in that assertion, and that five-eighths of the rates was about the exact amount of the rates paid by the Irish landlords. Yet it was proposed to prevent the large majority of these ratepayers from having a voice in the election of Poor Law Guardians. He honestly confessed that he looked upon the Amendment of his noble Friend as a very moderate proposal. Why should they force a man, who, for instance, might be attending to the discharge of his duties as a Member of Parliament, whenever a Poor Law election occurred in Ireland, to return there or to lose his vote? He believed that the right of voting by proxy or by papers was recognized in the English law, and yet the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary said that he could not support proxy voting in Ireland, because it would create a divergence between the law in Ireland and in England. It was urged by hon. Members below the Gangway that it was not desirable to give the right of proxy voting on sanitary matters to persons who were not resident in the locality, because they might possess a very small amount of local knowledge. But the hon. Gentlemen who made use of that argument forgot that one of the main points urged on the previous occasion when the point was raised, was that the non-resident owners had their agents on the spot, who would act for them, and who did possess full local knowledge. With regard to the provision as it stood in the Bill, he contended that it was practically an attempt to disfranchise altogether a very large and important class of the ratepayers. The hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) would probably remember that about two years ago he suggested in one of his speeches in Ireland that it would be well to make the landlords pay the rates that were expended in supporting the families of suspects and of convicted felons. If the hon. Member would consult the books of some of the Poor Law Guardians, he believed he would find that in some instances £1 a-week was paid to such families, while the families of the more deserving poor were not receiving more than 5*s.* or 6*s.* a-week. He put it to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary whether it was not desirable that those who were engaged in supporting the action of the Executive Government in Ireland should be permitted to enjoy something like the legitimate influence they were entitled to in the elections for Poor Law Guardians, and an influence which the Bill, in its present shape, would deprive them of? Of course, he knew what the result would be if the Government persisted in opposing the Amendment; but, nevertheless, he hoped that his noble Friend would press it to a Division.

**Mr. SEXTON** said, the hon. Member who had just addressed the Committee had referred to an interesting reminiscence. He (Mr. Sexton) certainly remembered in Ireland recommending that the landlords should be required to pay for the sustenance of the families of the suspects while the suspects themselves were confined in gaol, because he believed that the practical effect of such a course would be to render the landlord interest more cautious in procuring the arrest of honest men. With regard to the question more immediately before the Committee, he thought there could be no question that the adoption of the system of proxy voting was a great scandal, and a source of grievous injustice in Ireland. His hon. Friend the Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray) had pointed out that, in addition to the relief of the poor, the Poor Law Guardians performed other most important functions, among them being the administration of the Sanitary Acts with a view to the preservation of the public health. It would be intolerable if persons drawing large incomes from the land in Ireland, but leaving the country and residing abroad, should be able to throw sheafs of proxies into the hands of agents which would virtually control all the elections under the Poor Law, seeing that these persons no longer resided upon Irish soil, and had no interest whatever in the country or the well-being of the inhabitants, except so far as the income they drew out of it was concerned. He had known cases where persons—intelligent men—were candidates for the office of Guardian, and had the support of every resident ratepayer; but the landlords' agent was able to come down with a formidable sheaf of proxies in his hand, and throw them out. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for the University of Dublin (Mr. Plunket) had done the Irish Members below the Gangway the honour of speaking of them as clever. He (Mr. Sexton) did not claim for them that they were any more clever than hon. Members in other parts of the House, and it was not only unreasonable, but absurd, to suppose that the Local Government Board in Dublin in making its preparations for the election of Poor Law Guardians would not take care to fix the elections in the different electoral divisions in such a manner that no landlord would find himself embarrassed in exercising his right of voting. No doubt, having regard to the fact that property might be held in more than one division by the same individual, the Local Government Board would so fix the elections in the different divisions that one did not clash with another; and there would be no difficulty at all, except the persons claiming the right to vote happened to be non-resident. In that case, of course, the vote would not be recorded; but, surely, if the vote was worth anything at all, it was worth giving in person. The proposal made by the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) was that in the event of an election taken place in two electoral divisions on the same day, in both of which a landlord happened to have property, he should be allowed to vote in one division personally and in the other by sending a registered letter to the Returning Officer, proving to such Returning Officer that he had voted in person in another division. But surely that was a physical impossibility, because the letter in the one case must be despatched while the voter was actually on his way to record his vote in the other. He thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) deserved but scant gratitude from hon. Gentleman who sat on that side of the Gangway. The right hon. Gentleman had made a speech in which he said that he had a strong feeling of dislike to any proposal which had a disfranchising effect; and then he went on to attribute such an effect to the present Bill. The right hon. Gentleman never paused for a moment to ask himself whether the present franchise was an equitable one, but said he was opposed to any rating franchise, however reasonable it otherwise might be, which was calculated in any degree to deprive the landlords of their influence in controlling the municipal government of the country. He might tell the right hon. Gentleman that the present Bill was the result of a compromise. The Irish Representatives had asked for much more than was contained in the Bill; but they had consented to accept the measure in a spirit of compromise, the effect of the compromise being still to leave the landlords a large plurality of votes as compared with those enjoyed by the occupiers. If by peculiar practices in that House, or by moving the power of their friends in the other House, Gentlemen of the Tory Party obstructed and embarrassed the measure now, and prevented it from being passed into law, as they did last Session, he warned them that they would have to face a much more disagreeable Bill next Session.

Sir JOSEPH M'KENNA believed that the Irish landlords would lose nothing whatever by accepting the Bill as it stood. At present, there were insinuations that they made use of their influence to control unfairly the Poor Law elections. What was it they would lose? They would simply lose the chance of influencing the election of one Guardian as against another; and he did not think that that was a privilege which ought any longer to be preserved to them. Their privileges were fully preserved for them now by the plurality of votes which they enjoyed. He had no interest, personally, in any election in Ireland for Poor Law Guardians except as a landlord. He held property, as a landlord, in three counties in Ireland; and so much had he always felt that it was only for the people on the spot to decide what persons should be elected to perform the duties of Poor Law Guardians, that he had never for 25 years given a vote either by proxy or otherwise. He ventured to say that it would be a most mistaken policy, indeed, if hon. Members above the Gangway were on this occasion to force the Committee into a Division. He trusted that better counsels would prevail, and that the Bill would be accepted, as it stood, seeing that it was the result of a fair compromise.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, that, notwithstanding the threat which had been held out to the Irish landlords by the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton)——

Mr. SEXTON: A warning; not a threat.

Mr. MACARTNEY: Oh, a warning! Well, notwithstanding the very menacing warning held out to the Irish landlords by the hon. Member that they would be worse treated if they did not now take what they could get, he must resist this attempt to deprive them of their rights, at the proper time, and not wait for some other opportunity. His objection to the present Bill was this. When it was introduced in the Session before last, when the right hon. Gentleman, now Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, was then Chief Secretary of Ireland (Mr. Trevelyan), a difficulty arose as to the abolition of proxy voting, and the desirability of preserving the proprietor's right to the vote. He (Mr. Macartney) suggested, and the suggestion was accepted and acted upon by the Chief Secretary, that every proprietor should be allowed to send in a paper containing his vote, as now proposed in the Amendment of his noble Friend the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton). It was further suggested that the paper so signed by the landlord, and duly filled up by a magistrate, should be sent in a registered letter to the Clerk of the Union. It was all very well to say that the owners of property in different Unions, if they valued the vote, would attend to record the vote in person. One thing appeared to have been completely forgotten, and that was, that in many instances females were owners of property, and had the right to vote for the election of Poor Law Guardians. They would be completely disfranchised by this Bill.

Mr. SEXTON: Not at all.

Mr. MACARTNEY asked what female, who happened to own property in five or six Unions, would take the trouble to go about in order that she might vote in person? The hon. Member had, perhaps, no respect for those who had property, and reserved it for those who had none. It had been stated, in the course of the discussion on this Amendment, that a part of the rates were paid by the landlord; but he would point out that, in addition to that, the landlord paid for all his occupiers under £4 valuation, who were very numerous, and, besides that, he paid the total amount of the rates on the land which he himself occupied. That being so, the landlord paid a much larger proportion of the rates than the tenant, and it was only right that he should be proportionately represented in the election of Guardians. The principle that representation should follow taxation was, in his opinion, eminently applicable to the case.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 26; Noes 88: Majority 62.—(Div. List, No. 11.)

Mr. GIBSON said, the Amendment he had to propose was with reference to a subject which he had referred to at an earlier stage of the proceedings. It had been admitted that it would be unfair and unreasonable for the Local Government Board not to make a practicable arrangement by which the opportunity of voting might be secured to those whose property lay in different localities. The only objection to that principle had been stated by the hon. Member for the City of Cork (Mr. Parnell), who said that it would not be desirable or practical to lay down a hard-and-fast line for determining the action of the Local Government Board. That was precisely what he did not wish to be done, and he was, therefore, in agreement with the hon. Member on the point. But it was perfectly reasonable, and had been done over and over again in Acts of Parliament, to suggest in words to Public Departments that Parliament expected them to do what was reasonable and practicable in the discharge of their duties. He, therefore, put forward words which would direct the Local Government Board to fix such times for the election of Boards of Guardians as they might think fit, to assist, as far as might be convenient and practicable, owners having property in different districts in recording their votes. That, the Committee would see, was to draw no hard-and-fast line, but to put the matter upon a common-sense footing.

Amendment proposed,

At the end of the Clause, to add the words "The Local Government Board shall fix such days and times for Poor Law election as they think fit, and as may assist, so far as may be practicable and convenient, owners who have properties in different unions to record their votes."—(*Mr. Gibson.*)

Question proposed, "That those words be there added."

Mr. SEXTON said, he had expected that the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland would have made a statement with reference to the representation of Irish tenants on Boards of Guardians in Ireland. The recent experience of official life in Ireland on the part of the right hon. Gentleman had certainly led him (Mr. Sexton) to expect that the Committee would have been furnished with at least one example of the manner in which the landlords exercised their powers in this respect towards the tenants. The general belief was that it was exercised in an unsatisfactory manner. He thought the Local Government Board might in this matter be allowed to exercise the discretionary power which they already possessed, and he should, therefore, oppose the Amendment of the right hon. and learned Gentleman.

Mr. GRAY said, it would be inconvenient to the community generally for the Local Government Board to fix times for the elections in the manner proposed. There were about 163 Poor Law Unions in Ireland, and the words proposed would almost coerce the Local Government Board to fix those elections for so many different days, if, as might happen, there were proprietors who, in respect of them, had property in different Unions. The Local Government Board would be driven to fix 163 days for holding the elections, in order to avoid the attacks that would be made upon them.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman opposite would not press his Amendment. The Government had already stated their opinion that this was a matter which might be left to the discretion of the Local Government Board. He thought there was a good deal of force in what had been said by the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Gray)—namely, that any injunction of this kind would lead to constant reclamations on the part of people who thought that other arrangements might have been made. It was, therefore, very much better to leave the point to the Local Government Board, who had both experience and discretionary power in the matter.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, they had been told last Session that the rights of landlords in respect of their votes at these elections should be preserved; but, from what had been said, it appeared that justice was not to be done to them.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN hoped the Amendment would not be agreed to. It would lead to great inconvenience.

Question put.

The Committee *divided:* — Ayes 24; Noes 81: Majority 57.—(Div. List, No. 12.)

Clause *agreed to.*

Clauses 10 to 24, inclusive, *agreed to.*

Clause 25 (No minor entitled to vote. Fresh election to be ordered forthwith on vacancy. Justice of Peace not to be qualified as *ex officio* Guardian unless a ratepayer).

Mr. BRODRICK said, before the right hon. Gentleman proposed his Amendment to Sub-section 5, he wished to call attention to a point in Sub-section 3. He did so merely as a protest against the provision that—

> "No Justice of the Peace shall be qualified to be an *ex officio* Guardian of any Poor Law Union, unless he is a ratepayer of such Union."

It happened that in Ireland there were a certain number of Justices of the Peace, who were either agents representing landlords, or the eldest sons of landlords who were old and decrepid. These persons might be very able and efficient men as Guardians; and he raised the point indicated, because he could not think that any abuse could creep in as a consequence of allowing such Justices of the Peace to be *ex officio* Poor Law Guardians. He hoped the matter would receive the consideration of the right hon. Gentleman; but as the *animus* of the Committee at the moment was quite clear on the point, he would not press it at greater length. He simply put it to the right hon. Gentleman, in the hope that he might be prepared to omit the words in question.

Colonel NOLAN said, that so far as concerned agents who were Justices of the Peace, they had generally farms in the country. He did not see why agents should be on the Boards of Guardians simply because they represented proprietors. One object of the clause was to get the proprietor to live in Ireland, although, of course, if he was unable to do that it was a proper thing that he should go away and give his son the opportunity of representing him. He could not see that any practical inconvenience would arise from this; but he was at a loss to understand why a Justice of the Peace, who was not a ratepayer in the Union, and who lived in a country town, should be *ex officio* a Poor Law Guardian. He did not think that the proposal of the hon. Member would tend to the proper working of the Act.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he understood it was the general feeling with regard to this Bill that the number of *ex officio* Guardians should be limited to one-third of the number of the members of the Board. That, however, was not exactly carried out by the wording of the clause in its present form, and he was therefore anxious, in order to prevent any doubt as to the meaning of the Bill, to amend the clause in such a way as would express the general intention. He would propose to add words to the effect that the number of *ex officio* Guardians in any Poor Law Union should in no case exceed one-third of the number of members of the Board. But the objection to that was that the total number of which the *ex officio* Guardians were to be a third would be a movable quantity by the fact of their being *ex officio* Guardians, and the words, therefore, that would best express what was intended would be words which implied that the *ex officio* Guardians should be not more in number than half the elected Guardians. In that way they would be one-third of the whole. He had heard other ways of expressing it, but that appeared to him to be most correct. The section would then read—

> "The number of *ex officio* Guardians of any Poor Law Union shall not exceed half the number of the elected Guardians in the Union;"

and then there would be added, to meet a very obvious case—

> "Where the number of such elected Guardians is an uneven number, it shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to be diminished by one."

They could not have half a Guardian. He believed that if these words were inserted they would carry out what was the universal intention when the clause was before them last Session. At present, anyone who read the section would see that it did not convey that impression at all.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 8, line 32, leave out the beginning of the sub-section to the word "and," in line 34, and insert "the number of *ex officio* Guardians in any Poor Law Union shall not exceed half the number of elected Guardians in the Union. Where the number of such elected Guardians is an uneven number, it shall, for the purposes of this section, be deemed to be diminished by one."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. MACARTNEY said, they had abolished the proxy vote, they had made it impossible for landlords to vote in any place except that in which they resided, and now it was proposed that the number of landlords sitting on Boards of Guardians should be reduced from an equal number to only half the number of elected Guardians; and, on the suggestion of the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), where the elected Guardians were 21 in number the *ex officio* Guardians should be only 10—that was less than half. That the *ex officio* Guardians should be only half was unfair. They seemed in Ireland to be proceeding upon the principle adopted at the time of the Revolution—namely, property and robbery. Nowadays, to be possessed of property in Ireland was sufficient to disqualify a man from enjoying any of the privileges which anyone else enjoyed, and to subject him to the suspicion that he had bad intentions towards his country and the community amongst whom he lived. He (Mr. Macartney) was bound to say that the compact, whatever it was, that had been entered into between the Government and the Gentlemen (the Home Rulers) sitting below the Gangway was a most iniquitous one, sacrificing, as it did, those who were attached to the connection between the Three Kingdoms; sacrificing those who represented law and order in Ireland; sacrificing those who represented, he would not say the smartness, but certainly the education of the country, and also insuring for the future that in every district in Ireland where there was a Poor Law Union there should be a small Parliament in which the voice of reason should be smothered by numbers.

MR. GIBSON only wanted to state how he understood the matter to stand. The right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman), in his observations, had not applied himself as yet to the consideration of the substance of the Amendment. The right hon. Gentleman only proposed to put the matter into the shape in which it was understood to be left by those who put forward the suggestion in the last Session. The Chief Secretary, however, was a little incorrect in saying all parties.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he thought it was universally understood that that was the meaning.

MR. GIBSON said, his only desire was to have the matter put quite right; and, therefore, he saw no objection, as a matter of form, to what the Chief Secretary said should be done. He thought that when that was done it would be put into the shape that was intended by the Mover of the sub-section last Session. When the Amendment suggested by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) had been made, the noble Viscount the Member for Fermanagh (Viscount Crichton) would move the omission of the whole of Sub-section 5, because the contention of the noble Viscount and of others was that the existing law was more just and more reasonable than the change proposed to be effected by the amended sub-section.

MR. T. A. DICKSON: Before we pass from this section——

MR. GIBSON: Let us amend the section first.

MR. GRAY said, he did not think the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary was technically correct. The words of the clause, as they stood, carried out the intention of the framers of the clause, because they provided that the number of the *ex officio* Guardians should be one-third of the whole Board. [The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND dissented.] He saw the Solicitor General for Ireland shaking his learned head. As a matter of fact, under the clause, as it now stood, all Guardians were elected, both *ex officio* and those elected by ratepayers. He understood it was contemplated to propose an Amendment to remedy that defect. The clause, however, as it stood, fully carried out the intention of its framers, because it did secure—although, he granted, not in a very clear manner—that the number of *ex officio* Guardians should be one-third of the whole Guardians.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, he did not think the hon. Member (Mr. Gray) was quite correct. As the clause stood in the Bill, it said—

> "That the number of *ex officio* Guardians of any Poor Law Union shall in no case exceed one-third of the number of Guardians to be elected by the ratepayers of such Union."

That was not what was intended. It was intended that they should not be any more than one-third of the Guardians, whether elected by the ratepayers or appointed in some other way.

MR. SEXTON said he thought it would be well if the Committee allowed the words "by the ratepayers" to remain in the clause.

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the words he had proposed had been carefully drawn.

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, it was now necessary he should move to leave out from "exceed," in line 36, to the end of the section, in order to insert "one-half the number of elected Guardians."

Amendment proposed, in page 8, line 36, to leave out from the word "exceed" to the end of the section, and insert the words "one-half the number of elected Guardians."—(*Mr. Campbell-Bannerman.*)

Amendment *agreed to.*

Mr. T. A. DICKSON proposed to omit all the words after "by the," in page 9, line 2, down to the words "fifty-six," in line 4, and insert—

> "16th section of the Act of the Session of the 10th year of the reign of Her present Majesty, chap. 31."

His object in moving this Amendment was to point out that, if the words in the sub-section were retained, the Justices might elect Justices who paid little, if any, rates, and who had no interest whatever in the taxes. Now, the section he proposed to insert provided that the Justices who were the highest rated should be elected, his desire being to prevent the abuse of Justices being elected who had no interest in the Union.

Amendment proposed,

> In page 9, line 2, after the words "by the," to omit all the words to "fifty-six," in line 4, and insert "16th section of the Act of the Session of the 10th year of the reign of Her present Majesty, chap. 31."—(*Mr. T. A. Dickson.*)

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Clause."

Mr. MACARTNEY pointed out that Sub-section 3 already provided that no Justice of the Peace should be qualified to be an *ex officio* Guardian who was not a ratepayer of the Union.

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker) said, it was the fact that Sub-section 3 did provide for the qualification mentioned by the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Macartney). He (the Solicitor General for Ireland) thought it might be but reasonable that if there were a number of *ex officio* Justices to be elected, the Justices should have the power to select which of their number should be *ex officio* members of the Board.

Mr. CALLAN expected the Solicitor General for Ireland would have informed the Committee how the law at present stood. If, at the present time, there were more magistrates in a Union than elected Guardians, and if they had property and were otherwise qualified to act, how were the *ex officio* Guardians elected? It was not by voting amongst the magistrates, but the highest rated magistrates became *ex officio* members of the Board of Guardians. In the very ward in Dublin to which the Solicitor General for Ireland belonged a question was raised last year as to the constitution of the North Dublin Union. By some peculiar manipulation, some of the Liberal magistrates had their rating so reduced that they were deprived of the right to sit as *ex officio* Guardians, and Conservatives were put in their place. This state of things arose by manipulation that was well known in *ex officio* circles in Ireland. Why should the Committee change the law? If the sub-section were dropped altogether and no words substituted, the existing law would come into operation. If the hon. Gentleman the Member for Tyrone (Mr. T. A. Dickson) confined himself simply to omitting the last four lines of the section, and no directions were given as to the manner in which the *ex officio* Guardians should be elected, the highest rated Justices would, under the existing law, be elected. It was upon that point he (Mr. Callan) thought the Solicitor General for Ireland would have enlightened the Committee. The law at present in existence provided that the highest rated magistrates were *ex officio* Guardians of the poor, and he did not see that any reason had been advanced why there should be a reversion to the practice of 50 years ago.

Mr. GRAY said, he did not catch the exact words of the Solicitor General for Ireland; but he understood they were not unfavourable to the Amendment. The Amendment was a very important one, because the effect of the clause, if it remained as it now was, would be disastrous. The existing law provided that where there were in a Union a number of Justices, the highest rated should be elected *ex officio* Guardians. What was proposed to be done by the Amendment was simply to leave the law in that respect unchanged. Two systems had been tried in Ireland, and after experimenting in the fashion now contemplated by the Bill, the law, being found unsatisfactory, was amended. There was no reason why they should go back to a system which had been tested and failed, and which Parliament had found itself obliged to amend. The Amendment was a very reasonable one, inasmuch as it would simply leave the law as it stood at present.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, that when the law was amended, and the *ex officio* Guardians were allowed to be equal in number to the elected Guardians, if there was an excess of Justices, the highest rated were elected. It really appeared to him a matter of very little moment whether the Justices were to select those who should represent them on the Board of Guardians, or the *ex officio* Guardians should be the highest rated magistrates.

SIR JOSEPH M'KENNA said, he hoped the Committee would not restore the law to the condition in which it stood 20 years ago, but that they would continue to enforce the principle of selecting as *ex officio* Guardians those who were the highest rated Justices in the Union. He would even recommend that only the highest rated resident ratepayers should be elected.

MR. VILLIERS-STUART hoped Her Majesty's Government would accept the Amendment.

MR. GIBSON said, he remembered perfectly well how the words appeared in the clause. They were Government words. They were put in by the late Chief Secretary (Mr. Trevelyan), after consultation with the draughtsman, and, he (Mr. Gibson) presumed, with the sanction of the Solicitor General for Ireland (Mr. Walker). He (Mr. Gibson) was surprised to hear it proposed to omit the words without any consideration. If the Government wished to reconsider the propriety of their own words, the wisest and most satisfactory course for them to pursue would be to let the matter stand over for Report, by which time they could confer with the draughtsman. The words were put in last Session after consideration by the Government, and it was now proposed to omit them without any consideratien or argument. He could see several objections to the election of those who might chance to be highest in the rating, without knowing whether they desired to attend or whether their health enabled them to attend.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, provision was made by law against the appointment of persons unable to serve.

Amendment *agreed to.*

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, he had an Amendment on the Paper providing for the omission of Sub-section 5 of this clause. He had no intention of travelling again over the ground which had been already gone over, but would merely say that as the landlords in the Unions paid five-eighths of the rates they ought to have a reasonable share in the representation. It was quite idle to say that the elected Guardians were likely to be overborne by the *ex officio* Guardians. He thought the contrary was the case, because the elected Guardians were always on the spot and able to attend to their duties, while the *ex officio* Guardians were very often away. He believed that originally the number of *ex officio* Guardians was fixed at one-third; but it was found there was so much extravagance and waste in the administration of the funds of the Unions that a Bill was brought in in 1847 by Lord John Russell establishing the proportion as it now stood. He looked upon the present proposal as a distinctly retrograde one, and one by which it was intended to revert to a system which had been already condemned. On these grounds, he moved the omission of the sub-section.

THE CHAIRMAN said, the sub-section was only part of the clause, and that part of the clause having been amended the noble Viscount could only propose to omit the whole of the clause. Amendments having been made in the section, it was impossible for the noble Viscount to omit the section. If it had occurred to him, he would have called the noble Viscount's attention to the matter at the time the Amendments were made. It would, however, be competent for the noble Viscount to take a Division against the whole clause.

VISCOUNT CRICHTON said, he would, therefore, take a Division against the clause.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Clause, as amended, stand part of the Bill."

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, that before the Chief Secretary (Mr. Campbell-Bannerman) made any reply to the noble Viscount (Viscount Crichton), it would be well some reason should be assigned for the suggested reduction. Up to the present not one syllable of reason, good, bad, or indifferent, had been given as to the justice of reducing the number of *ex officio* Guardians from one-half of the whole Board to one-third the number of the elected Guardians. Moreover, no reason had been shown why the people who paid five-eighths of the rates should now be reduced to one-third of the representation. It was due to the Committee, the country, and *ex officio* Guardians that the Chief Secretary should give the Government's reason for sanctioning the present proposal.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, the reason why the proposal was made was not far to seek. Any man who had experience of Poor Law work knew full well that more than two-thirds of the *ex officio* Guardians did not attend regularly to the work of the Board; they only attended when an officer was to be appointed, or when there was a job to be done.

Mr. TOTTENHAM said, his experience of Poor Law administration, which he had no doubt was equal to the hon. Member's (Mr. O'Sullivan's), was precisely the reverse of that of the hon. Gentleman's. He (Mr. Tottenham) had been in the habit for years of attending regularly Poor Law meetings, and he could confidently say that what the hon. Member had stated was absolutely without foundation.

Mr. MACARTNEY said, he was surprised that his hon. Friend the Member for Leitrim (Mr. Tottenham) had asked for a reason why the Government had assented to this proposal. The reason was obvious. It was to be found down there. [The hon. Gentleman pointed to the Home Rule Benches.]

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 84; Noes 23: Majority 61. — (Div. List, No. 13.)

Clause 26 *agreed to*.

Clause 27 (Commencement of Act).

Mr. GIBSON said, he had understood the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary had indicated that this was one of the points which required consideration and examination — namely, the date at which the Act should come into operation. This clause fixed the date at the 1st of February, 1885. That time was near at hand now, and the Chief Secretary had expressed the opinion that it was too soon—that though it might have been a suitable date to fix last Session, it was not a suitable one to fix now. The question was one affecting the machinery of the Executive Government, and, as he (Mr. Gibson) had already pointed out, it was more the business of the Government than of an independent Member to deal with it. He now merely drew the attention of the Chief Secretary to it, so that he might adopt whatever date he thought desirable.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN said, it was well to remind the Chief Secretary that all the notices of election in Ireland were issued on or about February 1, and that if, therefore, that date were passed, the measure could not come into operation for 12 months.

Mr. SEXTON said, he would appeal to the right hon. Gentleman the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant to let the clause stand as it was.

Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, he did not think it would be well to alter the date at all. The question had been inquired into since last Session, and since the commencement of this Session, owing to the extraordinary alacrity with which hon. Members had got through the Business, the prospects of the Bill becoming law were much improved. Though there would not be too much time to make all the arrangements for conducting the elections before February, and although a great deal of work would be thrown on the Department, he did not think it would be right to postpone the elections under the new system for 12 months through pressure of business. When the Bill was introduced this Session, Public Business had not made such progress, and the probability of the measure becoming law was not so great. Then there might have been a strong case for altering the date; but now that they were within measureable distance of the Bill becoming law, if it became law at all, it should be passed as it was. To put off its operation a whole year would be a great sacrifice, in order to avoid a little inconvenience.

Clause *agreed to.*

Bill *reported;* as amended, to be considered upon *Thursday.*

### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ADJOURNMENT.

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR said, that, as there was no Business on the Paper for to-morrow, he would move that the House do adjourn until Thursday.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the House, at its rising, do adjourn till Thursday."—(*Lord Richard Grosvenor.*)

SIR WILFRID LAWSON asked what would be the Business on Thursday?

LORD RICHARD GROSVENOR: The Soudan Vote on the Estimates.

Motion *agreed to.*

### CHARITABLE TRUSTS ACTS.

*Ordered,* That the Minutes of the Evidence taken before the Select Committee on Charitable Trusts Acts in the last Session be referred to the Select Committee on Charitable Trusts Acts.—(*Mr. Shaw Lefevre.*)

House adjourned at Ten o'clock till Thursday.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Thursday, 13th November,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILLS—*First Reading*—Representation of the People* (5).
*Committee—Report*—Justices' Jurisdiction * (2); Law of Evidence Amendment * (3).

### NEW PEER.

Marmaduke Francis Baron Herries in the peerage of Scotland, having been created Baron Herries of Carlaverock Castle in the county of Dumfries and of Everingham in the East Riding of the county of York—Was (in the usual manner) introduced.

### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—ADJOURNMENT.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK (for Earl GRANVILLE) stated that, as there was no Business on the Paper for to-morrow, it was proposed to adjourn at the rising of the House to-day until Monday.

### ARMY AND NAVY—DEFENCE OF COLONIAL POSSESSIONS—THE CORRESPONDENCE—OBSERVATIONS.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON, in rising to call attention to the Correspondence concerning the defence of Colonial Possessions and garrisons abroad in reference to the recommendations made to Her Majesty's Government by the Royal Commission appointed to report upon British Possessions and commerce abroad, said: My Lords, I have thought it right to call the attention of your Lordships' House to this very important matter, which has recently attracted a good deal of the attention of the public; and I hope my justification for entering upon the subject may be found in the fact that, as Chairman of the Royal Commission appointed for the defence of our foreign stations, I may speak both for myself and, to a certain extent, also for my Colleagues on this question. That Commission, my Lords, was appointed in September, 1879. It presented its first Report in September, 1881; its second Report early in 1882; and its last Report in July, 1882. Since then I cannot accuse myself of having allowed the subject to sleep in silence. During the time, I have twice or three times pressed it upon the attention of my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty (the Earl of Northbrook), and, I think, of other Members of Her Majesty's Government, and in May of last year, in public, I earnestly urged upon Her Majesty's Government the risk of any further delay, and the great importance of dealing with this question. My Lords, I hardly know what course I should have taken but for the appearance, a few weeks since, of a short Parliamentary Paper, in which it was proposed to expend a certain sum of money upon the fortification of British coaling stations abroad. I must say I should have been guilty, I think, of a breach of public trust if, as Chairman of that Commission, I did not for my own part, at all events, disclaim all responsibility for the proposals now made in this Treasury Paper, and if I did not say that, in my humble opinion, the estimate of work to be done is really wholly below the needs of the case, and, in one word, illusory. In approaching the subject, my Lords, I am beset by two difficulties; the first of which is that within the last few hours, I may say, a second Paper upon the same subject has been laid before the House. Through the courtesy of my noble Friend opposite, I was allowed a sight of it yesterday, and, therefore, though I have not had time to examine it very carefully, having time only for a cursory perusal, I think I am generally aware of the modifications it introduces. That Paper is very embarrassing to me in dealing with this question. In the first place, it involves a considerable change, I am willing to admit an important change, in one respect, but one that I cannot look upon as important in another respect. That Paper makes an important change; because it contains a public retractation by the Treasury of the extraordinary doctrine which they had laid down in the first Paper, and by which Her Majesty's Government were at that time apparently governed. Since the first Paper was published, the War Office remonstrated against the Treasury view on the point; and, thanks to that remonstrance, and thanks, I am bound to say, to a great extent, to public criticism, the Treasury have seen that they could not possibly stand by the ground they originally took up. In order to make myself clear, I had better, I think, point out to the House, in a few words, what is the substance of these two Papers. The first Paper, which has been for many weeks before the public, begins with a letter from the War Office to the Colonial Office of the 19th of March. It is, therefore, some months old, and contains, first of all, an estimate from the Inspector General of Fortifications of works and harbours which it is proposed to execute in certain stations and in certain cases there given. My Lords, these stations are Aden, Ceylon, Singapore, Hong Kong, Sierra Leone, St. Helena, the Cape of Good Hope, the Mauritius, Jamaica, and St. Lucia, and the Inspector General estimates for the works in these different cases £560,000, and for the armaments £331,000, or a total of £891,000. In the next place, it will be seen from the official Correspondence that the estimate is based upon the Reports of 1881 and 1882, and assumes to represent the views of the Commission, who suggested that Singapore and Hong Kong should be at once fortified, and they said that Simon's Bay was a matter of the first consideration. Now, my Lords, as the Correspondence proceeds, the War Office first suggests Singapore and Hong Kong as two points to be fortified, and subsequently Simon's Bay enters into their view, as also does Aden; while I am sorry to say that Singapore and the Cape practically disappear. The Correspondence then winds up by the Treasury agreeing that Aden, Singapore, and Hong Kong should be brought in at a cost of £345,000 out of the £891,000 originally proposed, naming, at the same time, no time for the completion of those works, and in a most remarkable sentence proposing to postpone the completion of the armaments —"As no expenditure need be incurred for them until the works have been completed." At present, I make no comments upon this. The second Paper, which has only within the last few hours been laid upon the Table, is a very remarkable comment upon that I have just quoted. It commences with a letter from the War Office on the 1st of November, which proposes certain modifications in the original estimate; first of all, a general increase on the whole sum of £18,000. The first proposal was £891,000; their proposal is now £909,000. But there is a special increase in the Vote for Armaments, and that special increase amounts to no less than £117,000. But, my Lords, that increase is purchased by a reduction of £97,000 upon the works, the first proposal for the works being £560,000, and the second £463,000, showing a reduction of £97,000. The War Office then proceeds to recommend that the armaments should be postponed until the completion of the works, and further proposes to deal with many more stations than was originally intended, including Aden, Trincomalee, Singapore, Hong Kong, Simon's Bay, and Table Bay. They further propose that the work should be completed within the space of three years, and the whole Correspondence is wound up by the remarkable retractation by the Treasury of the doctrine they had originally advanced that the armaments should be postponed until the completion of the works. That is the state of the case as it is before the public in these two very important Parliamentary Papers. As I said before, there is a certain improvement effected by the second Paper—that of the increase of armaments; and I rejoice, for my own part, that the Treasury have become so amenable to public criticism; and I should rejoice still more if this were but the first of several steps taken in the same direction. My second difficulty, however, is a far greater one, and it is this—the Commission over which I had the honour to preside was of a strictly confidential nature; and evidence was given to us on the distinct understanding that it should never be published, and a great deal we ourselves stated and recommended was also of the same character. At the same time, I find it extremely difficult to discuss a Parliamentary Paper such as this without alluding to the views which the Commission held. It seems to me that it would have been very fair had I been allowed to give simply what I may call the corresponding and comparative figures to those given by the Government—for instance, that where the Government, the War Office, or the Treasury recommended a certain sum—say £100,000, I should have been at liberty to say that, in that same case, the Commission stated that £200,000 or £300,000 ought to be expended. I cannot see that any unfairness or injury whatever would have accrued to the Public Service by such a course. But my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty appealed to me the other night not to use one single figure out of that Report, and to treat the Report from first to last as an absolute secret. I earnestly hope that my noble Friend and other Cabinet Ministers are themselves as careful as they can be in their custody of these confidential Papers; for it has been my fortune several times to become aware of Papers of the highest importance, both on military, naval, and foreign affairs, having found their way somehow or other into the possession of foreign Governments. I do not know where the fault has been; but I know that matters of extreme, of the most vital, importance have been allowed to leak out and found their way into other hands. I think it would have been fair had I been allowed to make a comparative statement on this occasion; but I am not, and when the Report of a Commission is confidential, and when the Government asks one to treat the document as secret, one is bound to accept that view, and I do accept it; but in arguing this case I am greatly fettered and restrained, and I shall find it very difficult indeed to make my case clear, dealing, as I shall be obliged to do, with generalities, instead of with the few explicit figures which would have made it absolutely certain. With these explanations, I will proceed to the subject in hand. First of all, I observe that, as regards the dates of this Correspondence, some comments have been made out-of-doors. There was a long delay between March 19, when the first letter was written, and August 12, when the last was written, if it be the last. But the great fault that I find in respect to chronology is in this—that three precious years have been allowed to go by since the first Report of the Commissioners was presented to the Government, and that two years have been allowed to pass since the presentation of the last Report. Now, one word as to the order in which these stations are taken. In the first Paper Aden, Singapore, and Hong Kong were the three stations chosen for these works, and in the second Paper Ceylon (Trincomalee) is added, and Simon's Bay. I could say something about the choice of Trincomalee; but I will leave that matter to the responsibility of my noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty and his Colleagues. So two stations have been added, Trincomalee and Simon's Bay. The place which one would think would be the very first point to be defended was ignored in the first Paper. The Commissioners said that the defence of the Cape was of essential, vital, and primary importance; but now that has been put in a great measure aside, and if the First Lord of the Admiralty will refer to the Reports that were issued, he will appreciate the weight of my remarks. Let me remind your Lordships what the Cape really is to us, for that is of the highest importance in the consideration of this question. First of all, it is the alternative route to the Suez route; and, more than that, it will be the only route to our Eastern Possessions if the Suez route should ever be blocked, and he would be a very bold man, indeed, who did not contemplate the contingency of that route being blocked should a European war arise. Secondly, we have to consider how very large a stake we have commercially in that route. Five years ago, the commerce that went round and touched the Cape was represented by £90,000,000 yearly, while that which went through the Suez Canal was represented by £65,000,000. The commerce that might have to pass the Cape in time of war might amount to £200,000,000. Now, in the last Parliamentary Paper, it is proposed to fortify Simon's Bay alone, and no mention is made of Table Bay. But the two places are so dependent on each other that it is impossible to defend the one without fortifying the other, and to fortify Simon's Bay without fortifying Table Bay also would be to leave your back door open to the foe, and to have only half the fortifications which you ought to have. This has never been controverted or denied. It is said in this Paper that the interests which we have at the Cape are confined to Simon's Bay, and that at Table Bay there are only Colonial interests. That is a most extraordinary statement. It is also alleged in this Paper that you may leave the fortification of Table Bay to the Colonial Government; but anyone who knows the views of the Colonial Government knows that it is idle to think that the Cape Government will undertake this task. They will co-operate with you by giving valuable land and spending a very considerable sum of money; but anything more than that we cannot expect from them, nor do I think we have a right to expect more. Having disposed of the question as it affects the Cape, in order to illustrate the way in which this subject has been treated by the Treasury, I now proceed to the consideration of the subject generally. What is it we have to defend? The question must be considered under four separate heads—1, Ten great Colonies; 2, ten small Colonies; 3, the trade which is afloat; and, 4, coaling stations and Imperial stations generally. As regards our great Colonies, we need do very little indeed. Australia has set an excellent example, which we need do very well to follow, their public-spirited and generous expenditure of public money having, I trust, placed Melbourne and Sydney in a position of almost confident security. Therefore, the case of these great Colonies need not now be discussed. As regards our smaller Colonies, they are defensible so long as we maintain the supremacy of the sea, and no longer. As regards the trade afloat, it was calculated, four or five years ago—and I have no doubt that the figures have increased—that £900,000,000 sterling represented the commerce of this country which crossed the seas; beyond that, we were the great carrying Power of the world, £650,000,000 representing the commerce which was afloat in one single year. Now, I come to the question of Imperial and coaling stations. In time of peace the Admiralty have about 50 stations upon which they can depend for coaling; but of these the greater number are in foreign countries, and I need not remind your Lordships that, in time of war, coaling stations belonging to belligerents or neutrals would be shut against us. There remain the four great stations, which I may call the maritime quadrilateral of England—namely, Gibraltar and Malta in the Mediterranean, and Bermuda and Halifax on the other side of the world. Those four great stations have, for many years past, been the special care of Her Majesty's Government. They were remitted to the Commission; but about a year and a-half after we had commenced our investigations they were withdrawn from our cognizance, and, therefore, it is impossible for me to express any opinion with respect to them. But I do say, when Her Majesty's Government removed those four stations, which formed a maritime quadrilateral, from our cognizance, they assumed a very weighty responsibility, and are bound all the more to account for and take all necessary steps for their defence. I hope and trust that the defences are adequate to any occasion that may arise. I have my own views upon it; but the responsibility rests with the Government, and with them alone. There remains, after this deduction, something like 16 or 17 coaling stations abroad, some of greater, some of less consequence in time of war. Now, what is the value of those stations? because out-of-doors I very often notice a most singular ignorance on the subject. Those stations I hold to be vital to us in time of war. Steam has revolutionized all the conditions of modern warfare, especially in ships of war. My noble Friend knows very well that coal is the life and soul of modern ships of war, though the amount of coal a war ship can carry is comparatively small; and coal is to a modern ship of war what sails were to a wooden three-decker in the time of Nelson. If you allow your ships to be deprived of coal, they will lie useless on the water. In the old days, the wooden ships might be repaired by the ships' carpenters after a general action; but your iron ships must go to places where there are docks and means by which they can be properly repaired. At the principal of those coaling stations there are those facilities which would enable the refitting to be undertaken. But it is perfectly necessary to defend those places; and if you leave them exposed, you leave them to be taken possession of by the enemy. It will not do to defend them merely by ships of war; because if ships of war are to watch over the coaling stations in which those valuable stores are deposited, they are tied to particular points of the coast, and they cannot operate generally with effect against the enemy. But, with the coaling stations themselves out of danger, the ships themselves would be set free for defensive purposes elsewhere. It is necessary, as this Report states, to defend your coaling stations against the heaviest guns and artillery; you cannot have very slight works, because, during the last few years, the calibre of the guns has so much increased that you must now count on ships with 6 inches or 8 inches of armour; and this, at lowest, involves both a considerable increase in the solidity of the works and the range of the guns. I have seen it stated of late that an alternative is to be found in the increase of the Navy. That is a total mistake, and would not by any means meet the case, for the reasons I have already stated. There must be places properly fortified and guarded, at which our vessels can refit and recoal; and to double or even treble the Navy would not be an adequate substitute for properly defended coaling stations. Therefore it is for the Government to determine what the number of those different stations should be, and then adequately provide for their defence. England has, undoubtedly, more and better stations abroad than any other great European Power. How if those stations are undefended? Instead of being a source of strength in time of war, they become a distinct source of weakness. I shall wind up this part of the case by reminding your Lordships that upon that question depends, not only the keeping afloat of Her Majesty's Navy, but the whole maintenance of the trade of this country; and, inasmuch as the life of this country is commerce, our national existence itself may, in time of war, be said to depend on the number of our well-defended stations. Now I come to the proposals which Her Majesty's Government and the Treasury have made. I cannot compare these proposals with the recommendations which the Commission made. And here arises one of the great difficulties under which I labour. I must not contrast the proposals which the Government make with those of the Commission; but I may surely give this as my opinion—that the scheme ought to be a whole and complete scheme, and by that I mean that there should be works both by land and sea. I may observe, in passing, that I am at a loss to understand whether, in this estimate of the War Office, it is land works or sea works that are meant, or whether both are included. I hope my noble Friend when he speaks will throw some light on this subject. Sea works or land works ought to be supplemented by mines and torpedoes and other defences of that kind. The one would be useless without the other. I now come to the question of expenditure. The land and the sea works and the other separate matters dealt with in the first Parliamentary Paper fall very much below what I consider satisfactory. If I were to say that they ought at least to be doubled, I should not be going at all beyond truth. It must be remembered that there is no provision made for those supplementary items to which I have just alluded. I read the other day a speech made by Sir Thomas Brassey, in which he dealt with the question of the Navy. Sir Thomas Brassey was one of the original Members of the Commission, and I wish very much that he had remained to the end upon it. His loss was a great loss to us, and it was still greater as he was removed at the time when we came to consider the subject as a whole. Sir Thomas Brassey, speaking lately for the Government, used these words—

> "The protecting of our coaling stations is another matter of urgency, and the correspondence lately published will show that the Government are alive to the requirements of the Empire, and have made proper arrangements for the commencement of the work."

When I come to contrast these words of

Sir Thomas Brassey with the proposals it will be seen that there is a great *hiatus*. Take the first Paper. The Treasury is the governing spirit in the matter, and therefore I must speak of the Paper as the Treasury Paper. The Treasury allow for the expenditure £891,000—I consider that sum of £891,000 to be far below the requirements of the case. The next step, and it is a very ingenious one, is to reduce the sum of £891,000 to £345,000. How is that done? It is done by striking out the majority of the places that are to be fortified, and naming Aden, the Straits, and Hong Kong, as being the most urgent. No doubt, those three places are extremely important stations; but, unless the Government have before their eyes the danger of an Eastern War, I do not think that they are the most important. In the order of priority I do not see what there is to justify the Government in assuming that those stations are the most important. The fact is they are the richest, and larger local contributions can be obtained from them than from other places. But the Estimate is subject to a further reduction. The £345,000 is brought down to £150,000 by the separation of local and Imperial charges. The local charges are set down at £195,000, and the Imperial at £150,000. That is not all. The sum of £150,000, again, by a most ingenious process of arithmetic, is reduced to £47,000, the division being—armaments, £103,750; works, £47,000. The Treasury then wind up by postponing the armaments until the works are completed, and by informing us that the Indian Government had undertaken to advance the £47,000, or something like that sum. Thus they say that little, if any, charge will fall on the Army Votes this year; and it will be certainly unnecessary to present a Supplementary Estimate this Session. I have come to this conclusion—that, whatever the expenses of the Government in this matter may be on paper, in practice they will be found to be *nil*. This shows the spirit in which the whole of the proposal is conceived, and what vital injury will be done to the country if the Treasury are allowed to overrule and overbear the action of those Governors who were responsible for the safety of the country abroad. Let me say on that point that the Commissioners framed their estimates upon the lowest possible scale; and my own feelings, and that of some of my Colleagues, was that if we erred it was in recommending an insufficient sum for the defence of these places. Let me explain how we arrived at our estimates. We framed them, first of all, upon *data* supplied to us from the Inspector General's office, and from the War Office and the Admiralty. We subjected it to the closest scrutiny, and sent out the estimates to be verified by local Committees on the spot. We also sent out most experienced naval and military officers to test the accuracy of the estimates. I should like to know upon what *data* the Treasury, the War Office, and the Admiralty are proceeding in this case, and how the different views of the War Office three years ago and at present are reconciled? In the next place, the Commission endeavoured to look at the scheme as a whole; but this scheme which is now before us is conceived in as narrow and Departmental a spirit as any I have yet seen. We rescued many separate questions from the Departmental mode of treatment; and, for the first time, we obtained a certain concentration of official knowledge and communication. It was my earnest hope that that state of things would continue, and that some means would be adopted to prevent the terrible difficulty which arises from each Office corresponding separately and distinctly with one another. To my deep regret and sorrow, such has not been the case, and I see from this Paper that you are working under a most unsatisfactory system. I am satisfied in my own mind that until some such system as I have indicated is adopted this country will hardly be in the position in which it ought to be as regards naval matters. The word "garrisons" is mentioned in the title of this Parliamentary Paper; but it is the beginning and the end, for we hear nothing further about garrisons. With regard to this part of the question, the Commission recommended concentration of troops, and I hoped and believed that that part of our recommendations would be carried out; but I am bound to say that, in my humble opinion, the existing garrisons in some parts of the world are inadequate, though, no doubt, much has been done by means of local contributions and local levies, but I have not heard that they have been sufficient. Of one thing I am sure, and that is, that this question of garrisons cannot be separated from the question of fortifications. It is useless to build fortifications unless we have the men to man them; and I quite admit the extreme difficulty of the question of garrisons. Still, I appeal to those who knew the subject best, whether it is not one that must be faced by any Government, and in time of war would be such that some remedy must be found? I come now to the question of armaments, which may be considered from three points of view—numbers, the weight of guns, and the cost. If I can trust to the first of these Parliamentary Papers for the original proposals of the Government as to armaments, I can only say they are like the works—singularly insufficient, and below the mark. I find that, while the number of intermediate and light guns was somewhat below that which it should have been, the real deficiency occurred in the class of heavy guns, and I need not point out that in time of war it is upon the heavy guns that you must depend in the fortifications. In the second Paper the item is more satisfactory; but at the same time, as far as I can judge, the Estimate is too low. I am very much afraid that the guns on which you depend are very much in arrear. You have to provide for the Navy, for home fortifications, and for foreign stations. The Navy is not yet supplied, and on the home fortifications many of the guns are of an old type, and are useless. The real difficulty is, as I apprehend—and it is well that Parliament should know it—that we have not got plant adequate to turn out the number of guns we need. We are dependent upon Sir Joseph Whitworth for the steel required for the heavier guns, and I believe the best gunpowder we now use is imported from Germany, and is produced by a process which is a secret and a monopoly. Can anything be more anomalous than that this country should be in such a position? Some guns can be manufactured in a year, and some require three years, so that the average time required is about two years. Therefore, taking one thing with another, and that as the time required, it is extraordinary that the Treasury actually propose to defer dealing with the armaments until the works are completed. If the Treasury think we could turn out the guns we should want, if a war broke out, one can only marvel at their holding such an opinion. There are many proposals, subsidiary to those to which I have alluded, which the Commissioners thought it their bounden duty to bring under the attention of the Government, and I hope that they have had a somewhat larger consideration than others in the Inspector General's Office. May I call to mind the composition of that Commission? It was composed of very representative men. We examined witnesses of every class and kind—the highest military, naval, commercial, and scientific authorities, including the illustrious Duke at the head of the Army, the First Lord of the Admiralty, and the highest military and naval officers. There was not a single branch of knowledge, science, or information, that could be brought to bear on the question that was not appealed to in the course of the inquiry. We sat for three years; we did not shrink from any amount of work; and we only discharged our consciences in saying anything which was calculated to awaken anxiety in the minds of the Government. Therefore, it is with regret that I see the outcome in the Treasury Letter. I know what the Treasury is. No doubt, it is a valuable Office in restricting extravagance and keeping accounts; but it has no special knowledge on questions of this kind. If the responsible Heads of a great Department like the Navy allow the Treasury to come in and overbear their deliberate judgment by mere arithmetical considerations they incur a great responsibility. The position seems to me to be by no means satisfactory. On the one hand, we have, first of all, these four great fortresses to which I have alluded. I hope they are adequately and fully defended. We have 16 or 17 others that are very inadequately defended, or not defended at all. We have inadequate garrisons. We have, at many points, no works worth speaking of. We have no guns worth speaking of. Our lines of commercial steamers are not duly guarded; and we have no security that in time of war our food supply will be safe. There is everything which, under a few adverse conditions, might easily lead to a great national disaster. On the other hand, what are the proposals with which this state of things is met? The coaling stations are dismissed. There is no provision made for barracks, or for any of the essential secondary supplements of the existing works, which, in my opinion, are much below efficiency. Even the armaments to be provided will be still below the mark. It is impossible not to feel extremely anxious that the Government should not, in a case of this kind, be influenced by considerations of parsimony, and should not hesitate to look the facts in the face. I have no wish to say a work to produce a panic. The proof of that is, that, for three years since the Report of this Commission was presented, I have waited patiently, giving only a few occasional indications of my opinion to my noble Friend opposite (the Earl of Northbrook), and to the Government generally. I hope I have said nothing from a Party point of view. I should scorn to initiate a discussion on a question of this sort on Party lines. It is my conscientious belief that I have said less than the case really requires. I, for one, refuse all further responsibility in this matter. I personally wash my hands of whatever liability there may be attaching to me or any other Member of the Commission, as regards the Government not acting on our recommendations. I have spoken my mind fairly and fully; not as much so as I could have done, but yet sufficiently for my purpose. My object is to warn the Government and the country that the present state of the defences is inadequate and unsatisfactory, and that when any untoward or unfavourable circumstances occur the greatest and most vital interests of the country may be placed in serious jeopardy.

THE EARL OF CAMPERDOWN said, that he wished, as a Member of the Commission, to ask a question which his noble Friend the First Lord of the Admiralty might, perhaps, find it convenient to answer. He wished to know whether it would be possible to state, or lay on the Table, the detailed calculations or Papers to show on what *data* the estimates of the Inspector General of Fortifications were based? He was bound to say, without quoting the figures, that there was a great margin of difference between the calculations of the Commission and those of the Inspector General; and he entertained doubts as to the correctness of the calculations of the Inspector General. These doubts were strengthened by the fact that when the Report of the Inspector General was submitted to the Director of Artillery, he found a deficiency of more than £100,000 in the estimates for armaments. For himself and for the other Members of the Commission, he could say that they had prepared their estimate with the greatest care, and that they had been extremely anxious to avoid anything like extravagance; but if the Inspector General's estimates were, as he could not help thinking they were, insufficient, it would be a great misfortune to the country, if these works were undertaken with an insufficient consideration of all points required for the public interest.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: My Lords, I can assure the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) that I quite appreciate the interest he takes in this question. No man has a greater right than he has to take an interest in it, and to bring it under the notice of your Lordships. He presided with great ability over the Royal Commission to which he has referred; and, besides that, his position in this House would be a sufficient reason why your Lordships should listen to any observations he might wish to offer. I hope your Lordships will understand, at the outset, that I quite agree with a great deal of what the noble Earl has said, and particularly with regard to the value of fortifications for the defence of our coaling stations in different parts of the world. No one can fill the position of First Lord of the Admiralty without being aware that, of all the measures that could be taken by this country for its defence in time of war, none can be more urgent than the defence of our coaling stations. It is the measure which, of all others, would strengthen our naval force, for the obvious reason that, if the coaling stations are left unprotected, we should have to provide for their defence by ships of war which, if they were fortified, could be employed in offensive operations. But it must be remembered that these defences are not intended as defences against any possible attack by an armed squadron of large force, but as sufficient defences against cruisers and such forms of attack as might be reasonably expected. These coaling stations are situated in different parts of the world. We should have notice of the despatch of anything like a powerful attack by an expedition against them, and it would be met by a counter-expedition by ourselves. Therefore, it is not against such attacks as these that coaling stations are to be protected. I wish to assure your Lordships that I quite agree in all that my noble Friend has said—as I agree with him in many other things he said—about the importance of the subject he has brought forward. But I admit that I heard my noble Friend's speech with some disappointment; because, although we may differ as to the amount to be spent on the protection of our coaling stations, I hoped that instead of his making a condemnatory speech, he would have, at least, given us a little encouragement by expressing some satisfaction with the intentions of the Government as shown in these Papers. The Government are determined to proceed at once with the fortification of these coaling stations in such a manner as they consider to be adequate and proper. I am sorry, therefore, that I cannot get even the slightest encouragement from my noble Friend when we are really taking up this question, and that I have only to reply to adverse criticism. I wish to reassure my noble Friend on one point. It seems to me that he is quite right in saying, as I understand the matter, that he, like the Chairman of any other Commission, is only responsible for the Report which the Commission has made. We do not attribute to my noble Friend any responsibility for the proposals of the Government. The responsibility rests on us alone, and not on the Members of the Commission, and we do not shrink from it. With respect to my noble Friend's inability to quote the figures or other particulars of the Report, I would say that, when a Report is of an absolutely confidential character, it would be a dangerous practice to say that this or that part of it may be quoted. I think, therefore, that my noble Friend has exercised a wise discretion in abstaining from quoting any figures given by the Royal Commission. But when he expresses regret that he was not able so to do, I might retort that I had equal cause for regret, for if he had quoted any figures I might have quoted others as against him, in order to show that the estimates of the Government were sufficient, so that I think in the matter of figures my noble Friend and myself are in the same position. There is another matter in my noble Friend's speech to which I am inclined to take exception, and that is the way in which he attributed to the Treasury everything vicious in the conduct of this question. Those who occupy a position like that which I have the honour to hold are inclined, of course, occasionally to look upon the Treasury as natural enemies, as we are often desirous of spending a great deal of money which the country cannot afford. But my noble Friend is entirely mistaken in this case in speaking of the Treasury as overbearing the Military and Naval Departments. As a matter of fact, the Treasury has done all that it has been asked to do. The proposals for the defence of these stations were not inaugurated by the Treasury, but by the War Department. There was, no doubt, a letter from the Treasury, suggesting that the estimates for armaments might be postponed until the works were completed. But when the Treasury received a letter from the War Office, explaining that such a course could not be followed, the Treasury at once gave way and conceded the point. In fact, the Treasury have agreed to all the proposals put before them by the War Office with respect to these defences without making any difficulty. I am not one of those who take up a strong attitude against the Treasury. Some restraint is needful on the great spending Departments; and if proposals for expenditure were not carefully examined by an independent body like the Treasury, we might be landed year by year in unnecessary extravagance. My noble Friend has very properly explained the manner in which the Commission of which he was Chairman obtained its information. There was nothing secret in that. I quite agree, also, in the description of my noble Friend of the manner in which the Commission did this work. Having concluded its labours, it was the duty of the War Office to examine the Report, and it was referred to the Inspector General of Fortifications, who examined the proposals with great care, and, with the assistance of the Local Authorities, the conclusions at which he arrived were submitted to a Standing Committee, termed the Defence Committee, whose duty it is to examine and report upon all such proposals; and I think that the same confidence is due to the opinion of that Committee which my noble Friend claims for the work of the Commission. I cannot agree with my noble Friend in the remarks he has made about that Committee. I do not know why my noble Friend should depreciate that Departmental Committee, and speak in disparaging terms of it. It was composed of men who possessed the greatest knowledge of the subject, and I do not see why the term "Departmental" should be used of them as a slight, when they were dealing with a matter with which their whole professional education qualified them to deal.

THE EARL OF CARNARVON said, he was afraid the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook) had misunderstood him. He had not spoken in disrespectful terms of the Members of that Committee, but had said that the estimate seemed to have been conceived in a narrow Departmental spirit.

THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK: I did not in the least misunderstand my noble Friend. The estimate was, in my opinion, properly framed in that Departmental spirit—that is to say, the professional knowledge of competent officers—which my noble Friend depreciates. The estimate of the Inspector General of Fortifications was fortified by the assistance of a naval officer of great experience, and to be worth anything it must necessarily be so. If my noble Friend will look at the first page of the Correspondence laid on the Table, he will see that the recommendations of the Inspector General of Fortifications were approved by the Defence Committee, which was under the Presidency of His Royal Highness the Commander-in-Chief. I cannot see why my noble Friend should criticize the spirit in which the estimate was framed with the approval of a body of men who were more competent to express an opinion on the subject than any men in the Empire. The noble Earl has indulged in some very unfriendly criticisms of these proposals; but from whom do they emanate? From a Committee of which the illustrious Duke was President, and among the Members of which were Sir Cooper Key and Lord Wolseley. These are the "Departmental" gentlemen whose proposals he has so severely criticized. I have communicated with Sir Cooper Key on this subject, and I am authorized by him to say that he entirely agrees with these recommendations generally; but, in accordance with the practice of the Committee, each particular plan will be brought before them in detail before it is finally adopted. These proposals come forth endorsed with the approval of this most influential Committee; and I think they are deserving of somewhat more respect than the noble Earl opposite (the Earl of Carnarvon) has paid them to-night. This, after all, is a question of authority; and if I thought the noble Earl was more likely to be right than the Inspector General of Fortifications and the Defence Committee I should bow to his authority; but, much as I respect his opinion, I must give greater deference to that of the qualified and responsible persons I have named. I now come to some questions which the noble Earl dwelt on with respect to these proposals. He asked whether these fortifications were to be of a nature directed against an attack from the land or from the sea? To that I answer that they are to be sea works. No provision, it is true, is made in these proposals for submarine mines; but that is not because we have overlooked this point. We think that, the cost not being very great, the cost for submarine mines ought to be taken in the Estimates for each year. Everything cannot appear on the Estimate which is confined to works and armaments; therefore, torpedo boats are unprovided for in these proposals; but their importance has not been forgotten. So it is with the minor coaling stations, on which, however, an expenditure of £200,000 will be made. The noble Earl has referred to the importance of fortifying the Cape station at Simon's Bay. I entirely agree with him on this point. In fact, I think that of all our coaling stations it is in the first category of importance; and, therefore, provision has been made for proceeding with the defences of Simon's Bay at once. I was sorry to hear the noble Earl saying that the defence of Simon's Bay is impossible without the defence of Table Bay. That is a point upon which he will find the general current of professional opinion opposed to him. The noble Earl is, I think, under some misapprehension. The Government have deliberately determined not to fortify the stations against the attack of a large fleet and army, but merely against isolated cruisers; and the reason is this—that in time of war there would be ample warning if an army was to be despatched, and such an expedition would be met by a counter-expedition on our part. The only thing I regret in the noble Earl's speech is the discouragement he gave the Cape Government in the defence of Table Bay. On this point he was very hard on the Treasury; but the Treasury had nothing to do with this matter as to Table Bay. I regard Simon's Bay, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Aden as our four most important coaling stations; and I am glad to say that the works at Aden and Hong Kong are already in progress, and the guns for Aden have been already ordered; so that it is a mistake to suppose that nothing has been done. With respect to the armaments, the noble Earl must, I think, be under a misconception if he thinks that their power has been reduced by the substitution of lighter guns. The policy of the scheme under consideration is opposed to light armaments. By the scheme now before your Lordships, these coaling stations will be provided with better guns than they could have obtained at the time of the Report of the Royal Commission. Year by year improvements are made in the manufacture of guns, and these stations will now be provided with guns capable of piercing 17-inch armour plates; whereas the guns proposed by the Commission would only have pierced 14 inches. The noble Earl is under an entire mistake if he supposes that the armament proposed for the works is a light armament. It is true that this is the year 1884, and that a considerable interval has elapsed since the Report of the Royal Commission. But this is a matter involving the country in a large expenditure, which cannot be lightly undertaken, and which no Government would be right in undertaking without full and cautious inquiry. It has, no doubt, taken some time to arrive at a conclusion, and to formulate its proposals; but the delay has not been without advantage, for we can now place on these works, at the different stations, better guns than we could have obtained some years ago. Although there has been some delay in commencing the works, yet, when finished, they will be more powerful and better able to fulfil the objects in view than if they had been commenced a few years ago. As far as those of the Government who have had this matter in hand are concerned, they have always regarded the Report of the Commission over which my noble Friend presided with the greatest interest, and they are under great obligations to the Members of the Commission for the manner in which their work was done. I am only somewhat disappointed to find that, when we are acting, as we think, upon the lines of the Report of that Commission, the encouragement my noble Friend has given us to-night is rather more scanty than he might have offered us. In answer to the question of my noble Friend behind me (the Earl of Camperdown), I have only to say that I should very much prefer to show him the details of the proposals in private than to lay them on the Table of the House.

THE DUKE OF CAMBRIDGE: My Lords, as Chairman of the Defence Committee referred to, I feel called upon to support what has been said by the noble Earl (the Earl of Northbrook). Like him, I am not allowed to make comparisons in detail; but I do say, in general terms, that before these works were undertaken they were brought before the Committee of which I am Chairman. The details were founded on the basis of the recommendations of the Royal Commission; and, from the fact that a considerable period has elapsed since the Report of the Commission, and that great changes in the power of guns had taken place during that period, we found we could not only accomplish the object in view in a modified form, but no less efficiently than was originally proposed. The plans have accordingly been considerably modified since these recommendations were made; but, as the noble Earl has said, though the guns are fewer in number, they are more powerful in effect, and the Committee considered that that was of very great advantage. At the same time, they thought there was a possibility of getting the work done at a less costly rate. What was recommended by the Royal Commission, presided over by the noble Earl (the Earl of Carnarvon), has really been carried out in the form now suggested by the Government. I can only say that I rejoice that these proposals are being carried out, and I apprehend that the works now proposed are only an instalment of what is to be done to carry out the complete scheme. I take it for granted that these are only a portion of the recommendations, and that it is the intention to proceed with all the proposed works. They cannot be carried out with equal facility at once, and therefore the most important points are now brought before the public; and I believe that is a clear proof that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to carry out to the fullest extent in their power the recommendations of the Royal Commission. One point to which I must just allude is the expenditure on the works and the expenditure on the armaments. I am bound to say that the noble Earl was fully justified in saying that there is no use in the works and armaments if there are no men to put behind them; and I am quite sure the noble Earl at the head of the Admiralty will agree with me in thinking that the Navy is considered as the essential element of the power which we possess, and that it will be found that more men are required to defend these works than we have now available. But sailors cannot be spared for this duty, and therefore soldiers are required to defend the works. I am bound to make this remark, because I believe that without adequate garrisons these defence works will not be of that value which I should attach to them if properly manned.

**LORD NAPIER OF MAGDALA** said, he would point out to their Lordships that unless mechanical guns were provided with an efficient repairing staff to keep them in order they would be useless, as the slightest check put them out of order. As His Royal Highness had said, the best armaments being useless without garrisons, the construction of barracks in a safe position sufficiently near should always accompany the construction of these defensive works. He did not think too much importance could be attached to the defence of the Cape, because if anything should obstruct the passage of the Suez Canal—and no one could say that it might not be obstructed—they knew that by the means of their fast steamers they had the power of making the passage by the Cape nearly as quickly as by the Canal. He attached as great importance to the fortifications of Table Bay as of Simon's Bay. He knew the country between the two places, and that there was no serious difficulty in passing from one place to the other. He well remembered the late Sir Bartle Frere describing the alarm awakened in some Members of the Cape Government at being told by some Russian Commanders of men-of-war how easy it would be to land a party and carry them off to sea, or levy a heavy contribution. With reference to the other places mentioned, he also attached great importance to the fortification of Aden, because it was possible, though not probable, that the Suez Canal might fall into other hands; and in the event of such a contingency taking place it would be very satisfactory to find Aden in a thoroughly good state of defence. He would also recommend that Kurrachee and Bombay should be kept in view by the Government of India and properly fortified. The connection of the detached rocks in front of Kurrachee would be the means of making it one of the finest harbours in the world, capable of holding the whole Fleet of Great Britain.

**THE EARL OF LONGFORD** said, it did not appear that the Government were prepared to proceed in this matter with anything like the vigour and energy that was required, and much time had been taken up in mere correspondence between the Departments. It was impossible to command the sea, if we had an insufficient Fleet, and it was impossible to hold our Possessions abroad without an Army. The present establishment of the Army was altogether too low for the various duties demanded from it. He feared that each Minister who came into Office was more anxious to reduce the Estimates than strengthen the defences of the country. The country would not be satisfied with mere Ministerial explanations across the Table of the House. They had great responsibilities; and although an increase in their armaments might add 2*d.* or 3*d.* to the Income Tax, the national safety was of more importance than a narrow economy. That increase was, of course, a most disagreeable thing; but it was preferable to the risk of national disgrace.

## REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL.

Brought from the Commons; read $1^a$; to be *printed;* and to be read $2^a$ on *Tuesday* next (*The Earl of Kimberley*). (No. 5.)

House adjourned at half past Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a quarter past Ten o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Thursday*, 13*th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee* —ARMY (SUPPLEMENTARY)—EXPEDITION UP THE NILE; EXPEDITION TO BECHUANALAND; NAVY (SUPPLEMENTARY)—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT; OPERATIONS IN BECHUANALAND.

PUBLIC BILLS—*Ordered—First Reading*—Working Men's Clubs Registration * [33]; Pollution of Rivers * [34]; Compensation for Improvements (Ireland) * [35]; Commons and Inclosure Acts Amendment * [36].

*Considered as amended—Third Reading*—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) [9], and *passed*.

## *QUESTIONS.*

### LUNATIC ASYLUMS (IRELAND) — COUNTY MONAGHAN ASYLUM—CHARGE OF CRUELTY AGAINST OFFICERS.

MR. BIGGAR asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he is aware that Rose M'Kenna, Patrick Moan, and Robert Stockdale are prepared to prove that John Geehan, Edward Sherry, James Sherry, and John Gillanders burned the cat at Monaghan Lunatic Asylum; and, if he will now order a prosecution of the persons charged with that offence?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I am not aware that the persons named are prepared to prove what is alleged. If the statements are furnished, the Attorney General will consider whether any grounds for a prosecution exist, having regard to the explanation already made.

### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—MANORHAMILTON UNION—MR. THOMAS CUMMINGS.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that Mr. Thomas Cummings, clerk to Manorhamilton Union, entered into a contract for the making of a sewer on the property of a Mr. Miller without the authority of the guardians; and, if so, will the Local Government Board take care that the clerk be made personally liable, and not the ratepayers of the electoral division of Drumkeeran?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Clerk of the Union reports that he did not enter into a contract for the making of the sewer referred to. The work was carried out by a Committee of the Guardians, the Sanitary sub-officer acting under them.

### ARREARS OF RENT (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—DR. DAVIS, J.P.

MR. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Dr. Davis, J.P., swore an affidavit, for the purposes of the Arrears Act, that one Reilly was *bonâ fide* tenant of a holding near to Kingscourt, County Cavan; whether Dr. Davis on the same night induced Reilly to sign a declaration that he was only a caretaker; whether Dr. Davis has signed over his interest in his property to his sons, but still retains control of it; and, whether he will direct an inquiry to be held into the facts of this case?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Perhaps the hon. Member will allow me to answer the Question. Dr. Davis swore an affidavit for the purposes of the Arrears Act, which proceeded on the assumption that Reilly was a tenant. Reilly did contemporaneously sign a declaration that he was only a caretaker. I have already stated that, in the opinion of the Attorney General, a prosecution under the Arrears Act could not be successfully sustained. As Dr. Davis has become a bankrupt, if he has made any fraudulent transfer of his property, it is the province of the Bankruptcy Court to investigate that matter.

### PEACE PRESERVATION (IRELAND) ACT, 1881—ARMS LICENCES.

MR. MAYNE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether at the petty sessions held at Cappawhite on Friday October 24th, two cases of carrying arms without licence were heard, in one of which, Connors, the defendant, was punished by a fine of five shillings and costs, while in the other case Ryan, the defendant, was awarded a month's imprisonment, although the latter is described in the report of the case as being of deficient intelligence; whether Ryan so described was further sentenced to six months' additional imprisonment for kicking in the leg the policeman who arrested him; whether it is a fact that Connors had only recently been released from Limerick Gaol after a term of imprisonment; and, whether a remission of the sentence will be granted in Ryan's case?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The two cases were disposed of as stated in the Question. There was nothing before the Court to show that Ryan was of deficient intelligence. Connor's sentence was a light one, because the circumstances of his offence were not serious. Being a caretaker on an evicted farm, he was given a revolver for his protection; but carried it before his licence had been issued. Ryan's case was quite different. He was found carrying a gun without a licence, and, being unknown, he was questioned by the police, and refused to give his name or any information whatever about himself, and violently resisted the policeman who arrested him. The policeman assaulted was so seriously injured that he is still suffering from the effects. Connors was released from Limerick Prison nine months ago, after a term of imprisonment for obtaining money under false pretences. In Ryan's case an appeal is pending, so that, in any case, the Lord Lieutenant could not consider an application for remission of sentence, even if it were made to him.

## PUBLIC HEALTH — QUARANTINE AT GIBRALTAR.

Dr. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is true, as stated by the Madrid Correspondent of *The Times*, that the authorities at Gibraltar

> "Have decided to impose 21 days' quarantine on all arrivals from Italy and France, counting from the day of departure, whether with clean bills or otherwise;"

and, if so, whether, in view of the belief as to the uselessness of quarantine entertained and acted on by the Home Government, and the frequent remonstrances which this country has occasion to address to other nations regarding their quarantine regulations, he will instruct the authorities at Gibraltar to adopt precautions less at variance with the practice and policy of the United Kingdom?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY: The 21 days' quarantine is imposed on all arrivals from Italy; but in the case of France only on vessels coming from her Mediterranean ports. The Governor will be requested to consider whether these restrictions cannot now be relaxed; but the Secretary of State is not prepared to require the Local Government to act upon the opinions of the Home Government in such matters, in opposition to the very decided wish of the people, and in view of the very peculiar position of Gibraltar.

## ROUMANIA—TREATMENT OF THE JEWS.

Baron HENRY DE WORMS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can now state the result of the inquiry which he promised in the House on the 5th August last would be made as to the allegation that the Jews and their families, reduced to destitution by the edict against hawking issued by the Roumanian Government, were unable to leave Roumania for the purpose of earning their living elsewhere from the fact that the Roumanian Government would not, even in the case of those who had been domiciled in the country for generations, grant them the necessary passports, on the ground that they were not Roumanian subjects?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Sufficient time has not elapsed for a reply to be received to the request which, as I informed the hon. Member privately last week, has been addressed to Her Majesty's Minister at Bucharest for further explanations respecting the passport system in Roumania. When Mr. White's reply is received, I will lose no time in communicating with the hon. Member.

## THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—HEAD CONSTABLE VAUSTON.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary has not been made aware that when Head Constable Vauston was, a few months ago, removed from Newtownbarry to Rosbercon, he unlawfully took and carried away from the barracks a valuable press, which was the property of Mr. Hall Dare, a minor, the landlord of the barracks, and which had been placed in them for the use of the men; and, whether it is intended to take any steps to have Vauston punished for this misappropriation?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Inspector General informs me that Head Constable Vauston did, when transferred from Newtownbarry, remove with his furniture an old press. When called upon to return it, he was unable to do so, as it had fallen to pieces on the journey. But he at once, about a month ago, ordered a new one to be supplied in its place; and he explained to the satisfaction of the Inspector General the mistake under which the old one had been removed. The Head Constable is a man of nearly 23 years' service, and during that period no report had ever been made against him.

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—MAGHERA PETTY SESSIONS.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is true that in the Petty Sessions district of Maghera, county Derry, there is no Catholic magistrate; whether the Catholics form a large majority of the population of the district; and, whether he will ask the attention of the Lord Chancellor to the desirability of appointing a Catholic magistrate in this district?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The Lord Chancellor informs me that he has recently placed in the Commission of the Peace four Catholic gentlemen residing not very far from Maghera; and he will ascertain whether some of them may not be able to attend the Maghera Petty Sessions, where the Resident Magistrate, who is a Roman Catholic, now attends. I may add that within the year the Lord Chancellor has placed nine Catholic gentlemen in the Commission of the Peace for the county of Londonderry.

## PUBLIC EXPENDITURE — THE CIVIL SERVICE—THE SELECT COMMITTEE OF 1873.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Why he does not carry out the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee on Civil Service Expenditure of 1873, presided over by the Right Hon. H. C. E. Childers, to the effect that suitable vacancies in all branches of the Civil Service should be filled up by the transfer of redundant officials, and that whilst there are redundant clerks or officers in any department or departments there should be no new appointments to the public service; if he will state how many redundant clerks there are at present in the Customs eligible for and awaiting promotion to the Upper Division; how many, in accordance with the recommendation of the Parliamentary Committee (supported by that of the Playfair Commission), have been transferred to fill vacancies in the Upper Division in other departments; and, how many new appointments, contrary to the recommendation referred to, have been made to the Upper Division and Class I. of the Civil Service since October 1st 1879?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the hon. Gentleman's first Question, I must remind him that from a few weeks after the Report of the Committee of 1873 was presented to Parliament until last year I have had no official connection with this question. The following, however, are the facts:—The Committee did not recommend an absolute and unconditional course of action to be followed independently of circumstances, but a preferable course, to be followed when circumstances permitted of it. Their words are not precisely of the effect which the hon. Gentleman attributes to them. They recommend that the reduction of numbers which they believed to be practicable—

> "Should be effected rather by an entire cessation of appointments to the clerical service, and by transfers from one department to another, than by superannuating (on terms of abolition) the clerks who might be redundant in particular offices."

Subject to this qualification, my answer to the hon. Gentleman's first Question is that I shall give effect to the recommendation of the Committee so far as lies in my power and circumstances permit. In reply to his second Question, there are 60 redundant officers in the Customs; but in this sense—that they have been made so by reductions in the upper ranks of the future Customs Service. As they are absorbed or retire, they will be replaced in a great degree by less expensive successors. In the meantime, they are performing duties which must in any case be performed. They are the remainder of 130 resulting from the great reorganization of the Customs effected between 1875 and 1880. No new appointments have been made to the clerical staff of the Customs since 1879. In reply to his third Question, no redundant clerk has been transferred from the Customs to the Upper Division and to Class I. in other Departments since 1st October, 1879. In reply to his fourth Question, out of 131 appointments 33 have been effected by transfer and 98 by open competition to the Upper Division in various Public Departments. I am not prepared to say, without looking into the facts as to each clerk, that any of these appointments are contrary to the recommendations of the Committee of 1873.

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—RATE OF INTEREST TO SCHOOL BOARDS.

Mr. C. H. JAMES asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether any correspondence has taken place between the Treasury and the Education Department upon the rate of interest charged to School Boards, under the Treasury Minute of the 19th August 1879, by the Public Works Loan Commissioners; and, if so, whether there would be any objection to lay it upon the Table?

Mr. COURTNEY: There has been Correspondence on this subject, and it will, I hope, be completed very shortly. When it is so I shall be happy to lay it on the Table.

## EGYPT—THE EXPEDITION UP THE NILE.

Mr. ONSLOW asked the Secretary of State for War, If he could give a list of the officers who advised Her Majesty's Government to attempt the relief of Khartoum *vià* Suakin and Berber, and also a list of those who advised the Expedition *vià* the Nile; whether he could state when Lord Wolseley expected to be before Khartoum; and, whether there is now any reasonable prospect that our troops will accomplish their task and return before the next hot season arrives?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The opinions referred to in the Question of the hon. Member are always given entirely confidentially; and it would be quite impossible for me to give to the House such a list of the officers who have expressed one opinion or the other as the hon. Member asks for. In reply to his second Question, I have to say that the preparations for Lord Wolseley's advance are being made with all possible expedition; but, under the circumstances and conditions of the case, I should be very sorry to hazard any conjecture as to when he will be before Khartoum. There is, however, every reasonable expectation that the troops under Lord Wolseley's command will be able to accomplish the objects of their mission, and return to Egypt within the present winter.

Mr. ONSLOW: May I ask whether any communication has been received from Lord Wolseley to the same effect as the answer just given by the noble Lord, and as to the time when he hopes to arrive in Khartoum?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I do not think that Lord Wolseley has committed himself to any opinion as to when he will enter Khartoum.

## THE IRISH LAND COURTS—APPLICATION FOR FAIR RENTS—THREATENING ACTION OF LANDLORDS.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD (for Mr. Charles Russell) asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether it has come to his knowledge that, in many parts of Ireland, landlords have prevented tenants going to the Court to have a fair rent fixed by threatening to deprive them, if they did so, of the right of turbary or the right to take seaweed, which they then enjoyed, in connection with their holdings, or by threatening to charge them increased payments for the exercise of such rights; whether it is a fact that, where tenants have gone into Court to have a fair rent fixed, landlords have recouped themselves wholly or in part for the reductions effected in rent by increased charge for the exercise of such rights; and, whether he will inform himself fully of the facts (by referring to the Land Commissioners, or otherwise), and lay them before the Government with a view to considering what steps can be taken to prevent the objects of the Land Act being defeated by these means?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I have observed with regret the embarrassments created in the fixing of fair rents by the conflicts between landlord and tenant about the rights to different kinds of profits and prendre. It appears to be the fact that cases have occurred in which landlords, after fair rents had been fixed, have made charges for turbary, and seaweed, and the like, which had not been made before. I have not had the opportunity of ascertaining the views of the Land Commissioners; but I shall take all the means in my power to make myself fully acquainted with the important subject referred to in the Question.

### THE CIVIL SERVICE (PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURE)—SIR W. BRAMPTON GURDON.

MR. TOMLINSON asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he is aware that Sir W. B. Gurdon is a candidate for the representation of West Norfolk in Parliament, and that he has in that capacity delivered political addresses; and, whether Sir W. B. Gurdon is still in receipt of pay as a senior clerk in the Treasury; and, if so, whether such action on the part of permanent Civil Servants is in future to be permitted by the Lords of the Treasury and the heads of other public Departments?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, Sir; since the Question was put to me before, I have ascertained that Sir W. Brampton Gurdon has delivered political addresses as a candidate for West Norfolk. Sir Brampton Gurdon is a principal clerk in the Treasury; but he has now been informed that candidature for Parliament is inconsistent with employment in the permanent Civil Service. He is an officer of great merit and judgment, and we have every confidence that his decision will be a proper one. Should he decide on prosecuting a Parliamentary career, we shall greatly feel the loss of his services at the Treasury.

### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (IRELAND)—THE BALLYFORAN MURDER—INCITEMENT TO GIVE EVIDENCE.

MR. SEXTON asked Mr. Solicitor General for Ireland, Upon what authority he has declared that there is no foundation for the statement that Mr. George Bolton, and other officials, endeavoured to incite or terrify Thomas Nolan to give false evidence in the Ballyforan murder case; whether he will lay upon the Table any documents on which he rests his declaration; whether the statement handed by Nolan to Constable O'Brien was a statement of his ignorance of the crime: if it was at the instance of the Irish Executive that the Board of Commissioners of National Education dismissed Thomas Nolan from his post of teacher whilst he was in prison; why the Crown did not examine Nolan in Court, or put him on his trial, if, as alleged, he made a statement in prison betraying complicity in the crime, or guilty knowledge of it; and, whether Mr. George Bolton denies that he privately visited another of the prisoners, Thomas Kennedy, in his cell, and that Kennedy hanged himself immediately after?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): My statement was on the authority of every person appearing to have knowledge of the subject, including the officials, five in number, to whom Thomas Nolan refers. It is not the intention of the Government to lay documents upon the Table, especially as there are two men still in custody charged with the murder, and whose trials are pending. The statement handed by Nolan to O'Brien was not a statement of his ignorance of the crime. The Commissioners of National Education did not dismiss Nolan from the post of teacher, nor did the Irish Executive ever apply to them to do so. The manager, the parish priest, informed the Commissioners that he had appointed a successor to him. The Crown did not examine Nolan as a witness, as they believed his evidence unreliable; and they did not put him on his trial, as there was no sufficient evidence against him. As to the other person, Kennedy, Mr. Bolton did not visit him privately. Kennedy, on the 2nd June, wrote a letter, in his own handwriting, expressing a wish to see him, and Mr. Bolton did see him, but not alone. Kennedy committed suicide on the 30th June.

MR. SEXTON: Might I ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he will, when the trials connected with this case are over, lay the documents on the Table?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I did not at all say that.

MR. SEXTON: Is this, then, the position of the hon. and learned Gentleman—that he denies the truth of a statement publicly made, with the name of the author attached, and that he refuses to state the authority on which he grounds his denial?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) assented.

## THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—MISCONDUCT OF CONSTABLES, KERRY CO.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, as the result of the proceedings of a constabulary investigation lately held at Farranfore, county Kerry, the Inspector General of the Royal Irish Constabulary has found two members of that force, Constables Donovan and Kennedy, guilty of having, on the night of the 19th September last, attacked a number of houses, amongst others that of the parish priest, and to the terror of the locality fired several volleys of shots; also a third constable, named Moroney, guilty of having supplied the other two with ammunition which did not bear the regulation mark; whether the sentence upon Moroney is a fine of ten shillings, and the sentence upon Donovan and Kennedy a fine of two pounds each, and removal to other districts; whether the crime of which the Inspector General declares Constables Donovan and Kennedy guilty is one punishable by penal servitude; what authority, if any, the Inspector General has to withhold the trial of a criminal charge against constables from the regular criminal tribunals of the Country; what steps the Irish Executive intend to take in the case; and, whether copies of the evidence taken by the investigating officers, their report to the Inspector General, and his Judgment, will be laid upon the Table of the House?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The constables were charged with a very grave and serious breach of discipline—namely, firing off three shots, and shouting, while on patrol duty. There is no foundation whatever for the report that they attacked houses. The sentences upon them, and upon the third constable, who tried to screen them by furnishing them with some ammunition to supply the deficiency improperly caused, were as stated in the Question, the removal being at the men's own expense. In dealing thus leniently with the case, the Inspector General was influenced by

the consideration that they were men of previous good character. The constables were not charged with any criminal offence, still less of any offence punishable by penal servitude. The Executive do not intend to take any steps in the case. I cannot undertake to lay the Papers on the Table.

MR. SEXTON asked if the right hon. Gentleman was aware that in this district an extra police tax was now being levied for the maintenance of these constables, although no outrage had been committed, except the outrage for which the Inspector General had punished these policemen?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN said, the question of maintaining extra constables did not arise out of the hon. Member's Question.

MR. SEXTON gave Notice that he would ask a further Question.

## NAVY—THE NEW ORDNANCE.

MR. CARBUTT asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the new 63-ton gun and the 110-ton gun, which are in the course of manufacture, are a new design, or are they being made on the same system as the 43-ton gun; has the 43-ton gun been tested; and, if so, can he state its penetration at short ranges, and also its length of range; can he state if any of the 43-ton guns were fired during the bombardment of Alexandria, and how many rounds were fired from one gun; and, can he give a list of the guns which were damaged at Alexandria, and state what the damage was?

MR. BRAND: With the hon. Member's permission, I will answer the Question. The 63-ton and 110-ton guns, which are in course of manufacture, are on new designs. The 43-ton gun has been tested. It can perforate about 21 inches of wrought iron, or about two-thirds of the same thickness of compound plate. Its maximum range is about eight miles. None of the 43-ton guns were fired at Alexandria, as none were mounted in vessels at that time. The guns reported damaged at Alexandria were five in number—namely, one 11-inch, which showed a crack at the muzzle; two 10-inch, which exhibited trifling defects on the exterior near the muzzle; one 8-inch, struck on muzzle by enemy's shell; and one 20-pounder, handle of vent piece blown off.

## IMPORTATION OF IRISH CATTLE AT BRISTOL—LEVYING OF DOCK DUES.

MR. KENNY asked the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, If his attention has been called to a dispute between cattle importers and the Bristol Corporation Docks Committee; if the individuals comprising the Docks Committee have attempted to levy an import duty of three pence per head upon Irish cattle landed at the port of Bristol; if, upon the refusal of the importers to pay this impost, 3,000 Irish cattle were impounded by order of the Docks Committee, and if Bristol police were employed in the work of impounding; and, if the Government proposes taking any steps to prevent any such interference with the staple trade of Ireland?

MR. TREVELYAN, in reply, said, that a letter had been put into his hands written by the Clerk of the Bristol Town Council, which he thought would answer the hon. Member's Question. He said that the docks of Bristol belonged to the Corporation, who were advised that under the Local Act of last Session they had power to impose a dock-rate on cattle landed at the docks, and more than a month ago the Town Council resolved to levy a rate of 3*d.* per head on all cattle so landed. Of this rate full notice was given, but some of the importers refused to pay it and withdrew their cattle. Upon being informed that steps would have to be taken to prevent the cattle being removed until the rate had been paid, and on seeing preparations being made to prevent removal, the leading importers, to avoid inconvenience to the business, met the Corporation officials and arranged to pay the rates under protest until the legality of the rates had been determined by the Law Courts. This arrangement was now being carried out, and proceedings to test the legality of the rate had been commenced. No cattle had been impounded, and consequently the Bristol police could not have been engaged in impounding cattle. The hon. Member would see that the rate was not a differential duty on Irish cattle.

MR. KENNY asked if it were on the authority of the Town Clerk of Bristol that the right hon. Gentleman had stated no cattle were impounded, and did he know that the newspaper reports stated Irish cattle had been impounded?

MR. TREVELYAN: The Town Clerk denies that. The matter is not one that in its present stage could possibly attract the interference of the Government. It is a legal question. The only point on which the Government ought to inform itself—the Board of Trade I believe is the Department—is whether this rate was levied against any particular country or part of the country.

MR. T. P. O'CONNOR asked whether the right hon. Gentleman would consider the advisability of recommending the Town Council of Bristol to levy a protective duty of 3*d.* per head upon all foreign cattle?

[No reply.]

## NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS (IRELAND)—PAYMENT OF SALARIES.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, with regard to his statement that the "last pay day" for teachers of Irish National Schools is the 14th day of the month succeeding the end of the quarter, Whether the Board's Circular of March 1878 fixed the 11th day of the month succeeding the end of the quarter as the last pay day; and, if any change has been made in this rule since the issue of the Circular in question; whether he is aware that the men of the Royal Irish Constabulary are paid on the 3rd or 4th of each month, and that English teachers are paid monthly in advance; and, whether there is any sufficient reason why the Irish National Teachers should not be paid as punctually and as often as the English teachers, or the Irish Police?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: The Commissioners of National Education inform me that in consequence of the operation of the Pensions Act, and owing to the increasing necessity for strict scrutiny in each case, it has been found necessary to alter the quarter day from the 11th to the 14th of the month. There is no analogy between the case of the Constabulary and that of the teachers. The Constabulary are the immediate servants of the Crown. There is absolute certainty on the day their pay is due, as to the service rendered. The teachers, on the other hand, are immediately appointed and controlled by their managers; and upon the reports of those managers, the Commissioners have to investigate the claims and make the payments. This they succeed in doing in 17,000 and odd cases within a period of 14 days with absolute punctuality with very few exceptions, and they can hardly be expected to do any more. If English teachers are in any cases paid in advance, it must be by private arrangement with their managers, and not upon the responsibility of the Education Department, which, as I understand, makes only an annual payment in a lump sum to the managers, and that after the termination of the results examinations.

### ARMY — ORDNANCE STORE DEPARTMENT—QUARTERMASTER BRUCE LONGHURST.

**Mr. JUSTIN HUNTLY M'CARTHY** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, for the last four and a-half years, Quartermaster Bruce Longhurst, Ordnance Store Department, has been in charge of the Athlone Sub-District, a sub-district that embraces about a fourth of all Ireland; that he has been reported upon to the War Office as having carried out his duties with zeal and ability; that 18 months ago he was promised by the Surveyor General, War Office, a change of station out of Ireland; and that he has lately been removed from Athlone to Haulbowline, Cork Harbour, for having reminded the War Office of the promise made to him; whether it is the fact that Quartermaster Longhurst has not been allowed to see the letter ordering his removal to Haulbowline, and that the only document he has received bearing upon his removal is an undated memorandum from Dublin Castle; and, whether such treatment of a deserving officer is in accordance with the usages of Her Majesty's Service?

**Mr. BRAND**: It is the case that Quartermaster Bruce Longhurst has been in charge of the Athlone Sub-District for about four and a-half years, that he has been favourably reported upon, and that a promise of removal was made to him by the War Office; but the exigencies of the Service have prevented the War Office from carrying into effect this promise. He has recently been removed to Haulbowline; but this removal has been made for reasons connected with the efficient working of the Department. The removal has been carried out in accordance with the usages of the Service; and if the officer considers himself aggrieved, he can seek redress under Clause 42 of the Army Act of 1881, which gives him the right to put forward a complaint to the Commander-in-Chief, who, to use the terms of the Act, is required

> "To examine into such complaint, and, through a Secretary of State, make his report to Her Majesty in order to receive the directions of Her Majesty thereon."

### IRELAND—CORPORATION OF LIMERICK—EXTRA POLICE TAX.

**Mr. DAWSON** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether a letter from the Town Clerk of Limerick has been received by His Excellency the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland offering to leave the matter of extra police tax in dispute to be inquired into at a public inquiry in Limerick by a Commissioner to be appointed by His Excellency; whether any answer has been given to the Town Clerk's letter; and, if not, would he state the grounds; whether the Constabulary Patrol Books had been always presented to the city magistrates for inspection up to the time of Mr. Clifford Lloyd's arrival in Limerick; whether that practice has since been discontinued notwithstanding the public protests of the magistrates at the police courts; and, if so, by whose orders; whether these Patrol Books afford the only evidence of the manner in which the extra police were employed either on duty in the city or elsewhere; and, whether the Corporation allege that the extra police were employed, not in preserving the peace of the city, but in performing escort duty for Mr. Clifford Lloyd?

**Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN**: On the 3rd of September, His Excellency had intimated to the Corporation of Limerick his readiness to receive a deputation, and, if possible, arrive at an amicable settlement of this question after a personal interview. This proposal having been, on the 19th of September, declined by the Corporation, it was intimated to them on the 22nd that the demand against them would, subject to certain modification in amount, be enforced by process of law, and the matter was put in the hands of the Law Officers. The letter of the 2nd of October, therefore, to which the hon. Member alludes, came too late; but, in any event, it would have been impossible that the proposal it contained for a public inquiry could be entertained. His Excellency regretted to find that, from some inadvertence, it was omitted to send a formal acknowledgment of the receipt of this letter; but I hope the hon. Member will believe that no discourtesy was intended towards the Corporation. It was a mere accident. With regard to the production of patrol books, the practice was discontinued as stated, because the patrols themselves were discontinued, the beat system having been substituted. In Limerick, therefore, as in Belfast and Londonderry, no patrol book is kept. I believe that the allegation in the last paragraph of the Question is a part of the case of the Corporation; but the Government are not prepared to admit the accuracy of that view.

MR. DAWSON asked the right hon. Gentleman if he was not aware that a deputation to the Lord Lieutenant was not the proper occasion to enter into a mass of facts and figures, and that the better way would be to ask a Commission to make investigation in Limerick?

[No reply.]

### NAVY—H.M.S. "GARNET"—THE "GRENADA PEOPLE" NEWSPAPER—CHARGES AGAINST OFFICERS.

MR. DEASY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, What has been the result of the investigation into the charges made by Mr. Donovan, editor of *The Grenada People* newspaper, against certain Officers of H.M.S. *Garnet?*

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: A Report was received from the Commander-in-Chief of the North American station with reference to the charges brought by Mr. Donovan against the captain of Her Majesty's Ship *Garnet.* The Admiralty have informed Captain Montagu that they consider he acted very injudiciously in writing the letters which he addressed to Mr. Donovan, but that they accept his explanation respecting the other charges brought against him by that person.

### IRELAND—THE NEW SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUM, DUBLIN.

MR. DAWSON asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether a definite period for commencing the building of the New Science and Art Museum and National Library of Dublin has yet been fixed; and, if so, what is the date?

MR. COURTNEY said, that he was glad to inform the hon. Member that matters were sufficiently advanced to enable the actual work to be commenced about the 24th of this month.

### IRELAND—CORPORATION OF LIMERICK—EXTRA POLICE.

MR. DAWSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is a fact that the city of Limerick is still proclaimed, and that extra police are still retained; and, if so, if he will state the grounds?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, that the proclamation of the City of Limerick had not yet been withdrawn, but the extra force, having been from time to time reduced as the state of the city permitted, now numbered 10 men only. The Government had no desire that any of these men should be left in the city a day longer than was necessary, and they would order a further Report on the subject.

### MALTA—CONSTITUTION OF THE COUNCIL.

MR. DAWSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether it is a fact that out of eighteen members of the Council of Malta ten are official and eight members only elected by the people; whether, during the absence of an official member from illness or other cause, the Government can appoint a substitute; whether an absent elected member has any power to nominate a substitute in like circumstances; whether the elected members are constantly outvoted by the official members in questions of importance, including finance; whether the elected members desire a Civil Governor instead of a Military Governor, or, in case the latter is retained, that a portion of his salary should be paid out of Imperial funds for his Military services; and, whether the Government are forcing the substitution of the English for the Italian language as the official language?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: In answer to the first Question my reply is, Yes, the Governor at present being one of 10 official members. My answer to the second Question is also Yes, in this sense—that if an official member is unable to perform his duties the Governor has power to appoint a substitute temporarily to carry on the official work, and by right of that he sits in the Council. My answer to the third Question is No. In reply to the fourth, I will recall to the hon. Member's memory the despatch which has been laid before the House from the Secretary of State to the Governor in March, 1883. It is the desire of the elected members to have a Civil Governor; and as to the question of his salary, it has been partly met by the Secretary of State giving his decision recently that £2,000 of the Governor's present salary should be paid out of Imperial funds. With respect to the last Question, there is no foundation for the statement.

## PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 (SEARCHES)—LIMERICK COUNTY—MR. JOHN O'SULLIVAN, SHANAGOLDEN.

Mr. O'SULLIVAN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware that the police, under Inspector Harrison, searched the house of Mr. John O'Sullivan of Shanagolden, county Limerick, broke open some locks and took away some books and papers without stating any reason for such action; and, if he will cause inquiry to be made into the action of the police on that occasion, and direct them to return Mr. O'Sullivan the books and papers which they carried away?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The house was searched for illegal documents by virtue of the Lord Lieutenant's warrant issued under the Crimes Act. This was explained at the time to Mr. O'Sullivan by the District Inspector, who offered to read the warrant to him, but he said it was not necessary. The documents taken away cannot at present be returned, as they are the subject of further inquiry. If found not to be required for any legal proceedings they shall be returned.

## METROPOLITAN BOARD OF WORKS—THE LONDON THEATRES.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he has seen the Report of the Building Act Committee to the Metropolitan Board of Works, which stated that

> "The Board, having completed their requisitions with respect to the structural alterations required at various theatres existing in the Metropolis at the time of the passing of the Act of 1878, do not propose to take any further action with respect to such theatres, unless in any case they shall receive an official intimation from the Lord Chamberlain that additional alterations have been made;"

whether such structural alterations can be fairly stated to have provided such exits as the public have a right to consider sufficient for their safety; whether he is aware that it was publicly stated at the Board, without eliciting a denial, when this Report was presented, that the Lord Chamberlain

> "Received fees for work he was unable to perform," that "in Middlesex the justices granted licences without asking the Board if they were satisfied with the entrances and exits or not, and the Surrey justices granted licences to places the plans of which the Board had actually rejected;"

whether he is aware that nearly 8,000 persons were admitted to Covent Garden Theatre on the night of the 27th October; and, whether, in view of the late terrible catastrophe at Glasgow, and the serious consequences which must have ensued had a panic occurred at Covent Garden Theatre, he is prepared to support a Bill giving such powers to the Lord Chamberlain or Metropolitan Board of Works as will allow a constant and proper inspection of theatres at irregular times instead of only annually and by appointment?

Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: As the hon. Member is aware, the responsibility of looking after the state of the theatres rests with the Metropolitan Board of Works. I have called the attention of the Board to the matter; they have taken action upon it, and I have no reason to think that the action they have taken is not satisfactory. I have a letter from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, with the Report of the architect employed by the Lord Chamberlain to inspect the theatres previous to the issue of his annual licences in September last, and from this it would appear that the Metropolitan Board have done their work very well, and that the exits from the theatres are safe under any ordinary circumstances. As regards the Question whether the Lord Chamberlain receives fees for work he is unable to perform, the statement is that the Lord Chamberlain receives no fees for the inspection of the theatres, and has no staff available for the performance of such duties, and, therefore, he has specially to employ an architect to inspect the theatres. With respect to

Covent Garden Theatre, I have no knowledge as to the number of people who attended there on any particular date, and it is not one of the theatres annually licensed by the Lord Chamberlain, it being open under a Patent dating from the Reign of Charles II. With reference to this Question, which is both important and interesting—If the Metropolitan Board require any further powers? all I can say is that, assuming their proposals are reasonable, they will have all the support I can give them. I may mention that the suggestion made from the Lord Chamberlain's Office, which I think a good one, is that legislation should be provided to the effect that it should be made compulsory that the managers of each place of public entertainment applying for a renewal of their annual licence should produce a certificate from the Metropolitan Board of Works of their safety to the public, making that a condition precedent to the renewal of their licence. If that were done, I think that all the securities that could be reasonably required would be given.

MR. DIXON-HARTLAND inquired if the right hon. and learned Gentleman would have any objection to laying upon the Table Captain Shaw's Report as to whether the exits from theatres were properly constructed?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he had already given his reasons for coming to the conclusion that the Report should not be published.

MR. O'KELLY: Is the right hon. and learned Gentleman aware that the exits in question are required not for ordinary, but extraordinary occasions?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, it was very difficult to provide for extraordinary occasions. They might provide for what they could anticipate, but it was very difficult to provide for what could not be anticipated.

MR. COLERIDGE KENNARD asked whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman had received a Report as to the accident in the theatre at Glasgow?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT said, he would ask about that.

## INLAND REVENUE OFFICE—GRIEVANCES OF OFFICERS.

MR. VILLIERS STUART (for Mr. MONK) asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether, having regard to the fact that 357 Petitions, signed by 3,290 Inland Revenue Officials, were presented to this House during last Session praying for the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the inequalities and grievances complained of by the Petitioners, Her Majesty's Government is disposed to accede to the appointment of such Committee?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS), in reply, said, that the complaints of the Inland Revenue officers had been fully considered, and such of the grievances alleged by them as appeared to be well founded had been remedied. But the Petitions to which his hon. Friend referred were really applications for larger salaries, and the inequalities complained of arose out of comparisons made by the Petitioners with salaries in other Departments. Full information on the subject was given to Parliament last Session, and the decision of the Government was communicated to the Service. He saw no reason for altering that decision; and certainly this was no time for increasing the charge for the collection of the Revenue. He could, therefore, give no encouragement to the appointment of a Committee.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL asked whether the 3,290 officials who signed the Petition did not form 97 per cent of the entire *employés?*

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, he could not tell.

MR. TOMLINSON asked whether the officials did not ask for an opportunity of showing to a Committee of the House how their demands could be satisfied without increasing the charge for the collection of the Revenue?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS) said, it was not unusual for gentlemen asking for increased salaries to suggest how the money to satisfy their demands could be raised.

## THE WEST INDIAN ISLANDS—THE ISLAND OF DOMINICA.

MR. TOMLINSON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether he can say whether there is any foundation for the statement in *The West Indian* newspaper, published at Barbadoes, on the 24th October last, that the Legislative Assembly of the Island of Dominica have passed Resolutions recommending that Her Majesty's Government be memoralised to cede the Island to the United States of America; whether half the Members of the Legislative Assembly are nominated by the Crown; and, whether the Government have any information as to the grounds on which the inhabitants of the Island have become dissatisfied with their position as belonging to the British Empire, and expect improvement from becoming connected with the United States?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, the only knowledge he had of this matter was from the newspaper paragraph referred to in the Question. It stated that the alleged Resolution was caused by the action of the Mother Country in permitting bounty-fed sugar to come into the English market. It was true that half the Members of the Assembly were nominees.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked if the Government had any information whether the nominated Members supported the Resolution or not?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY replied, that the report referred to, which was their only source of information, did not state who voted and who did not.

Mr. TOMLINSON asked if the Government would make further inquiry into this important matter?

Mr. EVELYN ASHLEY said, that, of course, the Government would get official information in time.

## THE INDIAN FAMINE, 1877-8—THE MISSIONARIES.

Colonel COLTHURST asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether he would refer the documents in his possession, with reference to alleged cases of money lending at high, if not usurious, interest during the famine of 1877-8 by certain missionaries in Southern India, to the Government of Madras, so as at least to prevent these gentlemen (should the allegations made turn out to be well founded) being appointed at any future time official members of relief committees?

Mr. J. K. CROSS: As I informed my hon. and gallant Friend on Monday last, this matter is not one in which the Government of India can interfere; but I shall be glad to send the documents in question to Mr. Grant Duff, who will, no doubt, give them due attention.

## EGYPT—MILITARY EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN.

Mr. DIXON-HARTLAND asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether, immediately after the battles of Tamanieb and Tamasi, General Graham telegraphed from Suakin that there was no reason why a sufficient portion of his troops should not advance to Berber and relieve General Gordon if he were permitted to obtain the necessary transport; whether the Government, after consultation with Lord Wolseley, inquired from General Graham how many camels he would require, and their price, and received an answer, 3,000 camels, and their price would be about £50 each; whether General Graham was then asked if he could do with 1,500 camels, and could purchase them at the old price of about £15 a-piece; and whether, on his replying in the negative, he was ordered to at once ship his troops; and, whether, in order to economise this £150,000 which the camels would have cost, this plan of General Graham's was abandoned, and the present expedition for the relief of General Gordon rendered necessary?

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR said, that before the Question was answered, he wished to ask the noble Lord whether Lord Wolseley was the same person who, being some years ago in command of the expedition against Coomassie, received a message from Captain Glover to the effect that he was prepared to cross the Prah with a Native force, and who sent back a reply that he was not to do so until ordered by him?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I really have no knowledge of the circumstances referred to by the hon. Member, nor do I see in what way they are relevant to the Question on the Paper. With regard to the Question of the hon. Member for Evesham (Mr. Dixon-Hartland), there is no foundation whatever for the statement that any such telegram was either received or sent.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT asked whether at that time the noble Marquess did not receive any telegram from General Graham suggesting that it was perfectly possible to march from Suakin to Berber, and stating that if he had 3,000 camels he would be able to do so?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: No, Sir; there were no such telegrams.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT: May I ask if there was a letter or other communication, if there was no telegram?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: To the best of my recollection, there was no such letter. If the hon. and gallant Member likes to put a Question on the Paper I will answer it. I have no recollection of anything of the kind.

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—CHILDREN'S PENNY DINNERS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether his attention has been called to the manner in which Penny Dinners have been provided for the children of Rousden School, Devon; and, whether, in view of the evidence recently given as to the insufficient nourishment of many thousands of the children of the poorer classes who are compelled to go through great mental strain, the Education Department will bring all the details of the Rousden system under the notice of the Elementary Schools and recommend its adoption?

MR. MUNDELLA: The hon. Gentleman asks me whether my attention has been called to the excellent experiment of Sir Henry Peek at Rousden School in providing penny dinners for the children of that school, and whether I will recommend it for general adoption? In making my annual Statement in July last year, I especially called the attention of the House to the remarkable success which had attended the Rousden experiment, as well as that which has been carried on for many years at the Jews' Free School in Spitalfields. The hon. Member for the University of Glasgow (Mr. J. A. Campbell) also gave the House full details of a similar successful experiment in Scotland. All these statements, together with the most explicit information as to the cost and composition of the dinners, have been collected and published in a pamphlet which I hold in my hand, which has passed through several editions, and of which 18,000 copies have already been sold. The result is that in many towns and villages throughout the Kingdom the system has been adopted, and in London a single organization has started penny dinners in about 13 centres, and more are about to be added. School Boards have no power to expend money in the feeding of children; but I have the fullest confidence that voluntary effort will supply all that is needful.

## MADAGASCAR — THE HOSTILITIES WITH FRANCE—PROTECTION TO BRITISH INTERESTS AND SUBJECTS.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any effectual measures have yet been taken to protect British subjects and British commerce in Madagascar, and to obtain reparation for the heavy losses inflicted upon British subjects by the French attack on that island?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I have already on three previous occasions informed the House of the additions made to the Consular Staff in Madagascar with a view to the protection of British subjects and commerce. I hnve also stated, in reply to a similar Question of the hon. Member, that until the conclusion of hostilities it would be premature to enter upon the consideration of claims. If the hon. Member will refer to the Papers recently laid before Parliament (Africa, No. 6, page 39), he will see that the French Government undertake that a Commission shall hereafter be appointed to decide upon demands for compensation arising out of warlike operations in Madagascar.

## TURKEY—THE TREATY OF BERLIN—THE STIPULATED REFORMS.

SIR H. DRUMMOND WOLFF asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether any steps have recently been taken to press upon the Porte the reforms in European and Asiatic Turkey, as stipulated in the Treaty of Berlin; and, whether any Correspondence can be presented on the subject?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Constant representations have been made, but without success, to induce the Porte to introduce the promised reforms into Armenia, and I have already undertaken to lay further Papers on the subject. It will be considered in connection with these Papers whether information relating to the condition of the European Provinces of Turkey may not be laid at the same time. It was left to the discretion of Lord Dufferin to press for the execution of the reforms stipulated for under the 23rd Article of the Treaty of Berlin, but he was not able to do so with the prospect of any immediate result. The subject, will, however, be borne in mind in framing the instructions to Lord Dufferin's Successor.

### NAVY—NAVAL PENSIONS.

MR. JOHN REDMOND asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether it is not the practice to pay to widows of deceased pensioners of the Navy any arrears of pension due at the time of their deaths; whether one quarter's pension was due to Michael Sullivan, pensioner Royal Navy at the date of his death last September; and, for what reason the authorities refuse to pay it to his widow?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY replied, that Naval pensioners were paid quarterly in advance, and that no arrears were due as suggested in the Question.

### MINES REGULATION ACT—EXPLOSION AT POCHIN COLLIERY.

MR. BURT asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, If he has appointed, or will appoint, some competent person to represent the Home Office at the coroner's inquiry into the cause of the recent fatal explosion at Pochin Colliery, near Tredegar?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Yes, Sir, I shall certainly have a careful inquiry made into this matter; and I venture to point out with regard to the representations I have received against the measures proposed to be taken for greater precaution against shot-firing, that I received to-day from the Inspector of Mines a Report stating that, in his opinion, the explosion was due to shot-firing.

### THE WEST INDIES—THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION.

MR. DICK-PEDDIE asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, If he will state whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to all or any of the recommendations of the Royal Commission on the West Indies?

*Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice*

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: No doubt, a considerable number of the recommendations of the Royal Commission will be adopted; but no definite answer can yet be given to the Question, as there are many matters still pending, such as confederation of the Islands and reciprocal tariff relations with the United States, which must be settled before a final determination can be arrived at.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF THOMAS BEHAN, A CONVICT, KILDARE CO.

MR. LEAHY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Irish Government have received Resolutions from the Town Commissioners of Naas, Newbridge, and Athy, in the county of Kildare, expressing their firm belief of the innocence of Thomas Behan, convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for arson at Newbridge, in said county, and requesting the case to be further inquired into; and, if any steps will be taken to further investigate his case?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Upon receiving Notice of this Question yesterday, I referred it to Dublin for inquiry. There has not been time for the reply to come to hand.

MR. LEAHY: I will ask the Question again on Monday.

### CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—PROSECUTIONS FOR AGRARIAN AND POLITICAL OFFENCES.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he will supply to the House a Return giving the number of criminal prosecutions during the past four years, in Ireland, for agrarian and political offences; the number of convictions recorded; the number of cases in which approvers were employed by the Crown; and the number of instances in which convictions were secured either in part or wholly owing to the evidence of such approvers?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN, in reply, said, he had no objection to give a Return of the criminal prosecutions during the past four years in Ireland for agrarian and political offences. It would, however, be a very tedious Return to prepare, involving much labour. He could not undertake to give a

Return of the number of instances in which convictions were secured by the evidence of approvers.

### NAVY—STATE OF THE NAVY.

**MR. W. H. SMITH** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he can now inform the House when the statement of the Goverment as to the Naval defences of the Country will be made to the House?

**MR. GLADSTONE**: I believe, Sir, that the Admiralty will be ready with the promised statement certainly on Tuesday, the 25th, probably on Monday, the 24th. I have not yet received a final answer on that subject; but perhaps Monday will be the better day.

**MR. W. H. SMITH**: Is it the intention of the Government to propose a Supplementary Estimate, so as to afford the House an opportunity for discussion?

**MR. GLADSTONE**: We will take care to find an opportunity for discussion; but Monday would be the preferable day, as the Government have the command of it without the interposition of any other question. [After consulting with Lord Richard Grosvenor, Mr. Gladstone proceeded.] I understand from my noble Friend, who has more recently heard from the First Lord, that Monday, the 24th, will do quite well. I cannot promise to bring forward a Supplementary Estimate.

### SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM—LOAN DEPARTMENT.

**MR. COOPE** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether he is aware that a remarkable and highly-valuable collection of old Wedgwood ware, at present exhibited at the Nottingham Castle Museum, was offered on loan to the authorities of the South Kensington Museum, and refused by them on the plea of "want of space;" whether at that time many of the cases in the Loan Department were filled, and still are so, with objects of little value or artistic merit; whether a collection of old specimen Sèvres plates, formerly the property of the Director of that Royal Manufactory, was also similarly offered, firstly accepted, and then refused; and, whether the Government is prepared to take such steps as will prevent the recurrence of similar refusals?

**MR. MUNDELLA** (for Mr. GLADSTONE): I have inquired into both these cases of proffered loans, and find that neither of them are of recent date. Mr. Josephs's collection of Wedgwood ware was courteously declined in 1876 owing to the want of space which has been increasingly felt up to the present time. No communication has been received on the subject during the last eight years. The Sèvres plates were offered on loan about five years ago, and the Department agreed to exhibit them; but before they were sent to South Kensington they were sold to the proprietor of a West End business, who offered to leave them on loan for six months only, whereupon the Department declined to receive them. Owing to the stoppage of building at South Kensington, there is great pressure upon the space at the command of the Museum authorities, and loans have constantly to be declined. In all cases great care is exercised that loans made with a view to subsequent sale are not accepted.

### PARLIAMENT — BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—REDISTRIBUTION.

**SIR JOHN HAY** asked whether the Prime Minister would give facilities for the discussion of the Motion on the redistribution of seats which stood on the Order Book as the second Order for Tuesday?

**MR. GLADSTONE**: I hope, Sir, the right hon. Gentleman will not think me guilty of any discourtesy; but I am bound to say that I do not see the advantage, with reference to what we have all at heart—namely, the pacific and effectual progress of the Franchise Bill—of discussing a redistribution scheme at the present moment, unless it were a scheme supported by the authority of some large body of the House. I am afraid I cannot make that assumption with reference to the Bill of the right hon. Gentleman, because I believe he proposes it in his personal capacity. He now brings forward Resolutions. I do not think that a discussion at large on redistribution, so far as I am able to judge, would be beneficial or would advance us towards the settlement of the question.

**SIR JOHN HAY** gave Notice that, in consequence of what had fallen from the right hon. Gentleman, he should remove the Notice of Resolutions from the Order Book in order that the Bill, which stood for second reading on the 3rd December, might take its place.

## CENTRAL ASIA—THE RUSSO-AFGHAN FRONTIER.

**Mr. MACFARLANE** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, If his attention has been called to the disclosure of the contents of a Report upon the Central Asian frontier question in certain newspapers, and if he can state by whom the Report in question was made; if it was of a confidential character; and, what steps the Government propose to take to punish the offender?

**Mr. J. K. CROSS**: I must ask the hon. Member for Carlow not to press for any answer to his Question until the communications now passing between the Government of India and the Secretary of State are complete. A certain Memorandum has been made public purporting to have been written by the Quartermaster General of India; but I cannot go into the matter referred to in the Question.

## INDIA—THE QUETTA-CANDAHAR RAILWAY.

**Sir HENRY TYLER** asked the Under Secretary of State for India, What progress has been made with the Quetta Railway; on how many miles the rails has been laid; on how many miles the formation has been prepared; what proportion of the necessary materials have been provided or are on the ground; and, when it is expected to be completed?

**Mr. J. K. CROSS**: I wish to be allowed to correct an answer which I gave on the 27th of October in reply to a Question by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir R. Assheton Cross) concerning this railway. I stated that no permanent way having being laid above Nari, the opportunity for taking it up did not occur. I learn, on direct communication with the Government of India on the subject, that—

> "Rails were laid one mile near Nari, 2½ miles near Gandakin, and 2½ near Kochali. The rails near Nari were removed on washing away of embankment, others to use for other purposes."

These rails had been placed on detached portions of earthworks 15 and 22 miles from Nari. In reply to the Question of the hon. Member for Harwich (Sir Henry Tyler), I am not able to give the definite information he asks for; but from a telegram received yesterday from the Government of India, I learn that the line may be completed in two years. The progress depends very much on the work in the tunnels; and I may add that some immediate delay may occur from an outbreak of cholera which has taken place at Nari.

**Sir R. ASSHETON CROSS** said, he was obliged to the hon. Gentleman for giving him Notice of this matter. He should like to know whether the statement interfered with the allegations made as to the rails being laid and the works in progress for 40 miles beyond Sibi?

**Mr. J. K. CROSS** said, earthworks were in progress. He would read the following telegram, dated October 25, from the Viceroy—

> "Line practically complete, with temporary bridges, to foot of Bolan and Nari Gorge, distance in all of about 165 miles. Permanent bridges and ballastings in progress. For 30 miles from Nari Gorge into Hurnai Valley at Spintangi earthworks more or less finished; bridges not commenced, but girders at Sibi. From Spintangi to Quetta service road for country carts made for whole distance, except two miles through Chapari Rift."

There was nothing in this about the permanent way.

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—REPORTED DEATH OF GENERAL GORDON.

**Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE**: There is a telegram in several evening papers of a disquieting character, in which it is stated that a telegram has been received through Reuter's Agency in Paris to this effect—

> "At a Cabinet Council, held this morning, M. Jules Ferry communicated despatches, from which it would appear that General Gordon has been shot dead while on the way from Khartoum to Berber."

I wish to ask whether any news has been received by the Foreign Office in reference to this matter?

**Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: No, Sir; no such information has been received at the Foreign Office. The only information at all bearing on this subject that has been received by the Foreign Office is a telegram received yesterday, which I wish to read to the House. It is dated the 12th of November, and is from Sir Evelyn Baring to Lord Granville, in which the former says—

> "The French Consul General has communicated to me information which he has received *viâ* Massowah and Suakin to the effect that Khartoum has fallen and Gordon has been massacred. This is probably only the same rumour which reached us down the Nile Valley some time ago. It is almost inconceivable that if the news be true it should not be known at Dongola."

MR. BOURKE: Perhaps I may be allowed to put a Question which will allay anxiety with respect to General Gordon. Can the noble Lord state whether General Wolseley has sent despatches home during the last day or two with regard to the possibility of communicating with Khartoum?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: I do not recollect that Lord Wolseley in any recent despatch has referred to the possibility or otherwise of communicating with Khartoum.

MR. O'KELLY: Has the Government communicated with General Wolseley in reference to this rumour?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: When the rumours were so prevalent a short time ago as to the fall of Khartoum and the death of General Gordon, Lord Wolseley was asked by Sir Evelyn Baring whether, in his opinion, there was any foundation for the reports. His reply was, I think, communicated to the House.

## IRISH LAND COMMISSION (SUB-COMMISSIONERS)—MR. WALPOLE.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Justice O'Hagan, when replying to the Memorial for the removal of Sub-Commissioner Walpole, from the Cork Sub-Commission, had inquired into the specific charges of partizanship set forth in the Memorial, when he wrote—

> "The Commissioners do not believe that any valid reason exists in the case of any of their Sub-Commissioners;"

and, if so, what was the nature and result of his inquiries?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN said, that the Land Commissioners did not make any inquiry of the kind suggested in the Question; and as to Mr. Walpole, he could only say that an absolute contradiction had been given to the allegations.

MR. O'BRIEN: I beg to give Notice that, when the Vote for the salaries of the Land Commissioners comes up for consideration, I will draw attention to this serious and inexcusable neglect to inquire into grave and serious statements.

## AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS' (IRELAND)—THE COMMITTEE.

MR. PARNELL asked the Solicitor General for Ireland, Whether he would explain to the House the cause of the delay that had taken place in the summoning of the Labourers' Committee, in view of the fact that it was nearly a week since it was appointed?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER) said, he was very anxious to facilitate the matter; but he was not in a position to give any explanation.

MR. PARNELL: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman kindly say when the Committee will be summoned?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): If it rested with me there would not be any delay.

MR. PARNELL: In view of the very unsatisfactory reply given to the Question by the hon. and learned Gentleman, I will call attention to the unusual delay in this matter. I shall call attention to it on going into Committee of Supply to-morrow.

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I will take steps so far as in me lies to have the Committee summoned for Monday.

MR. PARNELL: In making that statement, has the hon. and learned Gentleman considered the probability that on Monday this House will not be sitting, owing to the disposal of all Business necessary for it to transact?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): I believe it will be sitting.

## BOARD OF TRADE—SHIP INSURANCE (RETURN No. 258)—MR. MAC IVER, M.P., AND THE PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD.

### PERSONAL EXPLANATION.

MR. MAC IVER: I ask the permission of the House in order that I may make a personal explanation. I am sorry that I do not see the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain) in his place, because I gave public Notice of my intention to make this statement, and I had hoped that it would have been convenient for the right hon. Gentleman to have been present. If he were present, I should ask him, after the statement I am about to make, to withdraw, completely and unreservedly, the whole of what he said on Tuesday last in regard to myself. [Mr. CHAMBERLAIN here entered the House.] As the right hon. Gentleman is now in his place, I will conclude the very few words I wish to address to the House by a request to the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw, completely and unreservedly, all that he stated in reference to myself on Tuesday last; to omit entirely my name from the Return in which it has been inserted by the Board of Trade, in connection with the lost steamer *Stromboli*, which did not belong to me; and to recall altogether the Parliamentary Return No. 258, in which those names now appear. I shall also ask him to omit the name of the steamer *Thessaly* from any proposed further Return with reference to lost ships. It will be in the recollection of the House that the right hon. Gentleman stated, positively and repeatedly, that the steamer *Thessaly* was a constructive total loss. At that time I ventured to contradict the right hon. Gentleman; but I think that now I need do no more than read two telegrams from sources which will be entirely satisfactory to the right hon. Gentleman himself, and which will show to him, beyond any kind of question, that I was right. The first of these telegrams is from Mr. Richard Lowndes, the well-known average adjuster at Liverpool, who has been professionally concerned in connection with the *Thessaly's* accident of five years ago, and who knows all about the matter. He has sent the following telegram to me—

> "Your statement was correct. The *Thessaly* was not a constructive total loss. The steamer was floated and proceeded to her destination, and was repaired there."

The next telegram which I have is from Glasgow, where the steamer was insured. It is from Messrs. Bennett, Brown & Co., the well-known insurance brokers there. They have forwarded this telegram to me this morning—

> "You are quite right. The *Thessaly* was not a loss, and the Underwriters only paid for her repair."

I think I need not trouble the House further in regard to the *Thessaly;* but I submit that I have some right to ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade to withdraw unreservedly every word he has said about that vessel, in regard to which I have a further telegram announcing her safe arrival at St. Vincent on Saturday last. Under these circumstances, I think I have a right to ask the right hon. Gentleman to recall and omit entirely my name from the Parliamentary Return No. 258, in which it is inserted, in connection with the lost steamer *Stromboli*, notwithstanding what I have said in this House. Anyone who looks at page 6 will find my name inserted as a delegate, although the right hon. Gentleman knows that I was not a delegate, and that, as regards the *Stromboli*, I had nothing whatever to do with her for some four or five years previous to the disaster. I have only to thank the House for the kindness with which it has listened to me, and to call upon the right hon. Gentleman to withdraw absolutely and completely the whole of what he said.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I am sorry that I did not hear the opening remarks of the hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Mac Iver); but the fault rests with himself in not having given me Notice that he intended to raise the question. I understand that he complains of an answer which I gave to a Question put by him on Tuesday, which he says was inaccurate and which he asks me to withdraw. Now, I should like at once to say that I made a technical mistake in describing the *Thessaly* as a constructive total loss. ["Oh!"] I repeat that it was a technical mistake only, that I was misinformed in the description I gave of the *Thessaly* as a constructive total loss. ["Oh, oh!"] Yes; a technical mistake only. I was speaking, of course, from information which I had received, and I believe I was wrong in describing the *Thessaly* as a constructive total loss. That, however, does not affect the general question in the slightest degree. But, having said so much, I have no other word to withdraw from the statement which I made, and I cannot accept the invitation which has been made to me by the hon. Member. The *Thessaly* was removed from the Register, and was described as a loss in a letter which the hon. Member himself wrote to the Department, in which he stated that the vessel had been stranded, and had been removed from the Register in 1877. In these circumstances, in my opinion, she was correctly described as a loss. It is perfectly true that after this very serious accident she was got off the rock upon which she had been wrecked, her crew having been previously removed from the wreck, and that, having been repaired, she is, no doubt, now in service. But that fact does not in the least degree alter the accuracy of the statement which I made. With regard to the *Stromboli*, I have only to repeat what I said yesterday. I do not understand that anything which the hon. Member has said has impeached the accuracy of my statement. I may add a little to the statement which I made the other night. On the second reading of the Merchant Shipping Bill, I stated that certain picked men in the shipping trade—59 in number—who had been selected as a deputation at a large meeting, and who must, therefore, be taken to be among the best and most honourable men in the trade, and against whose character not a word was to be said, had lost a considerable number of ships, and that attendant upon that loss there had been a considerable loss of life. Let it be understood that I do not bring any accusation against any of those gentlemen as owners of these vessels. I was only stating the extent of the losses, and I have no knowledge that, in any one of these cases of loss, any blame attached to the owner. I was only quoting the fact to show that, where such a terrible loss took place in connection with the ships of the picked men of the trade, the trade as a whole had no right to contend that it should be removed from criticism, and have no legislation applied to it, such as is applied to other and less-favoured trades. That being so, anyone who finds his name mentioned in that list will know that it is included with those of the first shipowners of the country, and he has no right to complain, or to believe, that any personal accusation is made against him. In making that statement I was anxious to avoid personal allusions, and, therefore, I did not give the names of the 59 gentlemen in question. I only gave the aggregate number. The names, however, were demanded, and I was compelled to furnish them in a Return which was moved for by the hon. Member for Sunderland (Mr. Storey), and which I could not refuse to give. I had, in that Return, to show how I obtained the aggregate I had given. The name of the hon. Member's (Mr. Mac Iver's) brother, or some other relative—Mr. C. Mac Iver—appeared as the owner of the *Stromboli*, which was lost, and the hon. Member himself was at the meeting. Mr. C. Mac Iver was undoubtedly the owner of the ship; the *Stromboli* was undoubtedly lost; and, with the exception of having treated the *Thessaly* as a constructive total loss, whereas she was a stranded vessel, I have nothing to withdraw, and I do not see what the hon. Member complains of.

MR. MAC IVER: I hope the House will extend its indulgence to me for a few minutes longer. I will say nothing more about the *Thessaly*, because the telegrams which I have read to the House put that matter right; but I want to refer to the *Stromboli*, and to read a sentence from the Return to which I have alluded. I obtained this Return in the Vote Office to-day; and I quote from it these words—

> "Note.—Since Mr. Chamberlain's speech, inquiries have been continued in cases where any doubt existed, and the facts appear to be as follows:—49, not 47, of the delegates and Members of Parliament who attended the Cannon Street meeting owned ships in their own names. The 69 ships belonged to 29 of these 49 shipowners"—

and so on. A list is given in the Return which purports to be the names of these delegates and Members of Parliament, and also a list of the ships and number of lives lost, and among the names of the delegates and Members of Parliament I find my own included. The House, I presume, will believe me when I say that I did not attend the meeting as a delegate, unless being Member for Birkenhead—a shipping constituency—would constitute me a delegate. I attended the meeting simply as a shipowner. If hon. Members will refer to the Return, they will see that on page 6 my name is mentioned in connection with the loss of the *Stromboli*. I cannot express, in Parliamentary language, what I think of the right hon. Gentleman's statement with regard to the loss of the *Stromboli*, in connection with which my name undoubtedly appears in this Return. The *Stromboli* did not belong to me. I have only one word more to say before I sit down. I think it is unfair to attribute blame to me for the use of my name by other persons, which use of it I cannot prevent.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. Gentleman is perfectly entitled to make a personal explanation; but he is not entitled to enter into debate.

Mr. MAC IVER: I have no wish to debate the matter. I merely desired to explain that the employment of my name by those who call themselves "D. and C. Mac Iver" is without my consent, and that I would stop it to-morrow if I could.

Subsequently,

Mr. MAC IVER said: I wish to give Notice that, on Friday next, I shall again ask the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain), If he will at once withdraw and cancel the Parliamentary Return No. 258, so far as relates to connecting me with the lost steamer *Stromboli*, and also to omit entirely my name and that of the steamer *Thessaly* from any other Return relating to lost ships?

## THE CIVIL SERVICE (PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURE)—SIR W. BRAMPTON GURDON.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR, referring to an answer given by the Chancellor of the Exchequer earlier in the Sitting, asked the right hon. Gentleman, Whether objection to Sir W. Gurdon, as Clerk at the Treasury, being a candidate for Parliament, or delivering political addresses, was confined to officers of the Treasury and the Excise and Customs, or to the whole of the Civil servants; and, if so, what were the grounds upon which the Treasury sought to curtail the Common Law rights as citizens of members of the Civil Service?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): My answer referred to the particular question of the candidature of Sir W. Gurdon, and I stated that his candidature for Parliament was inconsistent with his position as a Civil servant. More than that I did not say. The hon. Gentleman has asked me rather a long Question some time after my answer. If he wishes for further information, I must ask him to put the Question on the Paper.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I wish to know whether Sir W. Gurdon has given up his candidature, or whether he is to be allowed to go on with it?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I do not think the hon. Member could have been in the House when I gave the answer to this very question quite distinctly.

Sir H. DRUMMOND WOLFF: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. I distinctly heard what he said, and I think he might give me a more courteous reply.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I am sorry my reply to the hon. Member did not please him. What I stated was that Sir W. Gurdon, having performed certain acts of candidature which I described, has been informed that his acts of candidature were inconsistent with his position as a permanent officer of the Civil Service. I added that I had no doubt he would arrive at a proper decision on the matter, and I said we should very much regret his leaving the Treasury.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR gave Notice that on Monday he would ask the right hon. Gentleman, Whether the Government held that a member of the Civil Service was, by the mere fact of his service, precluded from taking any part in the public life of the country and from attending and addressing public meetings?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I will answer that Question at once. A member of the Civil Service is not debarred from the ordinary functions of an elector.

Mr. CALLAN gave Notice that he would ask the right hon. Gentleman tomorrow, whether there was any precedent for an officer of the Inland Revenue being instantly suspended for issuing an address to a constituency?

Mr. HICKS desired to know when the intimation was sent to Sir W. Gurdon?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): I should like to have Notice of that Question.

## SUPPLY—SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES—ORDER OF NOVEMBER 27, 1882.

Mr. WARTON: Mr. Speaker, I wish to take your opinion in regard to the so-called Supplementary Estimates which stand on the Paper for consideration to-night, as to the construction of the Order of the 27th of November, 1882.

I want to ask you, Sir, whether this is a case in which you are to leave the Chair without Question put; or, whether it is possible or not to move any kind of Amendment on the Motion that you leave the Chair, which may be germane to the questions about to be considered in Committee—namely, the Expedition up the Nile and the Expedition to Bechuanaland? I submit to you, Sir, that looking carefully at this Rule of November, 1882, it would be a palpable evasion of that Rule to leave the Chair at once upon Motion being made for going into Committee, without affording an opportunity for discussion. The Rule provides—

> "That whenever the Committee of Supply stands as the first Order of the day on Monday or Thursday, Mr. Speaker shall leave the Chair without putting any Question, unless on first going into Supply on the Army, Navy, or Civil Service Estimates respectively, or on any Vote of Credit, an Amendment be moved, or Question raised, relating to the Estimates proposed to be taken in Supply."

I shall be glad, Sir, to have your opinion as to what is the true interpretation of this Rule as applied to the present case. We are now at the beginning of a completely new Session, commenced in the usual way by a Speech from the Throne, and certainly this is an occasion of "first going into Supply." In the second place, I would put it to you, Sir, whether the words "or on any Vote of Credit" do not cover the case now before us? It is not enough, I submit, to call the Estimates we are asked to consider "Supplementary Estimates" in order to avoid and evade the effect of the Standing Order, and to bring these Votes under that part of the Rule which makes provisions for exceptions. I contend that this is clearly a Vote of Credit as far as the Army is concerned. It is, practically, a Vote of Credit on account of the Egyptian Expedition, for it is ridiculous to suppose that the sum of £300,000, voted at the end of last Session, would be sufficient to meet the exigencies of the case; and, more than that, we are called upon to grant a Vote for an entirely new subject—namely, an Expedition to Bechuanaland. In that case, the Vote is palpably a Vote of Credit, and I ask for your ruling on the point, whether this is not the first occasion of going into Supply upon a Vote of Credit? I would further point out that, in the third place, seeing that a sum of £300,000 has already been granted for the Army, in connection with the Expedition up the Nile, that the sum of £1,000,000 now asked for may therefore be construed into an Army Supplementary Estimate, and the Estimates submitted in reference to the Navy must be in the same position, seeing that the amounts specified are now asked for for the first time, both as regards Egypt and Bechuanaland. My contention is, Sir, that, both in reference to the Votes for the Army and the Navy, we are now asked to consider Estimates in Committee of Supply for the first time. I therefore wish to ask you, Mr. Speaker, whether this is not the first time of going into Supply in the present Session; in the next place, whether the Votes we are asked to grant are not, in reality, Votes of Credit; and, in the third place, whether a grant for an Expedition to Bechuanaland is not an entirely fresh subject, which ought to be dealt with, distinctly, by a Vote of Credit? I await your ruling, Sir, upon these points with great confidence, my contention being that, under the Rule of November 27th, 1882, you would not be justified in leaving the Chair without first putting the Question and affording an opportunity for debate.

MR. SPEAKER: The exceptions contained in the Standing Order of the 27th of November, 1882, apply to first going into Supply on the Army, Navy, or Civil Service Estimates, or on a Vote of Credit. Supplementary Estimates do not come under that Rule. This point was distinctly raised in March, 1883, and it was then explicitly decided by my Predecessor, in reply, if I remember right, to a Question asked by the hon. Gentleman the Member for Queen's County (Mr. Arthur O'Connor), that the Rule did not apply to Supplementary Estimates. Upon several occasions in the course of last Session, Supplementary Estimates were entered upon, and the Speaker immediately left the Chair without Question put. I hold that the Standing Order referred to by the hon. and learned Member for Bridport, applies not to Supplementary Estimates, but to the general Financial Question of the year. In drawing attention to the question, the hon. and learned Member has drawn a distinction between a Vote of Credit and Supplementary Estimates; but these are Supplementary Estimates on the face of them. They are to make good certain deficiencies under various heads, for the financial year ending upon March 31st, 1885. When the Order for Committee of Supply is read, I shall, therefore, leave the Chair without Question put.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES' 1884-5—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND BECHUANALAND.

SUPPLY—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Sir Arthur Otway, I have not been able to form any opinion, beforehand, as to the character of the discussion which is likely to take place on the Supplementary Estimate for the Soudan Expedition, which I am about to move. I own that I cannot tell whether that discussion is likely to turn upon questions of a political character, or upon questions of a military character, or upon both. In those circumstances, I think it would be most convenient, as I and my hon. Friends on this Bench will have an opportunity, if necessary, of addressing the Committee again, that I should make a comparatively short statement in proposing the Vote, reserving for a future opportunity, should it be necessary, any explanations which may be subsequently required. Well, Sir, I think it is not necessary, for my purpose this evening, to go back further than the Vote of Credit of £300,000, which the House granted at the beginning of the month of August last. Instructions were immediately given to the General Officer commanding in Egypt upon the passing of that Vote of Credit, and those instructions will be found in Parliamentary Papers (Egypt), No. 35, at No. 18 of that Blue Book. The Committee will see that those instructions were given solely in the sense of preparation for the movement of troops to the Soudan, if it should become necessary, and that they did not cover any orders or any movements of troops of a hostile character. The Government were of opinion, at that time, that the conditions which they had on more than one occasion stated to the House as those only under which they would consider themselves entitled actually to send an Expedition to Khartoum were not entirely satisfied, and that the contingency had not arrived in which they were absolutely convinced that, adhering to those pledges, it would be necessary to send a force beyond the frontier of Egypt. But the instructions which were sent were of such a character that no time would be lost, if it should be at any subsequent time decided that such an Expedition should be despatched. Well, Sir, the instructions, as I have said, which were sent are contained in No. 18 of Blue Book 35. I ought, perhaps, very briefly to refer to what the principal instructions were. They included a certain increase of the Force of Her Majesty's troops in Egypt. They directed a concentration of troops at Wady Halfa, which was considered the extreme frontier of the Dominion of the Khedive. They directed that as many Nile steamers as was possible, and considered expedient, should at once, during the continuance of the high river, pass up the First and Second Cataracts. They also included that provision should be made for supplementing the means of local river transport, by the provision of boats to be made in England, and to be sent out to Egypt. They also included provision for a considerable number of stores in England, and the despatch of those stores to Egypt; and they further directed that arrangements should be made for collecting large quantities of stores at Wady Halfa, where the troops were to be concentrated. They also directed that arrangements should be made for a corps of Canadian boatmen, and a certain number of Kroomen from the West Coast of Africa—men who were considered to have great experience of the navigation of small craft of the description proposed to be sent out from England, either in rapid rivers or in rough water. They also included measures for putting the Egyptian railway, both from Cairo to Assouan, and also portions of the railway which pass some of the worst portions of the Cataracts, in a better state of repair, and the reorganization of a small amount of land transport, in addition to the water transport to which I have referred. I think the Committee will see that those instructions, although they did not contemplate any immediate actual movement of troops of a hostile character, were such as to provide for the undertaking of such a movement without incurring any more delay than if the actual orders for such a movement had been given at the time. One of the first questions which we had to decide, after obtaining the Vote of Credit from the House, was the choice of route to be adopted in the event of an Expedition being sent. The main reasons for the choice of the route selected—that of the Nile Valley—are also stated in the despatch to General Sir Frederick Stephenson, to which I have referred. The principal reasons which influenced the Government were these:—If the alternative route by Suakin to Berber had been adopted, it would have been inevitable that any advance of troops by that route would have been accompanied by severe fighting with the tribes with whom we had already been in collision, and with whom the Committee is aware we had no desire to find ourselves again in conflict, if the objects we had in view could be secured without resorting to such means. In addition to this, the movement of a considerable body of men from Suakin to Berber, in the face of a determined and fanatical enemy, whom there was every reason to think we should meet, would have been one of very considerable difficulty. No doubt, the force which Osman Digna had concentrated in the neighbourhood of Suakin might have been disposed of without considerable difficulty in the early spring of the year; but the most difficult portion of the march would have been the latter portion of it—across an almost absolutely waterless desert, which has never been traversed except by small bodies of troops at one time. That would have presented great difficulties to the passage of a large force; and at that time it was, and still is, a perfectly unknown quantity what might have been the amount and character of the force which would have to be encountered at the further destination of the march. The number of the enemy that might have been found in opposition to our troops in the neighbourhood of Berber was unknown; and if that number was considerable it would have been a matter of great difficulty to have brought up, simultaneously, a sufficient force to make it a safe operation to attack the force we might have found ourselves in conflict with. In addition to these circumstances, the expenditure which would have been incurred in providing for the advance from Suakin to Berber would have been, probably, much larger than the Committee is now asked to grant, or is likely to be asked to incur, in respect of the Nile route. For the reasons which I have stated any force despatched from Suakin to Berber must have been a force of considerable strength in order to meet any possible combinations likely to be met with at its destination at Berber.

Lord EUSTACE CECIL: Has the expense been estimated at all? The noble Marquess speaks with great confidence about the expense.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I cannot give the noble Lord details; but I will give him the reasons why we think it would have been a very heavy expense indeed. The force must have been, as I say, one of considerable size; the means of transport, and the means of keeping up communication for the whole of the force, must have been great. No doubt, the Suakin and Berber route had been used in past times by the Egyptian Government for the transport of small bodies of troops; but that was at a time when the country was in a quiet and peaceful state. But no attempt to transport a large body, simultaneously, across the desert has been made. I do not say that if it were a question of moving troops, in time of peace, from Egypt to Berber that the Suakin and Berber route might not be the most economical as well as the quickest; but, taken into consideration with the fact that we had decided upon moving a large force simultaneously across a desert of that description providing the force on march with the water necessary, not only for the men, but also for the animals accompanying it, the amount of land transport which would have been required would have been enormous. And when the noble Lord asks me for an estimate of the expense, I say it is almost impossible for me to furnish it, so great must have been the difficulty of providing the necessary quantity of transport animals and of stores needed for their maintenance. Before I leave Suakin I should like to say, for reasons previously stated, and also because it would be extremely imprudent to abandon an alternative route which it might be necessary in certain eventualities to make use of, that preparations for putting the Port of Suakin in a state to receive troops or stores have been continued, and are being continued at the present moment. The Marines and the Egyptian troops which have occupied that port have had an extremely arduous and severe time during the whole of the past summer, having been constantly attacked by the force under Osman Digna. It is only due to General Fremantle, the General Officer commanding there, to Major Chermside, acting as Governor of the place and Political Officer—who has kept up the communications in the neighbourhood during the whole of the time—to say that the Marines, under the command of General Fremantle, and also the Egyptian troops, have acted in a manner which has called forth the highest approval of the officer commanding in Egypt, which the Government have recognized, and which I am sure the Committee will recognize also. Besides the objections to the Suakin and Berber route, it occurred to us that there are advantages of a positive character in favour of the Nile route. It was at that time necessary, independently of any advance in the Soudan, to take some measures to restrain a certain agitation which was beginning to exist in Upper Egypt, owing to the reports which we received of the advance and successes of the Mahdi, which might have caused a certain amount of excitement among the Natives, and which might have led to serious consequences. It would have been necessary, therefore, under any circumstances, to have advanced troops further up the Nile, and to have strengthened the position then held by our troops. At the same time, it appeared that an advance by the Nile might have the desirable effect of strengthening the position of the Mudir of Dongola, and enabling him to hold the town and Province of Dongola for the Egyptian Government, which might be a matter of great importane in the event of any further operations being undertaken in the direction of Khartoum. Up to that time very little had been known either as to the disposition and character of the Mudir of Dongola himself, or of the resources that he was able to command for the maintenance of his position. Major Kitchener at that time, however, had been in the neighbourhood of Dongola, and he sent full Reports to the Government as to the state of affairs there; and though the Government had previously entertained a totally different opinion, it appeared, at the time I am speaking of, that a demonstration of support to the Mudir might enable him—as it has enabled him, in fact—to maintain his position and to hold the town and Province of Dongola without any fear of attack from the Mahdi or any of his partizans. No doubt, the difficulties of the Nile route were very great. The Report of which I am speaking was a very elaborate as to the Nile, and the difficulties and character of its navigation. That Report, which was examined by the Military and Naval Authorities in Egypt and at home, led us to form the opinion that, considering the limited amount of the resources of river transport which existed on the Nile, it would be impossible to transport by those means only a sufficient force, certainly to reach Khartoum in the course of the present winter. There could be no doubt that it might be possible, relying on those resources only, to send a moderate force as far as Dongola. There was no reason to think, but, on the contrary, there was every reason to doubt, whether, relying on such means only, it would be possible to take even such a force beyond Dongola so as to be able to go beyond that point as far as Khartoum if necessary. Lord Wolseley, from the time that this came under the consideration of the Government, had entertained the idea that an advance by the Nile might be made to a great degree independently of the local means of transport, by the employment of boats to be constructed in this country and sent out to Egypt, of a character similar to those which he had himself employed on the small Expedition which took place some years ago in North America—an expedition known as the Red River Expedition. Well, I consulted various officers, besides Lord Wolseley, who had taken part in that Expedition with him. I placed before them all the Reports upon the River Nile, and on the means of transport which existed upon that river; and I endeavoured to obtain their opinion as to whether an advance up the Nile, relying, in a great degree, for the means of transport upon boats of this description, would be a practicable operation. The opinion which I obtained from those officers was so favourable as reasonably to satisfy me that the operation was one of a practicable nature.

Sir WALTER B. BARTTELOT: Will the noble Marquess state who were the officers consulted?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The hon. and gallant Member must be perfectly aware that there were officers available who had taken part in the Red River Expedition with Lord Wolseley. There was not only Lord Wolseley himself, but there were General Buller, General M'Neil, Colonel Alleyne, and Colonel Butler. These were the officers chiefly consulted on the subject. They had taken part in the Red River Expedition, and they were unanimously of opinion that the operation was a practicable and a feasible one.

Mr. ONSLOW: I am sorry to interrupt the noble Marquess. He has given the names of the officers who recommended the Nile route. Will he also give the names of the officers who recommended the Suakin and Berber route?

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I am stating, Sir, what were the reasons which induced me to think the Nile route practicable. I have not the least objection to state—and I shall have occasion to state if the hon. Member will not interrupt me—the opinions that were entertained on the subject by officers in Egypt. As I have stated, considerable doubts were expressed in Egypt as to the practicable character of the proposal to employ small boats of this description in the transport of the Expedition. Officers in Egypt, who had done everything that was in their power to meet our views, who had carried out with great energy all the instructions that had been given to them, and who, I do not feel the slightest doubt, would have carried out in the same way any further instructions that might have been sent to them, appeared, in our opinion, to entertain—probably from not being acquainted with the exact nature of the measures proposed to be taken—doubts as to ours being the best plan. It appeared to us that while they were prepared, with the resources at their command, to place a considerable force—perhaps a force larger than we considered at that time necessary—at Dongola, relying solely on the steamboats for means of transport, they had not formed in their own mind, and did not appear able to form, any definite plan of operations by which, in the event of the necessity occurring, that force, or any larger or smaller force, could be successfully transported beyond Dongola as far as Khartoum, should that be requisite. We thought, therefore, considering the difficulty of explaining by means of correspondence, and still more by means of telegraphic correspondence, the exact nature of the views entertained here, that it would be desirable, both in justice to the officers who had recommended this operation, and to the officers on the spot who felt a doubt as to the possibility of carrying it out, and also in the interest of the successful carrying out of the operation itself, that the responsibility for its execution ought to be placed in the hands of the officer who had been principally concerned in recommending it. Accordingly, without disparaging in the slightest degree either the ability, or the energy, or the goodwill of Sir Frederick Stephenson and his Staff, we thought it desirable that the responsibility of the Expedition should be confided to Lord Wolseley, who recommended it, and felt perfectly confident of success in carrying it out. Well, up to the time I am referring to, nothing had been done except the making of certain preparations. I was asked by an hon. Member the other day in the House at what time the actual decision was arrived at by the Government to send the Expedition. I gave the date of August 23 as the time when the first order was given for the movement of the troops beyond the Egyptian Frontier at Wady Halfa. The reason for that order being given will be found in Blue Book No. 35, to which I have already referred. The silence and uncertainty as to the position of General Gordon in Khartoum still continued; the time within which any operations for his relief could be undertaken was rapidly shortening; and it appeared to me desirable, in the uncertainty that prevailed relating to General Gordon's fate, that the actual advance of the troops to a position nearer to Khartoum than Wady Halfa had become necessary. It also appeared to Her Majesty's Government that the position of Dongola was menaced, and that the reports of the successes of the Mahdi at Berber and other places made it possible that the Mudir of Dongola might not be able to maintain his position there longer, unless he was supported by some active assistance from Egypt. The order was, therefore, given on August 23, as will be found in the Blue Book, to despatch, as soon as possible, Mounted Infantry from Wady Halfa to Dongola. That order was followed on the 26th by another directing the despatch, as soon as possible, after the Mounted Infantry, by any means available, of a battalion of Infantry from the same place. These troops are now in Dongola. One battalion of Infantry is there at this moment, together with 400 of the Mounted Infantry; and another company, which is now on its way, will be there in a day or two. Lord Wolseley has now determined, as soon as possible, to concentrate a force of about 2,000 men—or somewhat in excess of 2,000—at a place called Debbeh, which is considerably higher up the river than Dongola; and he has given his opinion that if he should find that the attitude of the tribes is such as he has every reason to believe it is, and as he anticipates he will find it to be, it will be in his power to advance that force, or the greater portion of it, as a mounted force across the desert, to Khartoum, if necessary, in advance of any considerable movement of Infantry. In the opinion of Lord Wolseley, the Camel Corps, composed of drafts from a number of different regiments, will be particularly suitable for that operation, and in his opinion it may render the advance of any considerable force from Dongola unnecessary. In fact, one of the advantages the Government claim for the plan of operations which has been adopted is that it is, to a certain extent, an elastic one. It provides, in our opinion, the means of sending a considerable and a sufficient force, if it should be necessary, of somewhat between 5,000 and 6,000 men the whole distance by river, which, in the opinion of our military advisers, will be a sufficient amount of force to meet successfully and overcome any resistance that is at all likely to be offered. On the other hand, that very considerable operation might be converted, if circumstances prove favourable, into one of a much smaller character such as I have indicated—namely, the sending of a much smaller but sufficient force of Mounted Infantry, across the desert, which would accomplish the object in view with much greater rapidity, and render it possible that the rest of the troops would not be necessary. Without going into the details of the progress that has been made, I may say that the recent information which we have received, both publicly and privately, from Lord Wolseley tends to show that he has confidence in the soundness of the plan which he has adopted; and, in fact, he still holds the opinion that it would not have been possible, by any other means than that of the small boats sent out from this country, to have absolutely secured the possibility of making an advance to Khartoum with a sufficient force during the present winter. As to the object of the expedition, the instructions which were given to Lord Wolseley have been published in No. 35 of the Egyptian Papers, towards the end. The primary object of the expedition is, as it has always been, and was always meant to be, the relief of General Gordon. I wish that we could add that we have still any hope that it might also secure the relief of Colonel Stewart; but I fear, from the additional information which has been received since a Question was last asked in this House on this subject, that there is now very little hope that Colonel Stewart was not among the party which appears to have been treacherously murdered by an Arab sheikh near a place called Merawi.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Can the noble Marquess give the Committee any information with respect to Mr. Power?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: We have every reason to think that Mr. Power was also of that party. When the Question was asked in this House, I expressed the deep sense that the Government entertained of the gallantry with which Colonel Stewart had undertaken that expedition, and of the manner in which, as far as our intelligence enables us to judge, he seconded the efforts of General Gordon during their long imprisonment in Khartoum. But while the primary object of the expedition was the relief of General Gordon, Lord Wolseley has received full instructions which do not preclude him from taking any steps in his power to establish and leave behind him at Khartoum and in that district a settled form of Government. On the contrary, instructions have been given to him which entitle him to take such steps, if he should find that there are any practicable steps that can be taken in that direction. Thus, in fact, the two objects of his mission—the relief of General Gordon and of Khartoum, and the establishment of a settled form of Government in the district—are connected together. The facility of reaching Khartoum, and the possibility of relieving General Gordon, may depend very much, indeed, upon the arrangements which may be made beforehand for announcing to the people the establishment of some form of Government in the district after General Gordon shall have left. At the present time it is premature to anticipate what arrangements it may be in the power of Lord Wolseley to make. He is on the spot, and is, therefore, better able to form an opinion than we can as to what arrangements should be made. All I can do is to assure the Committee that this consideration is fully present to the mind of Lord Wolseley, and that he fully understands that the greatest possible triumph which he could achieve—a triumph very much greater than that of any victory he could gain, or any successful march he could accomplish—would be the making of such political arrangements as would enable the object of his mission, and of General Gordon's mission as well, to be successfully accomplished without the necessity of fighting at all. As to the amount of these Estimates, it is very true that we have very considerably—very greatly—exceeded in our preparations the Vote of £300,000 granted by Parliament in August last. My right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, in moving that Vote of Credit, did not pledge the Government to the expenditure of that exact sum; and he carefully refrained from saying that it was based upon any Estimates that were then produced for definite measures or definite preparations. What, in our opinion, that Vote of £300,000 did was to make it incumbent on the Government to make such preparations as, in our opinion, would enable us successfully to discharge our obligations to General Gordon, which we have repeatedly admitted we have incurred. Of course, the principal responsibility for the making of the preparations which were necessary, after the Vote of Credit was passed, has devolved upon me; and, undoubtedly, from the very beginning of the preparations, I have felt that responsibility. From the moment these preparations were taken in hand they were found to assume very considerably larger proportions than had been anticipated. But, as I said before, I feel that the expenditure on an expedition of this character is one which may be kept within certain limits, although I should not like to pledge myself to the exact sum now asked for as one that will absolutely cover the cost to be incurred in the present financial year. Still, I apprehend that it will represent, within reasonable limits, the demand likely to be made. We have endeavoured to avoid the almost incalculable military expenditure which would have been incurred if it had been necessary to make provision for a land transport in connection with an extensive expedition across the desert. The expenditure upon a river expedition, such as is now in progress, is to a very great extent initial. It consists principally in the provision of boats, and measures of the nature I have described. The employment of boats allows the expenditure to be incurred to be tolerably accurately ascertained within certain reasonable limits. What I wish to impress upon the Committee is that the Estimate is not likely to be exceeded. Although it professes only to provide for a period which falls within the present financial year, I do not think the Committee need be under any apprehension that they will be led into any totally unforeseen expenditure, such as was incurred, under circumstances somewhat similar, in the Expedition to Abyssinia some years ago. The main cause of that was the great cost of the enormous amount of land transport required. I believe that at one time, in order to move a force, which was not an excessively large one, to Magdala, it was necessary to employ for the purpose of transport a number of animals exceeding 50,000. When we take into consideration the weight of artillery, of ammunition, and of provisions which have to be carried in connection with a military expedition, it becomes a matter almost impossible of calculation to say what limit of expenditure may be reached. But, as I have said, we have every reason to hope that within reasonable limits we shall be able to confine our expenditure to the sum we now ask Parliament to grant. I am quite aware that when the matter is discussed by the Committee it may require further explanation. As it will be in our power to offer any explanation in reply to any questions that hon. Members may desire to put, I will not delay you further than by moving the Vote. I beg to move that a Supplementary Estimate of £1,000,000 be granted for the Expedition to Egypt.

(1.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £1,000,000, be granted to Her Majesty, for certain Army Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising from the Expedition up the Nile, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

COLONEL STANLEY: Of course, I do not rise for the purpose of debating this Vote, nor do I think there is any desire on the part of those sitting on this side of the House to offer any opposition to it. The noble Marquess, perhaps unconsciously, took rather an apologetic tone in reciting the dates on which certain steps for effective action in connection with this Expedition were taken. All I can say is that this House must be strangely altered if it, or any but a very small minority of it, would grudge the money required, or even double as much, if it were necessary, for the purpose of extricating from his perilous position the gallant man who has been shut up so long in Khartoum. The noble Marquess has stated that the Vote passed by the House in August last was preparatory. That, I think, has been understood all along. It was for the purpose of preparing for an increase in our force in Egypt, and it was to deal with what the noble Marquess, making use of a noticeable expression, described as an Expedition which was to go beyond the extreme limits of the Egyptian Dominions—namely, Wady Halfa. I understand, Sir, that there will be other opportunities of raising the question of the general policy of the Expedition, as far as the limited retention or evacuation of Khartoum is concerned; and as I do not intend to criticize in detail the arrangements made for the Expedition, it will not be necessary that I should trouble the Committee with more than a very few remarks. The concluding observations of the noble Marquess would seem to indicate that there will be other and, not unlikely, more than one opportunity of further discussing this and other questions on this subject, when the Expedition has been further advanced. It is clear that the noble Marquess looks upon the Estimate of £1,000,000, although it is the sum which appears in the present Estimate for the expenses of the present Expedition, as a hypothetical statement only of its probable cost, although he very properly guarded himself by expressing a reasonable hope that that sum would not be exceeded. With regard to the question of the two routes, there would be, perhaps, a little delicacy in examining that question very fully. Everyone who has read the Papers must do justice, which the noble Marquess himself did not fail to do, to the honourable manner in which General Sir Frederick Stephenson, although on the spot, although having apparently ample means of obtaining local information, and although clearly holding the view that another line would have been preferable, has, nevertheless, cordially accepted the position in which he has been temporarily placed, and has acted loyally, as no one who knew him would doubt, under Lord Wolseley, who has now, for the time being, superseded him. As regards Lord Wolseley's special qualifications for conducting an Expedition such as this, I think no one who knows his career will deny them. If he has fallen back upon the traditions of his earlier exploits, and has preferred the arrangement of ascending the Nile by boats, instead of taking that or a similar route by land transport, it must be admitted that his experience in former times fully justifies him in the very strong view which he appears to have taken all along in preferring that mode of conveying the troops over any other. As the noble Marquess has very truly remarked, transport, undoubtedly, has always been, and probably always will be, a weak part of our Service; and the difficulties are enormously increased in countries where, as in this case, the alternative would be to carry almost everything by animal transport. It is also the case, as the noble Marquess has said, that a large portion of the expenditure and of the difficulties, although formidable, may still be regarded as initial. I trust the anticipations of the noble Marquess may turn out to be correct, and that the general plan on which this Expedition has been started may prove successful in its outcome and in its fulfilment. The noble Marquess seems, however—I do not know if it is in consequence of any doubt in his own mind—to have suggested an alternative. So far as I understand the noble Marquess, it appears to be a question whether, after all, it may not be necessary to depart from the general lines of the Expedition, and to make a dash with a smaller number of men, in order to effect the object in view. I cannot help thinking that these observations are, to some extent, corroborated by some of the Papers issued with regard to Egypt in the inclosures in No. 35, particularly that dated 31st of July, in the last despatch of General Gordon to Sir Evelyn Baring. It is there clearly indicated that in a very short time from then the question of Khartoum would become a most urgent one. Everyone knows the gallant spirit with which General Gordon has met his difficulties; and, writing on the 31st of July, he says—

> "River begins to fall, in, say, four months. Before that time you must either let the Sultan take back the Soudan, or send Zebehr with a subsidy yearly."

It is, therefore, perfectly clear that General Gordon based his hopes upon one of two contingencies. He has no hesitation in saying that one or other of them cannot be postponed until a long date; and no one who knows him will doubt that his own efforts will be sustained as long as it is possible to continue them. I would point out the difficulty which is also indicated in General Gordon's letter—he clearly contemplates either that you must allow the Soudan to be handed back into what he calls the Sultan's hands, or it must be taken over by Zebehr, with a yearly subsidy. Perhaps these are matters which would be better dealt with at a more convenient opportunity, when we are less hampered by the actual details of the Vote before us, and when the larger questions which are not raised by the Vote itself may be more effectively dealt with. There is one point, however, upon which I desire to touch, and it is this—It is perfectly clear, from what the noble Marquess did not say and from the instructions given by the Government to Lord Wolseley in the Paper I have cited, that Her Majesty's Government have distinctly and definitely made up their mind to abandon all the garrisons South of Khartoum to whatever fate they may meet with. I think it will be an advantage to the Committee to know from the Government whether they have distinctly made up their minds, and whether they will refuse, under any circumstances, to afford these garrisons any assistance; whether, in fact, they will hold to that paragraph in their instructions to Lord Wolseley, in which they say—

> "The position of the garrisons in Darfour, the Bahr-el-Gazelle, and Equatorial Provinces, renders it impossible that you should take any action which would facilitate their retreat without extending your operations far beyond the sphere which Her Majesty's Government is prepared to sanction. As regards the Sennaar garrison, Her Majesty's Government is not prepared to sanction the despatch of an expedition of British troops up the Blue Nile in order to insure its retreat."

Now, where I want to get an answer from the noble Marquess on this point is partly in reference to an expression of General Gordon, in the same letter I have already cited of the 31st of July, and partly in reference to the answer the noble Marquess may give in respect of any future debate. It is perfectly clear, from his letter of July 31st, that General Gordon had no idea of abandoning any of the garrisons in the Soudan, of which he considered himself in charge. He clearly anticipated opening up the road to Sennaar, and he also clearly expected that the Equatorial and Bahr-el-Gazelle Provinces would be relieved later on. These appear to be the conditions on which alone he is himself prepared to abandon Khartoum. He says somewhat earlier in his letter—

> "It is a *sine quâ non* that you send me Zebehr; otherwise my stay here is indefinite."

And here it is that I want to ask upon this Vote, whether the noble Marquess is prepared to say that, under all circumstances, willing or not willing, General Gordon is to be relieved, and the Expedition is then to retire, having only communicated with General Gordon, or whether they are prepared to take a stronger course, and oblige him to give up that position which he holds, apparently, in his own view, in the interests of humanity and order? The noble Marquess told us that there were some hopes of the Expedition leaving something of the nature of a satisfactory Government behind it. It is perfectly clear that, in General Gordon's view, that is not a matter that could be dealt with, certainly not satisfactorily, in a very short space of time. There is a good deal of sarcasm in the final paragraph of his letter, in which he says—

> "My sole desire is to restore the prestige of the Government in order to get out garrisons and to put some ephemeral Government in position in order to get away."

I think the Committee has a right to know, clearly, in what position the Government and Lord Wolseley stand with reference to this relief of Khartoum. I know I am touching upon delicate ground. If General Gordon had been holding only a military office in the service of the Sovereign, Lord Wolseley being the Commander-in-Chief of the Expedition, there could have been no doubt as to his position. But I want to know how far Her Majesty's Government have left operative, and how far they have cancelled, the previous commission given to General Gordon, at the instance of Her Majesty's Government, by the Khedive? Unless there are other instructions which cancel it, it will certainly raise a question of some delicacy, if not of doubt. As regards the principal details of this Expedition, all we can do is to express our cordial hope that it may not be, like too many other measures of Her Majesty's Government, however good in its conception, too late in its execution. We trust that the time may not be past when what they are aiming at is possible and can be effected. I gather from the language of the noble Marquess that although he has some sort of feeling that the Expedition may return during the winter, he is not sure that its return may not be protracted beyond that time. I think there would be a great feeling of relief—although, of course, I do not wish to press the noble Marquess for any military details which may be undesirable—but I think there would be a general feeling of relief if the noble Marquess were able to say that upon the calculations Lord Wolseley, his Staff, and the War Office officials have made, the Expedition, as far as it has gone, is fairly up to date; that it is at the place where it was expected to be at a given time, or as near as it may be. There is an impression, whether rightly or wrongly I know not, that, owing to the unaccountable delays and difficulties which have been interposed, the Expedition is not as far forward as it ought to be. I am not prepared to challenge this, for we have not, as far as I am aware, any positive statements on the subject resting on official documents since the Expedition was decided upon; but I trust the noble Marquess will endeavour, as far as possible, in any answer he may give later on in the evening, to remove the natural anxiety which is felt on that point. I do not think it necessary, myself, to prolong this discussion further. As the noble Marquess has admitted, the details of the Expedition comply more with Parliamentary Forms than afford any real basis for a discussion which would be of any practical good. I can only conclude, as I began, by expressing the hope, not only on behalf of one side of the House, but of every Party in the House, as well as of the country generally, that the Expedition, however halting may have been its conception, and however late it may have been commenced, will, nevertheless, meet with success in its main object—the relief of Khartoum, and the establishment, if possible, of something more than what General Gordon calls an ephemeral Government.

Sir WILFRID LAWSON: The noble Marquess, in moving the Vote, said, he was in doubt whether it would be attacked on financial, political, or military grounds. I have no wish to attack it on military grounds. I have very little doubt that the Government have taken the best military advice in their power according to their lights. Nor have I any wish to attack it on financial grounds. I believe that if you go into these Expeditions you must go into them thoroughly; and if you go into them thoroughly you must spend a considerable amount of money upon them. The only criticism I will make upon the financial point is that, although Her Majesty's Government are only asking for £1,000,000 to-day, I am very much afraid that in the course of a few months they may come down to the House again and ask for more. But it is upon political grounds that I attack the Vote. I want to know why we are called upon to vote money for the Expedition at all; and I will quote the noble Marquess himself as the authority why we ought not to vote this money. The Committee will remember perfectly well the statement made to the House by the noble Marquess on the 3rd of April in this year, when he used these words—

> "General Gordon left this country with a most distinct and clear understanding, repeated over and over again by himself, that the mission which he was going to undertake was one which he was prepared to undertake with such resources as he might find on the spot; and he distinctly understood that it was not a part of the policy of the Government in despatching that Expedition to risk having to send a fresh Expedition for the relief of Khartoum or any similar garrisons."—(3 *Hansard*, [286] 1515.)

That was a distinct and straightforward statement of policy such as the noble Marquess always made when he had to deal with any question; and, therefore, I, for one, was intensely surprised when, a few months later, on the 5th of August, the noble Marquess and his Colleagues came down to the House and asked for £300,000 as a sort of preliminary promise that Her Majesty's Government might have the money if they felt themselves called upon to send out an Expedition. At that time they were not certain that an Expedition would be sent, but they got the money; and I, for one, felt certain that if they got it they would spend it. Now they come down to the House and ask for £1,000,000 more for this Expedition. What is the object? Why should we spend it? We are told that it is to get General Gordon away from Khartoum. I have no doubt, as the noble Marquess has said, that Colonel Stewart and his companions are already beyond the reach of aid; but I believe that General Gordon can get away from Khartoum whenever he likes. I have very little doubt in my own mind that he can get away if he pleases. What has he done since he went there? Let us go a little into this matter, because I want to discuss it solely upon political grounds. We were told in the Speech from the Throne, when we assembled last January, that General Gordon was sent—

> "To report on the best means of giving effect to the resolution of the Khedive to withdraw from the Interior of the Soudan."

The country, I believe, heard of that mission with great approbation, and even with enthusiasm, because it was believed that General Gordon was going out there to assist the Soudanese to get rid of the abominable and corrupt Egyptian Government who had for so many years oppressed them and ground them down. I went last year to a lecture at the Geographical Society in order to hear a great African traveller. I remember that he explained his experiences in the Soudan long ago, and he said that wherever the Egyptian Government held sway in the Soudan there they found misery, wretchedness, and oppression; but wherever the Soudanese people governed themselves there was comparative comfort. When I heard the noble Marquess talk about the possibility of General Gordon being able to establish a civilized form of Government at Khartoum I could not help thinking how much better it would be to leave them alone. As we understand, General Gordon merely went out on an errand of enfranchisement to set the people of the Soudan free from the corrupt influences of the Egyptian Government. He went to enfranchise the Soudanese just as Her Majesty's Government at home have been engaged in enfranchising the agricultural labourer; and he carried in his pocket a Firman from the Khedive announcing to all the chief Notables and people of the Soudan the evacuation of the country by the Egyptian troops, and informing them that in future the Soudan would be left to them, and to rulers to be appointed from among themselves. If I am not wrong —and I hope the noble Marquess will correct me if I am—General Gordon never published that Proclamation. As I understand, he had a Firman to that effect from the Khedive, giving liberty to these wretched people; but he never promulgated it among them. I do not know why, but I fancy the reason was that he was afraid to place in the hands of the Mahdi a weapon that would make him more popular with those who hated and detested the rulers under whom they had been living, and who regarded the Mahdi as the only exponent of the wretchedness and misery of the people, a man, also, who professed the same religion — because in that country religion and politics are united. General Gordon, having in his pocket that Proclamation telling the people of the Soudan that they were to be free, never took the trouble to publish it; and, instead of emancipating them, he has been busily engaged in shooting them ever since he has been there, and calling them rebels. Even Her Majesty's Government call the Soudanese rebels. I want to know who are they rebelling against? We sent Gordon there to declare that the Egyptian Government, so far as the Soudan was concerned, was at an end; and now we propose to shoot down the Soudanese because they are rebelling against the very Government we are going there to upset. It is a melancholy state of things to find a country like England engaged in such a work. What is the argument in favour of this Vote to-night? The only reason for it, as far as I can see, is that Gordon is a Christian hero, and therefore we are bound to go and rescue him. No doubt General Gordon is a most heroic man. As far as I know General Gordon's character, he is a man who is absolutely fearless; he has no fear of death, and no regard for money or for gain for himself. These are among the highest qualities any man can possess; but I do not think that the course pursued by General Gordon, heroic as it may have been, has been such as to make the people of that country very much in love with our Christianity, because General Gordon has been associated, in regard to the course he has taken, in the minds of the people of the Soudan, with the Egyptian Government, who are merely a set of men steeped in deceit, oppression, cruelty, and slaughter. That is the idea of Christianity which the people of that country must have had given to them by General Gordon's proceedings. I am afraid they must think that the Christianity of this country is very much a sham, and they must take the same view that Lord Wolseley did of all this fighting. I should like to quote to the Committee a passage which is very honestly put by Lord Wolseley himself in his *Soldier's Hand Book.* He says—

> "As a nation we are bred up to feel it a disgrace to succeed by falsehood; we will keep hammering along with the conviction that honesty is the best policy, and that truth always wins in the long run. These pretty little sentences do well for a child's copy-book; but the man who acts upon them in war had better sheathe his sword for ever."

That is a very honest statement, indeed, and I hope will command the attention of my hon. and gallant Friend who is just going out of the House (Sir Walter B. Barttelot). I object to the money of the people of this country being expended, and very likely thousands of lives sacrificed, in going out nominally to rescue a man who I do not believe requires to be rescued, and who, as far as I understand, has disregarded the instructions with which he was sent out, and brought discredit on the country by the policy he has pursued. On that ground, when you, Sir Arthur Otway, put the Question from the Chair, whoever may support me, I shall say "No" to this Vote, and take a Division upon it. I wish that the Government would mend their ways upon this Egyptian Question. It is melancholy to see the amount of trouble the Government have got into, and all because they have deserted their own principles. As to the story of their going to Egypt for the sake of the Egyptians, nobody believes that tale. We went there for the sake of money, and nothing else, and that is the policy of the Tory Party. It was only to-day that I read, in the leading organ of the Tory Party, this statement about all this fighting—

> "Trade follows the flag, and the flag follows the sword. This was the political gospel of Lord Beaconsfield."

It is also the political gospel of my hon. and gallant Friend who is to get up after me. ["No!"] I, for one, certainly think that it is, and it appears to me that it is a gospel of selfishness, a gospel of cruelty, and a gospel I am sorry to see Her Majesty's Government prepared to follow out. The Liberal Government should set their face against this; not follow the example of their opponents, but return to the righteous course.

SIR WALTER B. BARTTELOT said, on rising to make a few remarks upon this important Vote, he would express regret at not seeing in his place the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, who, however, he expected would not be long absent. There could be no doubt that the greatest interest existed in the country with regard to the fate of General Gordon; nor could there be a doubt that for a considerable time past it had been felt that the tenure by General Gordon of Khartoum had been a most precarious one, even if it still existed; and it had been the belief generally adopted by the large majority of his fellow-countrymen that no effort ought to be spared by Her Majesty's

Government to effect General Gordon's relief. It had also been hoped that that gallant man, Colonel Stewart, might have been relieved; but, as had happened so often before, and had happened, he feared, again, the Government had been too late to save a valuable English life. Were they too late now to save the life of General Gordon? He would venture to say that when this question came to be understood and discussed throughout the country, should Khartoum have fallen, and should General Gordon's life have been sacrificed, the Government would be called upon to state their reasons—and those reasons would have to be clear—why they had not taken the proper steps and precautions for preventing that calamity. He believed that the gravest mistake—the gravest mistake in the interests of this country, in the interests of Egypt, and in respect of that pledge which they had given to Egypt was made, when the Government refused—positively declined—to send a force, under General Graham, from Suakin to Berber, which might have led to the relief of Khartoum. What had happened? On the 15th of May his hon. Friend the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) asked the Secretary of State for War—

> "Whether General Gordon was informed of the intended withdrawal of General Graham's force from Suakin to Cairo, and his opinion asked as to its expediency; and, if so, what answer General Gordon returned; and, whether General Graham was asked if an expedition to Berber was feasible in March, and, if so, what was his reply?"

To that Question the noble Marquess answered that he did not think they would have been justified in asking General Graham's opinion, seeing that General Stephenson had not thought fit to sanction the march. Now that the noble Marquess had again taken his place, he would ask what was General Stephenson's opinion, and upon what authority did the noble Marquess go when he made the reply just referred to? It was very important that the Committee should be reminded at that point what the opinions of General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Baring were. In the first place, it was true that on the 5th of March General Stephenson held a different opinion to that which he afterwards held; it was an opinion totally different from that which he subsequently gave through Sir Evelyn Baring, after he knew the whole of the circumstances of the case. The noble Marquess had just said that Lord Wolseley was much better able to judge of his position than he (the Marquess of Hartington) could be at home; and he would like to ask him how it was that General Graham was not in a better position to judge of the circumstances of the case and of the friendly tribes in the neighbourhood of Suakin than the noble Marquess, who was at the time sitting in Downing Street? Now, on the 5th of March, General Stephenson telegraphed from Cairo (Egypt, No. 12, 1884, Despatch No. 212) to the Secretary of State for War, as follows:—

> "Graham telegraphs suggesting that Gordon Pasha be asked if he would recommend force under Graham operating on line Suakin-Berber; if so, how far would he be prepared to co-operate? Baring tells me that Gordon attaches importance to this route being opened. Baring has asked Gordon to what extent Hassan Khalifa could co-operate from Berber. I am not prepared to recommend Graham's force marching to Berber, owing to scarcity of water on road. I strongly recommend that Graham be instructed to attack Osman Digna without delay, now supposed to be 10 miles from Suakin."

That was on the 5th of March, and on the 6th of March the Marquess of Hartington telegraphed as follows to Major General Sir Gerald Graham—

> "Yours 5th forwarded by General Stephenson. Operations at considerable distance from Suakin not to be undertaken."

But in the same Blue Book there was an extract from a telegram from Sir Evelyn Baring to Earl Granville, received on the 16th of March, which said—

> "It has now become of the utmost importance not only to open the road between Suakin and Berber, but to come to terms with the tribes between Berber and Khartoum."

That was the first answer; what did the second answer from Sir Evelyn Baring to Earl Granville say? (Despatch No. 301, received by telegraph, March 24)—

> "I believe that the success gained by General Graham in the neighbourhood of Suakin will result in the opening of the road to Berber; but I should not think that any action he can take at or near Suakin would exert much influence over the tribes between Berber and Khartoum. Unless any unforeseen circumstances should occur to change the situation, only two solutions appear to be possible. The first is to trust General Gordon's being able to maintain himself at Khartoum till the autumn,

when, by reason of the greater quantity of water, it would be less difficult to conduct operations on the Suakin-Berber road than it is at present. This he might perhaps be able to do, but it, of course, involves running a great risk. The only other plan is to send a portion of General Graham's Army to Berber, with instructions to open up communication with Khartoum. There would be very great difficulty in getting to Berber; but if the road were once open, it might be done by sending small detachments at a time. General Gordon is evidently expecting help from Suakin, and he has ordered messengers to be sent along the road from Berber to ascertain whether any English force is advancing. Under present circumstances, I think that an effort should be made to help General Gordon from Suakin, if it is at all a possible military operation. General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood, whilst admitting the very great risk to the health of the troops, besides the extraordinary military risks, are of opinion that the undertaking is possible. They think that General Graham should be further consulted."

Next in order of time came that Question of his hon. Friend the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) to which he had referred; and he would be glad to know on what plea the noble Marquess rested the answer which he gave to it at the time, when he knew that General Stephenson and Sir Evelyn Wood did think it possible for General Graham to march from Suakin to Berber, and that General Stephenson recommended him to apply for information to the only man who could give information on the subject? What did the noble Marquess do? He declined to apply to General Graham, and that, in his judgment, showed that the Government had predetermined that there should be no advance from Suakin to Berber. He believed that the noble Marquess must have known, and did know, that this was the only reliable chance of relieving General Gordon. Would the noble Marquess give an answer now to the Question asked by the hon. Member for Eye with regard to the proposal of General Graham? General Graham had made two proposals, after the battle of Tamanieb, to the noble Marquess. In his Despatch (No. 272) he telegraphed thus to the Secretary of State for War—

"The present position of affairs is that two heavy blows have been dealt at rebels and followers of the Mahdi, who are profoundly discouraged. They say, however, that English troops can do no more; must re-embark and leave the country to them; to follow up these victories and bring waverers to our side we should not proclaim our intention of leaving; but rather make a demonstration of an advance towards Berber, and induce a belief that we can march anywhere we please. I propose, therefore, making as great a show as possible without harassing troops, as Medical Officers report they require rest. A strong battalion, with regiment of Cavalry, advances to-morrow to Handuk, and from thence a reconnaissance will be made along the Berber road; this road, Suakin-Berber, passes through country occupied by various tribes from Suakin; Handuk, Otas, and Sibil are the Fadlab, whose Sheikh, Mohammed Ali Bey, is friendly, but has given no active support hitherto. He undertakes to accompany the troops in their advance to-morrow, and may be useful. He was formerly the wekil, or agent, of Sheikh Hamad Mahmoud, of Mousiah tribe, the Khalifa or Governor of the road, and conducted all bargains with camel drivers. The road from Sibil to Aariab lies in country of Amrar tribes. Their head Sheikh, Hamad Mahmoud, just mentioned, is with rebels through the greater part. The sub-tribes of Amrar are still loyal. From Aariab to Berber the road lies in country of Bishareen, and must be dealt with from Berber. Reports of pilgrims state that an Egyptian garrison holds Obak; desirable to obtain from Berber attitude of Bishareen, and how far road is open. Gordon should communicate to you for my information; he can find out as to road and tribes, and should endeavour to open road and send people across."

That was General Graham's first proposal, and the second was very like it. It would be found in his despatch to the noble Marquess (No. 277), dated Suakin, March 18, which ran thus—

"Gordon Highlanders, with 19th Hussars and Mounted Infantry, have marched to Handuk, and are now in telegraphic communication. The force is under General Stewart, accompanied by the Sheikh of Fadlab tribe; Osman Digna is reported at Tamanieb with 2,500 followers, many of whom are reported as wavering, and to have sent to friends in Fadlab tribe, who have advised them to come to Handuk for protection from Osman. Stewart has instructions to conciliate and work with friendly Sheikh; also to reconnoitre and report. An advance to Sibil, 50 miles on Berber road, could be made with 2,000 men; 300 more camels would, however, be required, and preparations would take five days. Troops very healthy."

Now, he said, that after such statements as these it was perfectly possible for the noble Marquess to have ordered an advance upon Berber from Suakin. Had that advance taken place, Berber would not have fallen, because, as hon. Members knew, the Mudir of Berber was prepared to march out some 50 or more miles to meet the advancing force which General Gordon thought was coming; so that the march over that part of the road without water would have been accomplished by Egyptian troops from Berber. The noble Marquess knew all that; but the Government were determined to do nothing, nor would they have done anything since but for the outcry of the people of this country, who demanded that, at any cost, Gordon should be relieved. Then he would ask whether it would not have been wise and prudent to have consulted so distinguished a man as General Sir Gerald Graham, as to what he considered to be the best and wisest course? The noble Marquess had stated that he did not want to have another action. But was he more likely or not to have another action, having left Osman Digna and his force unbroken and undispersed, during the whole summer and autumn, in the neighbourhood of Suakin? Had General Graham's march to Berber taken place, that force would never have collected again. Had General Graham been consulted and that march sanctioned, he was convinced that General Graham would have done his duty successfully. The noble Marquess seemed to think that some point of etiquette would have been involved in consulting a junior General. But if it were wise to send a junior General to Suakin at all, surely it would have been wise to have consulted him when he was there. He (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) believed that General Graham would have been prepared, at the most reasonable cost, not only to have placed outposts, but to have maintained and opened the road to Berber, which would have remained the trade route of that part of the country. Was it a light thing that a road of that kind should be abandoned? The noble Marquess knew that it was not, and he knew that there was a possibility of their having to advance from time to time further from Suakin. The Government were going to improve the harbour at Suakin; and, if he was not mistaken, a large quantity of rails had been landed there; and the idea was floating in their minds to have a railway between Suakin and Berber; but, although nothing would tend more to civilize the country, they would probably not go to the expense until it was too late for the railway to be of any use. [*A laugh.*] The noble Marquess laughed; but if he were on the spot, he would find it desirable to have that railway constructed in the interest of Egypt, which, he said, the Government had so much at heart. To judge by the way in which they had acted, it did not seem that they had that interest at heart very strongly, notwithstanding their declarations. He repeated that nothing would be more beneficial, especially for protection, to Egypt, than a railway between Suakin and Berber. But the Government had done absolutely nothing up to the time at which they came down for a Vote of Credit—that was to say, just before the end of the last Session. The noble Marquess had very good-naturedly said to him at the time, in reply to a Question—"You have now got your answer, and I hope you are satisfied with it." It was satisfactory then. But the £300,000 asked for by the Government was but as a drop in the ocean, if they were going to do what they now professed. He undertook to say that Khartoum would have been relieved by General Graham at a very small cost, whereas now the expense would be simply enormous, and time alone would show whether the Expedition would succeed. But this the Government knew—that they had embarked on a most difficult and dangerous operation, even if the force under General Lord Wolseley was not attacked. He would not pretend to say what was the chance of that; but supposing it was attacked, and suffered a reverse, on what were they going to fall back? Let the Committee consider the distance of their base from Khartoum, and judge what the consequences of a reverse would be. He ventured to believe that the Government had taken this step out of consideration to public opinion; not because they wished to take it, for they had stated that it was not their view or wish that General Gordon should be relieved, but that he should escape from Khartoum in the best way he could. General Gordon, a man who had always shown and proved himself to be most tenacious of the honour of his country, had been sent out for the purpose of relieving the garrisons in the Soudan; but they were now told that the instructions of Lord Wolseley were that those garrisons were to be sacrificed, an abandonment which, if it took place, would constitute an indelible disgrace to the country. Whenever General Gordon asked for help or relief, when he said he was suffering and unable to hold out, no notice was taken of his appeal. God grant that the Expedition might not be too late! But he was afraid that the question was one on which there was room for much doubt. The noble Marquess had not said one word as to what the Government intended to do in the event of Khartoum having fallen. That was a question of considerable interest, and one on which he and his hon. Friends would like to have some information. Did they mean to allow the Mahdi to take possession of Khartoum, and was slavery to be allowed to continue in the Soudan, as it had done in years gone by? It was the Government who, by proclaiming, in season and out of season, that they were going to abandon the Soudan, had been the destruction of the country. Never had a more reckless course been taken by any Government than this declaration of the abandonment of the Soudan before the garrisons had been withdrawn in safety; and he believed that if it culminated in the fall of Khartoum, and the destruction of General Gordon, no censure had ever fallen on a Government heavier than that which he hoped the people of the country would pass on those who had been the cause of that calamity. Did the Government mean to hand over the whole of the Soudan to the Mahdi? If that were so, Egypt would be left open at any moment to the attacks of those hordes which would come down upon her from the Soudan, a condition of affairs that would be as dangerous to the country as it would be disgraceful to the Government. But he believed the people would speak out on this question. They were watching with the greatest anxiety what the Government were now doing in Egypt, when, up to the present, they had done nothing but upset all that was good without substituting anything in its place. It was high time that there should be no longer two masters in Egypt; nor could the country be properly governed by dummies directed from Downing Street. Her Majesty's Government must assume the responsibility which events had cast upon them, disguise it as they might; and, having assumed it, they would be bound to take care that order reigned in Egypt, although we might be kept there for many years to come.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, that not being a military genius, ready at a moment to explain how the campaign ought to be conducted or not in Central Africa, he should not intrude his views upon the Committee as to whether they ought to have gone to Khartoum by Suakin or by the Nile, because he objected to their going there at all. The hon. and gallant Gentleman who had just spoken asked the Government what it was they intended to do if the Expedition were too late to save General Gordon. But was not the hon. and gallant Gentleman aware that an answer had been given to that again and again? Had not the Prime Minister told them a long time ago that the sole object in the Soudan was to "rescue and retire?" They were to rescue the garrisons and General Gordon, after which they were to retire without mixing themselves up with the internal affairs of the country. When the noble Marquess, the Secretary of State for War was introducing this Estimate, he had said something about establishing a settled form of Government in the Soudan. That, he would point out, was a scheme entirely novel, and also contrary to the pledges given to the House when the preliminary Vote of £300,000 was asked for. It was then understood that the leader of the Expedition would solely and simply endeavour to bring back with him General Gordon, and, if possible, the garrisons; but there was not one word said about establishing any form of settled Government in the Soudan. If the noble Marquess simply meant that if Lord Wolseley reached Khartoum, he was, in order to prevent the disorganization of all society there, to gather together some of the notabilities of the town, he should be glad to hear that that was so; but if he meant that they were going to establish some settled form of Government in the Soudan, that would be a very different business to what was understood by the House as being in view when the money was voted last Session. Had General Wolseley never communicated with the Mahdi? There was no doubt that many communications had taken place between that personage and the Mudir of Dongola; they had French Ministers as well as merchants receiving despatches every day of what was taking place at Khartoum; and yet it seemed that no efforts were made to convey to the Mahdi, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, that if he would only allow General Gordon and the garrison at Khartoum to retire they would have nothing more to do with the Soudan. He had asked the question several times in the House already, but had never been able to get a reply as to whether they had entered into any communication with the Mahdi. They knew very little about what was going on at Khartoum. All they knew was that General Gordon was in a position of great and exceptional difficulty. It was almost impossible to criticize General Gordon's actions; but, at the same time, it was well to bear in mind the report which was published the other day by Colonel Duncan as to the passage through Assouan of persons leaving the Soudan. In that report it was stated that men, women, and children—the wives, children, and servants of the different employers—were leaving the country; and then Colonel Duncan went on to say it would be remarked that there were exceedingly few soldiers passing through the town. The reason of that was that General Gordon, who was sent out to relieve the garrisons—to get the garrison out of Khartoum—had called in all the troops in the neighbourhood, and had told them that they must not leave, but must rally at Khartoum. He (Mr. Labouchere) only mentioned these facts because it was desirable that they should be borne in mind. They heard the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) talk about a settled Government in Khartoum. He (Mr. Labouchere) did not think any of the hon. Gentlemen with whom he usually acted desired that if Lord Wolseley was able to get the garrison away from Khartoum the gallant General should delay one moment, or spend any British blood or money in order to establish a settled Government in Khartoum, or the Soudan, or to wage war against the Mahdi. He intended to follow into the Lobby his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson). He quite admitted that if an Expedition was sent out it must be paid for. He remembered that last Session the Prime Minister said he asked for a small preliminary Vote as a matter of principle. He (Mr. Labouchere) understood that by assenting to that small preliminary Vote the House assented to the proposal to send out an Expedition. But why should they pay for it at all? Why not Egypt pay for it, or, rather, the Egyptian bondholders? It was admitted that the Soudan was execrably governed by Egypt. The Egyptian Government sent out, against our wish, Hicks Pasha to bring the Soudan once more under the control of Egypt. At the time we protested against Hicks Pasha being sent out. Hicks Pasha, however, went to the Soudan, and he might have withdrawn with the Egyptian garrisons; but he tried to re-establish the Egyptian Government there, and the consequence was that he and his army were destroyed. The garrisons remained in the country, and the Egyptians could not do anything to relieve them. It appeared the Egyptians were not very great men at fighting, and so they asked us to aid them. We sent General Gordon to aid them; but when General Gordon arrived in Cairo he accepted the post under the Khedive of Governor of the Soudan. The position, therefore, of General Gordon was that of Representative of the Khedive at Khartoum. Although we were, perhaps, right in sending men out to rescue General Gordon because we were, to a certain extent, responsible, yet it was obvious that it was the Egyptian Government who ought to pay, and not we, the cost of the Expedition to get the Egyptian garrisons and General Gordon, who was the Egyptian Governor of the Soudan, out of the country. It was said that Egypt could not pay her debts. No illusion was greater than that. For centuries Egypt had been the great granary of Europe, and it was possible for Egypt to pay the cost of its administration, and have a surplus for such an Expedition as the present. It was well known why Egypt could not now pay its debts. The reason was to be found in the fact that the greater portion of the Revenue of the country was diverted for the benefit of the bondholders. The Revenues of the country were mortgaged to the bondholders; and, therefore, the bondholders should pay for the defence of the country. He was entirely opposed to the Expedition; but he especially supported his hon. Friend (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) that night, upon the ground that they ought to call upon Egypt to pay the expenses. They might make an advance of money if necessary; but then they ought to put it down as a debt owing by Egypt to us. He could well understand an advance being made; but he could not understand why, whenever a question of this sort arose, no matter wha Government was in power, it was always said—"Oh! let the British taxpayer pay." There were many people in England who wanted money, and to whom money would be of the greatest benefit. The Irish wanted money; the shipping trade was in distress; indeed, there were hundreds of ways in which, if they had got these millions to throw away, they could expend them with far more benefit to the country than in expending them in the Soudan, expending them not even for the benefit of the Soudan or Egypt, but for the benefit of the Egyptian bondholders, who were simply usurers, and who, if he had his way, would not get 1*s.* interest for the money they had advanced.

Mr. GREGORY shared the regret which had been expressed by the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) that the Government did not take advantage of the operations against Osman Digna to relieve Khartoum by the Suakin and Berber route; and, speaking with great diffidence to military authorities, he thought it would have been better if the Suakin-Berber route had been adopted for the present Expedition. From something which fell from the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington), he could not help thinking that the question of expense had entered a little more than it ought to have done into the consideration of this matter. He trusted that that was not the case, because he felt that the principal object of the Expedition was the relief of General Gordon. It was all very well to say it was desirable to communicate with Dongola, and with the tribes along the course of the Nile; but the principal and main object which they ought always to have had before them in undertaking the Expedition was the release of General Gordon from the difficult position in which he was placed. Again, there was another matter which ought to have entered into their consideration, and that was the establishment of a permanent Government at Khartoum. He held that it was impossible to maintain a permanent Government there unless communication were kept up between it and civilization, and he did not see that by taking the route up the Nile they had opened up that connection in any degree. He believed that if they had taken the Suakin and Berber route they would have opened a new line of communication, or made practicable the old line of communication, by which constant intercourse could have been maintained with Khartoum and the Soudan. He feared that in consequence of the route Lord Wolseley had taken it would be impossible for them to establish a permanent Government at Khartoum, and thus bring about a better state of things.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said, that as his views on this subject were generally in accord with those of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), he need not repeat what the hon. Baronet had said, and said with much greater force than he (Sir George Campbell) could. At the same time, he did not think that it would be worth while to divide on the Vote. He and his hon. Friend might take this salve to their consciences—that they had throughout protested against the policy which had made this Vote necessary. It was to be remembered that in the summer the Prime Minister proposed a Vote of £300,000 for the Expedition to Khartoum. The right hon. Gentleman called it a Vote of principle; and he avowed that the Vote was meant to commit the House and the country to the Expedition. He (Sir George Campbell) dissented from the Vote, because he believed it amounted to a sanction of what he believed would be a long bill. Still, he felt that the House and the country was committed to the matter, and that he and his hon. Friend had done their duty by protesting against the proposed expenditure. He did not like the tone of the speech of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington). The noble Marquess was very straightforward and honest; he could not bring himself to tell them that the Vote now proposed would be sufficient for the Expedition. He (Sir George Campbell) considered that the Government were bound to do their utmost to face clearly the expenditure and risks they were now incurring. The noble Marquess had very fairly told the Committee that they might have to pay more; but the Government ought at the present moment to place before the country an Estimate of the expenditure which would in all probability be incurred. He thoroughly believed that the noble Marquess was a prudent administrator, and that Lord

Wolseley was a skilful and economical General, and that this Expedition would not be characterized by the enormous wasteful expenditure as characterized the Expedition to Abyssinia. At the same time, he could hardly credit that this great Expedition into the heart of Africa would be carried out for the expenditure now before the Committee —namely, £1,600,000 in all. If in the ordinary course of the Expedition the present Estimate were to be greatly exceeded, considerable blame would attach to Her Majesty's Government for not putting the thing fully before the country. He confessed that the present Estimate appeared to him to be exceedingly low. Although he had great confidence in the noble Marquess at the head of the War Department, he had great misgivings, especially after the expressions which fell from the noble Marquess himself, that the Estimate would be exceeded. He was also anxious to know how the money was to be raised. He was aware that the country was occupied upon other matters, and that it did not pay much attention to this question; and as long as it was a question of voting the money and borrowing it from the Money Market, the country would not pay very much attention to it. They were bound, however, when they did undertake Expeditions, to pay for them out of their own pockets; and if another 2*d.* in the pound was to be added to the Income Tax the country would soon become alive to the importance of the Expedition and the risks they were undertaking. He thought very great credit was due to the Government for the courage they had displayed in resisting the attempts made by the Opposition to induce them to send an Expedition into the heart of Africa at the hottest and most unfavourable time of the year. [MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: No, no!] The hon. Gentleman (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) and his hon. Friends were at one time continually urging the Government to send an Expedition to Berber at the beginning of the hot weather; and he maintained that Her Majesty's Government showed great courage in resisting the pressure put upon them to send out such an Expedition. If an Expedition had been sent out as hon. Gentlemen opposite desired the sacrifice of life amongst Her Majesty's troops must have been enormous. General Gordon had been able, up to the present—throughout the hot weather—to maintain himself at Khartoum, and had not yet been captured. In his opinion, Her Majesty's Government had been extremely prudent in the instructions they had given to General Wolseley, for they had limited his Expedition as far as possible. He thought the Government were right in saying distinctly that General Wolseley should not go beyond Khartoum to relieve any garrisons there might be there. He (Sir George Campbell) protested against the things said by hon. Gentlemen opposite when they talked about sacrificing these garrisons. They talked as if the garrisons must necessarily be massacred. There was no reason to suppose that they would be massacred. There was no reason to suppose that the Mahdi would not receive them with open arms, as he had done other garrisons. He (Sir George Campbell) sincerely hoped they would, somehow or other, find their way to their own country; and, if necessary, he should be glad to contribute towards their ransom. He did not think, however, there was the smallest reason to assume they would be massacred if they showed a disposition, as others had done, to join the Mahdi. But when General Wolseley got to Khartoum Her Majesty's Government must make up their minds what was to be done with the place. If they could not find a capable Government at Khartoum they must make up their minds to pack up their baggage and come away. If it should happen that Khartoum was left without a settled Government they might regret it, but they could not help it; it was not their business to govern Khartoum. As regarded General Gordon himself, he (Sir George Campbell) could hardly imagine that General Gordon, a British officer, holding Her Majesty's commission, would refuse to leave Khartoum. If he did he must resign Her Majesty's commission, and then they would be no longer responsible for him. If he was in a fit state to exercise his own judgment, and desired to stay at Khartoum, his wish ought to be gratified, but upon such terms that they would be free from all responsibility as regarded him. He (Sir George Campbell) trusted that Her Majesty's Government would adhere firmly to the instructions they had given to Lord Wolseley, and that as they had undertaken it they would bring the Expedition to an end as speedily and as cheaply as possible.

Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON said, he did not think that the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) had recommended a very English, or noble, or honourable policy. Now, the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) stated what most Members of the Committee could entirely agree with. The hon. Baronet told them that his great wish was that the Government should mend their ways and stick to their principles. But it had occurred to him (Mr. Stanley Leighton) to ask himself what were the principles of the Government? Not the principles, surely, of his hon. Friend the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson), for his hon. Friend severely criticized them. Unfortunately, no one knew what the principles of the Government were. This Expedition was the latest, but he was afraid it was not the last Expedition which would go from this country to Egypt. It certainly seemed to him that the Committee ought to extract from the Government certain guarantees before it allowed a Vote to pass which would add another to the millions of pounds which had been spent by this Government on this Egyptian business, and would place a number of lives in jeopardy without, possibly, any corresponding advantage being reaped. The guarantees which it appeared to him the Committee were bound to demand were a recantation of those foolish declarations which were contained in the words of the Prime Minister, "Rescue and Retire," and in the statement of the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) that they should quit Egypt in six months. The inevitable course of events had already reversed the policy of the Government; but the Committee ought to demand a recantation in words also of the foolish expressions to which he had referred. The policy of advance and retreat, or, in other words, the policy of war and peace, at the same time must be abandoned. If the Peace Party had had their way, every drop of English blood which had been shed in Egypt during the last four years might have been saved, besides millions of money. If, on the contrary, the Government had chosen to follow a distinct and honourable and straightforward course of advance they would have reaped great advantages; and most, if not all, of the blood which had been shed would have been saved, and the country would have been some millions the richer. The Government had not followed either the one or the other course; but they had tried to perform the absolutely impossible task of going two ways at the same time. He was glad that the hon. Baronet (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) was going to divide, because it was proper that the positions of the Government and of the Peace Party should be clearly defined. If the Government were to have the support of the House of Commons that night they must break with the Peace Party. For the sake of peace they must oppose the Peace Party. There was no middle course open any longer. They were now, for the seventh time in three years, responsible for a Military Expedition. First of all, there was the Expedition of General Hicks; then Lord Alcester's; then Lord Wolseley's first Expedition; then General Gordon's; then General Baker's; then General Graham's; and now there was Lord Wolseley's second Expedition. ["And Lord Northbrook's!"] No; Lord Wolseley's. ["Lord Northbrook's!"] Oh, yes; he would come to that by-and-bye. These were the seven Military Expeditions for which they were responsible in three years. But the Government were not content with Military Expeditions; they had sent out an equal number of Civil Expeditions, which had also cost a great deal of money. They had sent out in turn Sir Rivers Wilson, Sir Edward Malet, Sir Auckland Colvin, Sir Evelyn Baring, Mr. Edgar Vincent, the Earl of Dufferin, and the Earl of Northbrook. Seven Civil Expeditions in addition to seven Military! All in three years! Who would they send next? He did not like to ask the question without suggesting some practical answer. The only other person left to be sent to Egypt was the Prime Minister himself. Why should not the right hon. Gentleman spend the winter season in Grand Cairo? The winter was pleasant, and it would be better for his health to be there than campaigning amidst the snows of Mid Lothian, or catching colds at chaotic railway stations. The idea of Government by Missions was a new one. Unfortunately, it had failed.

How many more failures were they to witness? He had forgotten to mention the most questionable of all the Expeditions for which the Government were responsible—he meant the Expedition of Admiral Hewett and Mason Bey, the object of which was to incite a host of Abyssinian savages to invade the Soudan. The Government, he was well aware, by their obstinate refusal of information on the subject, were themselves ashamed of it. That Expedition, too, had failed. The only amends which the Government could make to the country would be now, at the eleventh hour, to separate themselves entirely from those hon. Gentlemen who belonged to the Peace Party—separate themselves at once and for ever. For himself, he should not take any part in the Division. He should like those who supported the policy of the Government, and them alone, to be responsible for the imposition of this new tax on the country.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, he had listened with some surprise to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kirkcaldy (Sir George Campbell) when he had stated that it was impossible to send an Expedition to the relief of Khartoum by way of Berber in March last. It was not accurate to say that in that month the hottest weather prevailed. It was true there was excessive heat in the Soudan for a few days in the middle of March of this year; but such abnormal weather prevailed also in more Westerly countries. It was succeeded by many weeks of temperate weather. The troops might have suffered somewhat; but, according to the highest military authorities both on the spot and in this country, it was perfectly possible for General Graham, after his two great victories over the Arabs, to have sent a small Expedition along the Berber road mounted either on camels or horses. The moral effect of such an Expedition after Graham's successes would have been quite sufficient to have insured the opening of the road to Khartoum, and the safety of that town. They had General Gordon's own word for it; for about the period in question the gallant officer had distinctly stated that the presence of 200 British troops at Wady Halfa would be quite enough to cause the whole of the operations of the rebels in that part of the Soudan to collapse. As to the other statements of the hon. Member, he (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) could hardly congratulate the Government on their candid friend. The hon. Baronet had told them that the Government trusted to the chapter of accidents, and that in that chapter the Mudir of Dongola had turned up. But in this chapter of accidents some other things, less pleasant, had "turned up." Berber had fallen, and 5,000 people had been sacrificed. Khartoum had been besieged, numerous battles had occurred, and many lives had been lost; Lord Wolseley's Expedition had been despatched—an Expedition which had already cost close upon £2,000,000, and with regard to which the Government might esteem themselves fortunate if they escaped with no further expenditure than another £2,000,000. Such had been, and was likely to be, the result of the policy of the Government in trusting to the chapter of accidents. It did not appear to him (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) that this policy had proved particularly fortunate. As to the proposal before the House, this was the 19th £1,000,000 the Government had wasted in Egypt. The first campaign cost England and India £7,000,000; the present Expedition had already cost close on £2,000,000; and the cost to Egypt of the intervention and blundering of the Government in Egypt had been, at least, £10,000,000. In addition to this enormous expenditure, the Government were responsible for the loss of from 40,000 to 50,000 human lives; they had allowed slavery and slave dealers to obtain a hold over a vast country from which it had been practically banished; and if they abandoned Khartoum, they would, as Sir Evelyn Baring and General Gordon had warned them, cause the slave traffic in its most horrible forms to prevail throughout the Soudan. Moreover, they had set the whole of Europe against them. The Great Powers were now protesting against their policy. And now Parliament was discussing the opening and initial cost of the third serious campaign which had been undertaken in Egypt. The Government, in carrying out their Egyptian policy, had employed — as they had told the House—all the best men they could lay their hands on, from the Earl of Dufferin to General Gordon. They had called these persons to their council, but had treated them all with contempt. They had received their counsel from time to time in regard to the various details of their action in Egypt, but had refused to derive any benefit for themselves or for Egypt from the employment of these distinguished men. This Expedition of General Wolseley was practically the fifth epoch in their Egyptian policy; and the country was now paying this £2,000,000, in addition to all the other sums which it had paid before, simply and solely in consequence of the delay of the Government—their inability to foresee, decide, or to act in any of the crises in which decision or action would have been of avail. They had rejected every suggestion that General Gordon made to them; they had refused him all the assistance he asked for—the 200 troops at Wady Halfa, the five English officers, Zebehr, Indian troops at Berber, the advance of Graham's Army, the 2,000 Turkish troops. All his suggestions had been contemptuously rejected, and the Government had done absolutely nothing except send him insulting messages, practically charging him with a change of his pacific policy, and unjustly rebuking him in his perilous and critical position. Surrounded and cut off as he was, and—as the noble Marquess (the Marquess of Hartington) had admitted that night—suffering a long imprisonment in Khartoum, in the greatest danger, by day and by night, Ministers had the effrontery to tell General Gordon they could send him no military force to undertake offensive operations. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) would call the attention of the Committee to the extraordinary discrepancy between the statements of Her Majesty's Ministers—and it was a point worthy of note, strictly bearing upon the Vote under discussion — with regard to the position of General Gordon last March, April, and May, and the facts of the case known at that time and since confirmed. On the 8th of April the Prime Minister said—

> "General Gordon is under no inability to leave the Soudan at the present moment."—(3 *Hansard*, [287] 39.)

On the 21st he said—

> "The position of General Gordon is, so far as we know, a position of security;"—(*Ibid.* 141.)

On May 1 he said—

> "There is no military danger at the present moment besetting Khartoum."—(*Ibid.* 1059.)

And all the time the right hon. Gentleman and hon. Members knew that Gordon's forces had been defeated, and that the General was besieged by fanatical hordes and in great peril. They had had Mr. Power's despatches and General Gordon's own warnings. General Gordon, in his despatches, said plainly that he had remained in Khartoum because the Arabs had shut him in. The Prime Minister must have known that Gordon was in imminent danger. Between April 16 and May 7 eight different attacks were made on Khartoum; and it was no wonder that when Gordon got the insulting and offensive despatches of April 23 and May 1, he replied in those burning words which would not be soon forgotten by the English people—

> "I leave to you the indelible disgrace of abandoning the garrisons."

In his recent despatches, just published, General Gordon emphasized the same reproach—

> "If the rebels kill the Egyptians their blood be on your heads."

The most remarkable incident was the fall of Berber. The Government were warned of the peril all through April. So anxious were the Egyptian Ministry, Sir Evelyn Baring, Nubar Pasha, and the Khedive about Berber, that they all urged that relief should be sent. Although the Government were told these things throughout April — although in the early part of the month despatches reached them stating that Berber was in imminent danger of falling, the Prime Minister found himself able, on the 24th of April, to inform the House and the country that so far as he knew there was no risk of Berber sharing the fate of Sinkat. That was a most extraordinary inaccuracy—he would not say deliberate inaccuracy—for the Head of the Government, in possession of the information it was known he had at that time, to have been guilty of. The Government were advised and urged to do what they could to assist Berber. Sir Evelyn Baring told them that if Berber fell, General Gordon's position would be worstened, and yet they found the Premier declaring that he did not believe the fall of Berber would seriously affect Khartoum. Berber held out for some weeks, and troops could easily have been sent there from Assouan by way of Dongola or by the desert. General Gordon had said the effect of Berber having been saved would have made Lord Wolseley advance by the Nile to Khartoum "a mere picnic." He added these words—"According to all accounts, 5,000 men were massacred at Berber;" and, with a touch of irony, he concluded with—"All is for the best." The hon. Baronet had congratulated the Government on having come across the Mudir of Dongola. That was a mistake. It appeared to him (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) that the Government had not come across the Mudir of Dongola, but that the Mudir of Dongola had come across them. The Mudir had been ordered by the Egyptian Government, under the direction of the British Cabinet, to abandon Dongola in June; and it was only because he refused to abandon the great Province, which was the key of Egypt, that the Mudir was in his present position, and that Lord Wolseley's force was able to advance even at the slow rate at which it was advancing. Here he would say a word as to the instructions issued to Lord Wolseley. They were of a most extraordinary kind, loose and self-contradictory, as the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) had stated the other day. The instructions were such that the Government could quote them in support of two directly opposite policies in the future, if they desired to do so. In one place they told Lord Wolseley to establish a Government at Khartoum if he could, and in the next sentence they told him that such a Government would have to rely solely on its own strength. That everybody knew was impossible. They could not at present establish a suitable Government at Khartoum which could rely absolutely on its own strength. They had tried to make such an arrangement as that in Zululand, and they failed. Everything fell to pieces as soon as British supervision was withdrawn. If the Government had honestly wished to maintain good government and order in the Soudan, they would have authorized Lord Wolseley to give General Gordon, or some other competent British official, such support as to have enabled him to establish a Government and to have maintained it until it became efficient. Did the Government really mean to incur the indelible disgrace of abandoning all the other garrisons? Were these garrisons, who had held out loyally and gallantly, confident that they would be relieved, to be deliberately abandoned to massacre and slavery. The instructions to Lord Wolseley said they were to be abandoned. Was that the policy of the Government? Were the men who had been confident that some relief would come to them to be given over to the fate of Tewfik, the people of Berber, Colonel Stewart, and so many others? Had the Government, when they stated that any rule established south of Wady Halfa would have to rely solely upon its own strength, taken the trouble to read the information collected by Colonel Stuart-Wortley in the course of his recent gallant ride across the desert? It was clear from the latest information that Dongola was a most important position for the defence of Egypt; and if that place were abandoned the position at Wady Halfa would be perfectly insecure. In fact, if they abandoned Dongola and Khartoum, unless Egypt was to be handed over to anarchy and ruin, there would be a recurrence of these Nile Expeditions every two or three years. He would now very briefly sum up what he believed was desired by the great majority of the thinking public in this country who had examined this question, and who took a real interest in the influence of England and in the welfare of Egypt. He sincerely believed that very many Liberals, if not the great majority of them, together with almost the whole of the Conservative Party, desired to see a settlement made with regard to Egypt and the Soudan such as he would venture to suggest to the Government and to the Committee. In the first place, he believed it to be necessary that a thorough British supervision should be established over Egypt for a number of years—for a sufficient length of time to reform the administration and to make its effect felt throughout Egypt. In the second place, he thought that the people of this country wished to see General Gordon authorized, and furnished with sufficient support to enable him to restore order and peace and freedom to the great districts extending between the

White Nile and the Red Sea, and between Abyssinia and the Nubian Desert. Those districts could be easily protected and slavery done away with by a civilized Government at Khartoum. The expense would be small, and a large force would not be required. In the third place—and this followed from the last proposition—Khartoum should certainly be held and defended, both for the safety of Egypt and in the interest of trade and freedom and general civilization. In the fourth place—and this was a more general suggestion, which, however, would be equally acceptable to the country—the Government should revert to the European understanding established by their Predecessors with Germany and Austria, the abandonment of which had been their perpetual curse in all their foreign relations during the past four years. If such a policy as that were adopted, late though it was, the country would feel that the Ministry had made some atonement for the terrible waste of money and of life that their policy had inflicted upon an ancient and a long-suffering people.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I will only detain the Committee for a short time, whilst I answer one or two questions which have been put to me in the course of this discussion. The right hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for North Lancashire (Colonel Stanley) made some inquiry as to what was to be done with regard to the other garrisons in the Soudan besides that of Khartoum. Well, Sir, I have nothing that I am aware of to add respecting them to what is contained in the instructions that have been published. No doubt, Lord Wolseley, if it should be necessary for him, in the course of his mission, to proceed to Khartoum, and in all his action, will do anything which is reasonable and possible to rescue the other garrisons. If the question of the right hon. and gallant Gentleman were whether, in relieving Khartoum, it is, in the view of the Government, the duty of Lord Wolseley and of the British Army to make expeditions all over the Soudan and risk the health, lives, and safety of British troops to rescue every Egyptian soldier and garrison in the Soudan, I have distinctly to say that, in our opinion, it would not be within the scope of Lord Wolseley's duty.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: The garrisons of Sennaar and Kassala.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: As to Sennaar, we have no definite information. There is a report that the garrison has been recalled by General Gordon, and is now actually in Khartoum. As to Bahr-el-Gazelle, it is said that Slaten Bey has joined the Mahdi. I do not know whether these reports are true or not, as our information from these garrisons is extremely meagre. We have not the information which would enable us to say whether the rescue of these garrisons by the British Army is even possible. Has the hon. Member any information which enables him to say that the rescue of any of the garrisons is a possible feat, or one that ought to be attempted?

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: I did not mention all the garrisons. I referred to Sennaar and Kassala.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: I did not say he did. I do not think the rescue of the garrisons all over the Soudan is a possible feat, or one which should be undertaken by the British troops; and yet the Government are urged, notwithstanding that they have no more information than that possessed by every hon. Member, to say what is the position of these garrisons. Then we are asked whether the advance of Lord Wolseley has been delayed longer than he expected? I do not think Lord Wolseley ever committed himself to an opinion as to the exact date on which it would be in his power to advance. I should be unwilling to say that there has not been some greater delay than was expected. It has been found that the means of transport upon the Nile, independently of the delay in obtaining boats from this country, are more slight and untrustworthy than was anticipated. No doubt there has been some greater delay in forwarding stores and supplies to the places where Lord Wolseley desired that the concentration of troops should be made—Dongola, and Debbeh, a point beyond—than was anticipated; and, therefore, he cannot make his advance so soon as he had hoped. Certain hon. Members on this subject—the hon. and gallant Gentleman the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), for instance—have mixed up two entirely different questions. The only practical question we are concerned with in this matter is whether the Government have acted rightly in sending an Expedition up the Valley of the Nile, or whether it would have been preferable to have adopted at the time the Suakin-Berber route? The hon. and gallant Member wandered entirely from that point, and raised the totally different question of whether it would have been possible, after the battles of Teb and Tamanieb, to have sent General Graham's force, or a portion of it, in March last, to Berber from Suakin, and what would have been the consequences of such an advance? Well, that question was discussed fully on the Vote moved for last Session. The reasons why it was that such a movement would have been desirable were stated; and the Government, on their part, declared why they thought it would not have been expedient. It was absolutely out of the question that the whole of the small force under General Graham should have been sent at the time to Berber. It was not furnished with any of the means of transport which would have enabled it to undertake such an operation. I said, at the time, that it was possible for a small force—such as was now described by General Gordon—largely composed of Cavalry, to have reached Berber; but it was altogether begging the question to assume that such an operation would have settled the matter, or given material aid to General Gordon. No doubt, the moral effect of the arrival of that force might have been great. It might have had all the good results that General Gordon anticipated; but, on the other hand, it might have come in contact with a force as fanatical as that of Osman Digna. The only result would have been that, while the position of General Gordon would not have been improved, we should have had a force of British troops shut up at Berber. The hon. Member who last spoke referred to the fall of Berber. At present we know very little of the circumstances which led to the so-called fall of Berber. A great deal of what we have heard shows that Berber did not offer any strong resistance to the attack made upon it; there is every reason to suppose that it fell in consequence of the connivance, if not the treachery, of a portion of its defenders. To refer for a moment to the speech of the hon. and gallant Baronet the Member for West Sussex (Sir Walter B. Barttelot), I was rather surprised to hear the hon. and gallant Gentleman say that, in addition to the assistance that might be given by it to an Expedition from Suakin, the construction of a railway from Suakin to Berber would have been an unmixed benefit to Egypt. I cannot help thinking that if the hon. and gallant Baronet had carefully inquired into the subject, and had gathered the views of persons familiar with Egypt and the Soudan, he would have arrived at a very different conclusion. Such a railway would permanently divert from Egypt that very trade from the Soudan from the loss of which Egypt was now suffering so severely. All the trade which used to ascend the Nile from the Soudan has of late been almost completely put a stop to; and the people living on the banks of the river, who depend almost solely upon that trade, have been reduced to great suffering. If the railway which the hon. and gallant Baronet desires to see constructed—and which I do not deny would be an enormous benefit and advantage to the Soudan—were made, the consequence would be that the trade of the Soudan would almost entirely cease to pass through Egypt, and the Soudan would be more disconnected from Egypt than it has been at any former period. The hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson) quoted a speech made by me last year, or, rather, he carefully selected and quoted a passage from it. If he had quoted another passage at the conclusion of that speech, he would have put the matter in quite a different light—he would have enabled hon. Members to look upon it from a different point of view to that he wished to take. In the speech in question I stated the conditions on which the Government would consider it necessary to undertake an Expedition for the relief of General Gordon. Well, my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister had also, in the course of that debate, stated that the Government had accepted certain responsibility for General Gordon, and that under certain circumstances they would be prepared to act in discharge of that responsibility. It was on these statements, made by my right hon. Friend and myself, that the House came to its decision on the Motion which was made by the right hon. Gentleman opposite. In our opinion, those conditions, which were the conditions we laid down which should make it incumbent on us to take active steps for the relief of General Gordon and the garrison with which he is identified, have been fulfilled. The hon. Member did not attempt to deal with that part of the subject at all, except by a vague expression of opinion that General Gordon could leave Khartoum whenever he liked. But all the evidence the Government have, including that of General Gordon himself, points in exactly the opposite direction. General Gordon tells us that he does not leave Khartoum because he is surrounded by Arabs, who will not allow him to come away. In these circumstances, it is clearly impossible for General Gordon to remove the garrison from Khartoum. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) has somewhat anticipated the discussion which we shall have before very long, I suppose. He does not so much object to the Expedition undertaken by the Government, or to its being paid for; but he maintains that if it is undertaken it should be at the expense of the bondholders. I do not know whether the hon. Member considers that a practical suggestion. Is he satisfied that the Powers of Europe, who have certain interests and responsibilities in connection with the bondholders, will acquiesce in that arrangement; and is he prepared to recommend the responsibility of the Government, disregarding the relations of the bondholders with Foreign Governments? With regard to the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), I have some difficulty, as I have always had some difficulty, in understanding the policy he wishes us to adopt. No doubt he has told us that Khartoum ought to be retained, and that General Gordon or someone else should be authorized to hold it. I suppose he means that a permanent British garrison is to be maintained there, or, at all events, a force under British control—that is to say, that, to all the responsibilities we have already in South Africa, India, and different parts of the world, a Central African Empire is to be added. If the hon. Member does not mean that, if that is not the policy he recommends, I do not understand what it is. Though he is very definite in his recommendations, it seems to me he stops short altogether of what the House should expect of him when he comes to point out the practical way in which they are to be carried out.

Mr. BOURKE: I only rise for the purpose of asking one question of the noble Marquess. My right hon. Friend the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) would have asked it himself; but he has left the House, and has requested me to put it for him. In neither of his speeches has the noble Marquess intimated in the slightest degree how the money for this Expedition is to be paid. He has not indicated whether it is to be wholly found by this country, or whether it is to be found partly by us and partly by Egypt. How is the money to be paid? If the noble Marquess cannot answer the question now, perhaps he can state when the Committee of Ways and Means will sit? If the noble Marquess is not able to give me an answer now, I will give him Notice of a Question on the subject for Monday. I have no doubt, however, that the noble Marquess is in a position to answer to-day, as this is a subject which must have received the attention of Her Majesty's Government.

The Marquess of HARTINGTON: The right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister stated, the other day, that it would be the duty of the Government, at the earliest possible moment after this Supply had been voted, to propose Committee of Ways and Means. I cannot now say when that Committee will be taken; but I will inform the House as soon as possible. I may say that since this discussion commenced we have received some further telegrams of interest from Egypt with respect to Khartoum. It is not strictly recent news; it does not bear the least on the disquieting rumours prevalent during the last few weeks; but it is the latest news received as to the position of General Gordon. The first telegram is from Sir Evelyn Baring to Earl Granville, and is dated Cairo, November 13. It says—

"Wakeel of Mudir of Dongola, at Merawi, telegraphs that a man has arrived there from a village called Tankaasi, who says Mahdi, with his troops, are at Omdurman, and that the Egyptian soldiers who were there have retreated to Khartoum. The same man reports that, four days before his departure, the Mahdi sent 12,000 dervishes against Dongola, and an Emir with 9,000 men against the Kababish. The Mudir has ordered messengers to be sent to inquire into the truth of these reports. He expresses his own opinion that the report of the Mahdi's expeditions towards Dongola and against the Kababish is not true. This has been telegraphed to Lord Wolseley, and inquiry made whether he believes in the report as to the Mahdi being at Omdurman."

That is one message which arrived this afternoon. The other, an Admiralty telegram from Commodore Molyneux, dated November 13, says—

> "Letters from Gordon, 24th and 26th August, say:—'Provisions for five months. Intend sending Stewart with French and English Consuls to Dongola, after destroying Berber."

I am afraid, if any confirmation were wanting of the loss of Colonel Stewart and Mr. Power and the French Consul, this adds to it. It is, however, satisfactory to know that on the 26th of August General Gordon said that Khartoum was provisioned for five months.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, it was satisfactory to hear from the noble Marquess that the operations of Lord Wolseley were not intended to secure the retention of Khartoum, and that the Government were not going to hold the Soudan, but intended retiring from it as soon as the operations of Lord Wolseley had been performed. They were following a step by step policy in entering upon this Expedition, of which no man could see the end or count the cost. He had been amongst those who had been against this war from the beginning, as being one of the greatest errors which a Liberal Government could fall into. His opinion was that they had stepped in to put down a national movement—a national movement not, perhaps, according to their methods or ideas of what a national movement should be, but one which afforded a hope of the regeneration of Egypt. There had been a good deal said about the other garrisons in the Soudan beyond that of Khartoum. They knew these garrisons were simply representatives of foreign tyranny, and, as such, should not have, and had not been recognized to have, any claim to consideration on the part of the British Government. This country disclaimed all responsibility for the garrisons, and, to his mind, they ought not to sacrifice even a corporal's guard of British soldiers for all the garrisons in the Soudan. But while Her Majesty's Government were disclaiming all responsibility for the relief of the garrisons, they unfortunately took it on themselves to send General Gordon to relieve the garrison of Khartoum; and though he was given to understand that he was to have no Imperial force at his back, and that his Expedition was to have for its object merely the establishment of a settled Government at Khartoum, everyone knew that the Government, by sending him, assumed responsibilities which they could not shake off. It was satisfactory to see that instructions had been given to Lord Wolseley, in regard to the Expedition now going on, to the effect that the operations were not to be extended, and that the force was to have nothing to do with the relief of the garrisons—that it was simply to confine itself to the relief of General Gordon. It was to be hoped that the Government would abide by that decision. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) knew what pressure was put on them by the military classes in the country, by the Opposition almost to a man, by the official classes and those who wished to induce them not only to annex Egypt, but the Soudan—he knew the pressure brought to bear on them to induce them to go a step further in the policy thus indicated. Let them resist that pressure. The country was sick of this war and the expenditure connected with it; and what they wanted was to secure that, at all costs, this pressure brought to bear on the Government should be withstood. The hon. and gallant Baronet opposite (Sir Walter B. Barttelot) said that night that there was general relief throughout the country now that the Expedition had been sent out. He (Mr. Jesse Collings) did not believe there was any relief of the kind. The only real relief the country would feel would be when it was announced that the English soldiers had left the Soudan altogether. There would be no difficulty as to the evacuation of the Soudan. It must be borne in mind that all those they were fighting against were men who were fighting for their own Government and their own country, and it was not a fitting position for Englishmen to occupy to be engaged in, carrying on a war against such men. It was curious and interesting to note that when questions of military expeditions or of military expenditure of any kind were brought forward they always received a large amount of support from the Conservative Party on the other side of the House, notwithstanding that the expeditions were promoted by a Liberal Government. The debates on all warlike topics, and on questions connected with war and foreign policy, were so interesting, and occupied so much of the time of the House, that hon. Members were apt to think that no such country as England existed, and that there was no time for the affairs of the English people to receive consideration in the House of Commons. For example, there was at present one part of the country which was in positive disorder, for there were matters which were not in a very agreeable position in Scotland; an immense amount of misery existed in different parts of England, and yet the House was engaged in the consideration of a foreign question, and had literally no time to attend to the domestic legislation of its own country. They were receiving accounts of starvation and misery at Sunderland, and among the people of the North of England and elsewhere; and yet, at the same time, they were voting enormous sums of money to be spent in countries; and in respect of questions with which the English people had nothing whatever to do. He trusted that the difficulties Her Majesty's Government had got into, in consequence of adopting a foreign policy which was alien to a Liberal Government, would serve as a lesson to them for the future to avoid such dangers. His principal reason for speaking on that occasion was to accentuate the positive pledges given beforehand, and now renewed, that this Expedition should be confined to the rescue of General Gordon. When that was accomplished, no consideration should be listened to in the direction of retaining the Soudan, but the country should be evacuated at the earliest possible moment.

Mr. WARTON said, the hon. Gentleman who had just sat down had drawn a contrast between foreign and domestic questions, and had complained that the House of Commons was not sufficiently thoughtful of the condition of their starving countrymen in the different parts of England. He did not know whether the hon. Gentleman supported the Amendment to the Address which was moved a few days ago, and the object of which was to call the attention of the Government to the sad condition of many parts of the country, owing to the working of certain politico-economical theories. The hon. Gentleman regretted the condition of the people; but he ought to have supported the proposition for considering the terrible straits to which the country had been reduced by the operation of principles which had been tested and found wanting. He had a strong notion that the hon. Member did not vote for that Amendment; but that he preferred to support a Liberal Government. The hon. Member now charged the Conservative Party with always supporting warlike operations. It was desirable, however, to point out that this was an Expedition rendered absolutely necessary, if they wished to preserve the good faith and honour of the country, and to prevent General Gordon and his companions from being massacred. It was a scandalous state of things that the Government should not have considered it necessary to send an Expedition before this time. Even now it might be too late to accomplish the object intended, because there were persistent rumours received from various quarters with respect to the safety of General Gordon, which only pointed to one conclusion. Whether the Government were or were not in possession of information which they did not choose to announce he was unable to say; but the House generally were altogether in the dark. They had, however, known in former times statements denied by the Government, when subsequent information showed that they had in their possession materials which would have put an entirely different complexion upon the state of affairs. If it should unfortunately turn out that the present rumours had some foundation in fact, he was afraid that hon. Gentlemen opposite would not support any Vote of Censure upon the Government that might be brought forward in regard to this subject. The real fact was that General Gordon was sent to Khartoum to save the Government, and he was abandoned by the Government the moment they found he had succeeded in saving them, and that they were safe from being turned out of Office. That was the whole explanation of the matter. When a Vote of Censure was moved by Gentlemen now sitting on the Front Opposition Bench, the Government were only saved by a majority of 22, having turned the scale by the votes of the 32 salaried officials they possessed in that

House. His principal object in rising was to express his opinion that the Government did not yet see the real state of things in Egypt—that they did not see the real importance of preserving the Eastern portion of the Soudan. They were led away by the phrase of "the Soudan," forgetting the vast extent of territory embraced in that term. If the Government had known what they ought to have known two years ago—that the Eastern Soudan was absolutely essential to the strength and prosperity of Egypt—they would have made a railway to Berber. In the middle of June last year they might have made such a railway, and there would have been no occasion now to debate the question as to which was the best means of reaching General Gordon at Khartoum—whether by Suakin or the Nile. There was no wonder that even General Lord Wolseley, who, when he was sent out in 1882, was able to fix the very day and hour when he would arrive at Tel-el-Kebir, was now obliged to confess that the delay in ascending the Nile was much greater than he had expected. If the railway had been constructed to Berber there would have been no difficulty in taking a large force across the desert; and if the Government had been advised by competent statesmen and soldiers, they would have known that it was absolutely essential for Egypt to retain the Eastern Soudan, and especially Khartoum. If they had known what they knew now two years ago, there would have been much less hesitation, with rails lying unused somewhere or other, in deciding whether railways should be made, which certainly ought to have been completed a long time ago. He was glad to find that the Government, although they were late in undertaking this Expedition, had at last determined to do something. At the same time, he regretted the equivocal nature of the instructions which had been given to Lord Wolseley; and he contended that they were incapable of any interpretation the Government might place upon them if they found it necessary, hereafter, to save themselves.

MR. TOMLINSON said, there was a point to which he wished to draw the attention of the Committee, which had not yet been adverted to. He assumed, for the purpose of debate, that the Expedition was carried out successfully—that Lord Wolseley arrived at Khartoum and found General Gordon still alive. But what was he to do when he got there? General Gordon's own communications showed that he had issued paper notes, and that in various ways he owed a large sum of money. He did not know what the amount of those debts would be. In his letter on page 121 to Sir Evelyn Baring and Nubar Pasha, General Gordon said—

> "We want £200,000 sent to Kassala. The expense of these garrisons must be met. Khartoum costs £500 per diem."

He says further—

> "We have issued paper notes to the amount of £26,000, and borrowed £50,000 from merchants which you will have to meet. I have sent in addition 8,000 paper notes to Sennaar."

In another letter he asked for £50,000 to be sent to Dongola, so that it was quite certain that in one way or another General Gordon was owing a very large sum of money. It was quite obvious that his debts could not be paid out of the money the Committee were going to vote that night, and by no ingenuity could any Supplementary Estimate be framed which could include the provision for the payment of the money. Nevertheless, it was quite certain that General Gordon never would or could be rescued without the payment of that money. He therefore wished to know what would be the condition of things if, when Lord Wolseley reached Khartoum, General Gordon refused to come away without the previous payment of his debts? He (Mr. Tomlinson) wished also to enter his protest against the notion which the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War had put forward, that a railway from Suakin to Berber would be a disadvantage to the real interests of Egypt. The people of London might just as reasonably object to the construction of a railway between Manchester and Liverpool. There could be no possible objection to the construction of a railway to Berber from Suakin. His special object, however, in rising was to ask how the Government intended to deal with General Gordon when Lord Wolseley got to Khartoum?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER wished to remind the hon. Member for Preston (Mr. Tomlinson) that this was really an Army Supplementary Vote, while the charges referred to by the hon. Gentleman were charges incurred by General

Gordon at Khartoum. General Gordon was a Civil Governor, and when those charges had to be met by this country they would be met by a Vote from the Treasury as a Civil Fund, and would not come out of an Army Vote at all.

MR. TOMLINSON asked, whether it was to be understood that on some later date a Vote would be produced for the payment of General Gordon's debts, or what provision would be made for the payment of them? Was Lord Wolseley to pay the debts at his own risk, or what was to be done in regard to them?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER said, that Lord Wolseley had not been instructed upon that point. All these questions were premature, because the Government did not yet know what arrangements General Gordon had made, or what pecuniary liabilities he had incurred. It would be necessary to know that, and to discuss the matter at the Treasury, before a decision was come to as to the form in which the matter would be placed before the House in regard to the settlement of General Gordon's liabilities.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 73; Noes 17: Majority 56.—(Div. List, No. 14.)

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON rose to move a Vote of £675,000 for military operations in Bechuanaland. The noble Marquess said: I do not know whether it is intended to take this opportunity of discussing the political aspects of the question. If it is, it is not my intention or duty to enter into that part of the subject; and I propose to say very few words in explanation of the Vote which I am about to move. The Estimate which has been placed on the Table represents the sum of money which will be required in the event of military operations, and these on a considerable scale having to be undertaken for the expulsion of the filibusters who have forcibly taken possession of certain territory under our protection in Bechuanaland—that is to say, it is framed on the basis that force, and force to the utmost extent, will be required in order to remove these filibusters. It is not contemplated that the mere preparatory measures which may be taken will have the desired effect; but that force will be necessary, and that the full Estimate will be required in the event of matters coming to extremities. Perhaps it is not desirable that I should enter into minute details as to the composition of the force which we propose to send out on this Expedition. The Estimate is framed on the basis of a force of 1,500 volunteers, who will be supported by an adequate force of Regular troops, the exact composition of which, or the number of Regular troops which will be sent in support of the Volunteer Force, it is, perhaps, not desirable that I should state. The Estimate also provides for the replacing of any Regular troops which may be temporarily withdrawn from Natal or Zululand in order to take part in the Expedition. It is not considered desirable, in the present state of affairs in Zululand, entirely to weaken the forces at present there, or in Natal, but which may be available for immediate service in Bechuanaland. I may say that the Estimate which has been framed is an outside one—at all events, it is outside any sum that is likely to be expended in the present year. It has been framed as accurately as we could, rather upon the basis of the whole sum likely to be expended, under any circumstances, for a campaign which is not expected to last beyond a few months. Of course, if the operations were to close early the whole of this sum would not be expended in the present year; and therefore the Committee may take it that the Estimate is an outside one, and that as regards the present year it will certainly exceed any sum likely to be expended.

(2.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £675,000, be granted to Her Majesty, for certain Army Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising from the Expedition to Bechuanaland, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

SIR MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH: I think the Committee will have heard with great satisfaction two statements of the noble Marquess—in the first place, that the Volunteers whom it may be necessary to send will be supported by an adequate number of Regular troops; and, secondly, that in providing that force there is no intention, on the part of Her Majesty's Government, to diminish the force available for the protection of the Zulu Reserve. Thanks to the courtesy of the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley), I hold in my hand a copy of the Instructions issued to Sir Charles Warren. These Papers, however, are not in the possession of the House, and I confess that I have not myself had time to consider them and compare them with other documents on the subject. Therefore, what appears to me and to others whom I have consulted on the matter a fair proposal, which I hope Her Majesty's Government will not be unwilling to accede to, is this—we have no desire to impose unnecessary delay in granting this Vote, believing it to be for necessary purposes; but we do think that some fair opportunity should be given for a discussion of the subject, and if this Vote is to be taken to-night I hope the Government will have no objection to fix some day for the Report next week on which we may have a full and complete discussion.

SIR HENRY HOLLAND said, he entirely concurred in the view taken by the right hon. Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach), who had just spoken; and he would confine the few observations he desired to make to considering the policy of Her Majesty's Government, and showing how their inaction had led up to the expenditure now proposed. He craved the indulgence of the Committee for trespassing upon them on a second occasion; but when he addressed the House a short time ago, the first batch of Papers only had been presented, and he now desired to comment upon this second batch of Papers, and to show how completely the information given in them bore out the views he had then advocated. He had then said that the Boers were led to believe, by our policy of drift and concession, that Her Majesty's Government were either unable, or unwilling, to interfere, and to incur the expense which would be caused by such interference; and that they might deal with the Convention of London as they had dealt with the Convention of Pretoria. And this set of Papers showed that such was their belief. These Papers also showed, as he had feared might be the case, that the Boers were able to taunt the Native Chiefs with their folly in trusting to British promises, and to the protection, although promised, of the British Government. He observed that this had actually taken place, and that Mankoroane was cited by the Boers as the case of a Chief deserted by the British Government. Surely it was a matter of deep regret that our conduct should have been such as to justify the Boers in making this charge. Another point which he had brought forward on the former occasion was that the defence, formerly set up by the Government, that the action of the Transvaal Government must be separated from that of the freebooters, would not be found to hold good in the present case. There could be no question now as to the complicity, or, at all events, connivance, of the Transvaal Government with what had passed in Bechuanaland, and their intention to make a profit out of these outrages against Montsioa. The former batch of Papers showed the recruiting at Pretoria; the publication of N. Gey's Proclamation in *The Volksstem*, at Pretoria; and though it was true that the Transvaal Government had issued a counter-Proclamation, it was unsupported by any restraining force—and these later Papers showed that no such force was at any time used—and the Boers attached, therefore, the same value to that Proclamation as the Transvaal Government attached to the verbal remonstrances of our Resident, unsupported by any firm action on the part of Her Majesty's Government. This counter-Proclamation was, in fact, as Sir Hercules Robinson pointed out, of no use at all by itself, and was nothing but a mere blind. What else did these later Papers show? One could hardly read them without surprise and feelings of shame at the grievous inaction of Her Majesty's Government in a state of things so fraught with difficulty. Until the 7th of October there was literally no indication of their policy; no advice; no orders were given to Sir Hercules Robinson; and no instructions to warn the Transvaal Government that Her Majesty's Government intended to enforce observance of the Convention, and to protect Montsioa's territory. He would take one date to show that he was justified in that statement. On September 21 the Earl of Derby telegraphed to Sir Hercules Robinson. He would read that telegram to the Committee in a few minutes; but he desired first to point out what information the Earl of Derby had in his possession of the state of things in Bechuanaland when he so telegraphed. In the first place, he had learnt, by a telegram of the 11th of September from Sir Hercules Robinson, that Montsioa had been attacked and defeated, and that, reduced to extremities, he had been forced to surrender himself, his people, and his property, unconditionally, to the Boers. The Earl of Derby must have been aware that, though the surrender was made nominally to the Goshen Republic, yet as that Republic was "under the supervision" of the Transvaal Government, Montsioa's territory was practically annexed by that Government. He had been informed also of the conduct of Joubert, the accredited Agent of that Government, who negotiated this Treaty with Montsioa. By another telegram of the 15th of September, he had been informed by Sir Hercules Robinson that the position of affairs called for "immediate consideration;" that the movements were believed to have been instigated by Transvaal officials; and that there seemed but little prospect of the new Convention being observed so long as it was thought that the Imperial Government did not intend to enforce it; that—

> "If it were only believed that Her Majesty's Government meant to insist on the boundaries fixed by the Convention being respected, and the independence of the Natives, whom we have promised to protect, it might be possible, even then, to accomplish those objects without fighting; but to induce that belief it would be necessary to announce the decision firmly, and to make ostensible preparations for fighting."

By a telegram of the 17th of September, Sir Hercules Robinson again pressed for leave to announce to the Transvaal Government that existing engagements would be insisted on, if necessary, by force of arms; and stated that he was still of opinion—

> "That if the Transvaal and the freebooters saw that Her Majesty's Government were determined, the difficulties might be arranged without actual fighting."

It would thus be seen by the Committee that Sir Hercules Robinson had made the Earl of Derby fully aware of the grave and increasing difficulties of the case; of the danger of delay and inactivity; and that he had pressed for authority to make some firm and decided representations to the Transvaal Government, which, if made, he thought even then might prevent the necessity of fighting. Now, what was the answer? It would be found in the Earl of Derby's telegram of September 21, to which he had before referred. It was couched in the usual stereotyped form—"Yours 11th, 15th, and 17th receiving careful consideration." Surely, it would not have been too much to expect from the Secretary of State that he should, in such circumstances, and under such pressure from Sir Hercules Robinson, have authorized him to inform the Transvaal Government that this Government distinctly intended to stand by the Convention, and to fulfil their pledges, by force if necessary, to protect Montsioa's territory from the freebooting Boers. But in this telegram of September 21 the Earl of Derby goes on—

> "It is desirable that I should have clear expression of Ministers' recommendations, and understand extent of co-operation to be given by Colony on account of trade route and otherwise if active measures taken."

But he would ask, why should Her Majesty's Government have waited to know what the Cape Government were willing to do before returning a decided answer that they were prepared to fulfil their Imperial engagements? In truth, no answer was practically given to these pressing telegrams—in other words, no indication of their policy was given to Sir Hercules Robinson until October 7. What could Sir Hercules Robinson gather from this silence but that Her Majesty's Government had either not made up their minds what line to take, or that they had resolved to pursue the policy of inaction and waiting upon events? What would the Transvaal Government be led to believe when they found no immediate notice taken by Her Majesty's Government of the flagrant violation of the Convention of London? They had telegraphed on the 17th of September direct to the Earl of Derby—"Being implored by Montsioa, took him under protection." The Earl of Derby knew from Sir Hercules Robinson the real state of the case, and the conduct of Mr. Joubert in negotiating this so-called Treaty with Montsioa; but, as he returned no answer to the Transvaal Government to their telegram of the 17th until early in October, what could the Transvaal Government believe but that they had succeeded in passing off their version of the case upon him, and that they might play with impunity the same game with the Convention of London that they had played with the Convention of Pretoria? What the effect of an immediate and strong protest and more determined policy would have been might be tested by this fact—that directly the protest was made and warning given in October the Transvaal Government took alarm; they saw that Her Majesty's Government were in earnest; and they withdrew the Proclamation and the Treaty with Montsioa. He had said that no answer was returned by the Earl of Derby to the telegrams of Sir Hercules Robinson until the 7th of October. And what was then the answer to these pressing inquiries and calls for immediate action? He ventured to think it was not at all satisfactory. The Earl of Derby desired Sir Hercules Robinson—

> "On receiving the concurrence of your Ministers, to call upon the Government of the South African Republic to annul the recent acts by which it had assumed jurisdiction over the Chief Montsioa as violating the Convention of 1884."

But why was the concurrence of the Cape Government made a condition precedent to such a plain course of action as calling upon the South African Republic to annul acts committed in flagrant violation of a Treaty? The High Commissioner was an Imperial officer, and his action in Bechuanaland was independent of the Cape Ministry; the obligation to protect Montsioa's territory was Imperial, not Colonial, and the Convention of London was also Imperial. The co-operation of the Cape Government was most desirable, and every means should be taken to secure it consistently with the prompt performance of our Imperial obligations and responsibilities; but it was not right that their concurrence should have been made, as it was made by the Earl of Derby, a condition precedent to our taking firm action in respect of the conduct of the Transvaal Government. Whether Sir Hercules Robinson obtained the concurrence of the Cape Ministers or not, he took the wise step of at once telegraphing to the Transvaal Government the summons to annul their proceedings; and, as he had before said, that Government, seeing we were in earnest, at once gave way. He would only add, as showing the inaction of Her Majesty's Government, that he found no answer in these Papers to two important telegrams from Sir Hercules Robinson of the 13th of October, in one of which he asked for immediate instructions as to recruiting 400 additional police; and in the other he pressed for leave to inform the Transvaal Government that—

> "Her Majesty's Government are determined to expel Goshen freebooters from Montsioa's territory, if necessary, by force of arms."

He contended that some answer should have been sent at once by telegraph to these questions, although it might not have been possible or desirable to give full details of the intended action of the Government. To sum up the case, then, against the Government, he contended that if, as had been urged upon the Government by himself and other Members on both sides of the House, a strong body of police had been employed at first, when encroachments were threatened, these freebooters would have been easily checked, and would have received no countenance from the Transvaal Government, who would then have seen that this country was in earnest. The expenditure on the police would not have amounted to a third of the amount now asked for. And, further, that if the Government had even at a later date, say in August or in September, announced their firm intention to compel the observance of the Convention, and to protect Montsioa's territory, and had then made open preparations for a force to be used if necessary, further outrages would have been checked, as the Transvaal Government would have felt the necessity of taking active steps to restrain their subjects, and prevent these freebooters from using Transvaal territory as a base for their operations. Now, they were asked for an expenditure largely increased by the inaction and delay of the Government; and, what was far worse, they were asked to incur this expenditure after their fair name for honourable observance of their obligations and engagements had been tarnished, and after confidence in them had been greatly shaken. He warned the Committee that evil results of this conduct must be looked for, not in Bechuanaland only, not only in their Colonies of the Cape and Natal, but throughout all South Africa.

SIR JOHN LUBBOCK said, in reply to some of the observations which had fallen from the hon. Baronet who had just sat down (Sir Henry Holland), he wished to point out that, although under the terms of the Convention they had a right to protect the Native territories if they chose to do so, they had undertaken no obligations to afford that protection. Whatever opinion he (Sir John Lubbock) might entertain as to the wisdom of the course adopted in assuming a Protectorate over Bechuanaland, having done so, they could not permit their Representatives to be insulted, imprisoned, and murdered. That being so, though he did not doubt that the Government were doing all in their power, he was somewhat surprised not to find in the Papers presented to the House any demand made upon the Transvaal Government that the offenders should be surrendered. In some cases the authors of these atrocities were well known; and it was their duty to demand that they should be brought to justice. Take, for instance, the treacherous capture of Mr. Wright, their Representative. He was entrapped by the misuse of a flag of truce, and kept in close confinement for 10 days, when he made his escape. A man named John Cilliers, and a leader of the Boers named Gey von Pittius, appeared to have been mainly responsible for this. Mr. Wright was, fortunately, still alive; but Mr. Bethell had been murdered in cold blood. The murderers were well known, and he did not understand why no claim had been made for them. If the Transvaal Government surrendered these men to justice, well and good. They should be tried by court martial, or, at any rate, by some trustworthy tribunal. The Cape Ministers had sent Representatives into Bechuanaland; but no settlement of that country would be satisfactory until the murderers of Mr. Bethell had been brought to justice. At the same time, these lamentable events showed the great responsibilities they incurred in undertaking Protectorates of this indefinite character and in such distant regions. During the Recess they knew that many hon. Members opposite, and even the right hon. Gentleman the Leader of the Opposition, had accused Her Majesty's Government of deserting Chiefs whom they were under an obligation to defend—meaning, he believed, Mankoroane and Montsioa. Now, up to the assumption of the Protectorate these Chiefs had no claim on us. Montsioa, it is true, offered to assist us during the Transvaal War; but we declined his aid. The Convention gave us the moral right to interfere, but imposed on us no obligation to do so. When it was proposed that we should enlist an extra 100 police to protect Mankoroane's cattle, what did Sir Hercules Robinson say? He did not recognize any moral obligation on our part, and said it would be preposterous to incur any such expenditure to protect property which was not worth £80,000. No doubt, the course we had adopted with reference to Bechuanaland had been taken from our strong desire to consult the wishes and promote the prosperity of the Cape Colony. When the Transvaal Delegates were here last Spring they were anxious for an arrangement which, while recognizing the independence of Montsioa and Mankoroane, would have placed within the Transvaal Massouw's and Moshette's territories as well as Stellaland. This did not affect this country directly, as far as the interests of England were concerned, and, in Sir Hercules Robinson's opinion, would have afforded a fair guarantee for peace. But it was strongly opposed by Sir Thomas Scanlen, the late Premier of Cape Colony, because it would have placed over 100 miles of the trade route into the interior within the limits of the Transvaal. Sir Thomas urged upon our Government the great injury which this would inflict on the Cape, and the importance of securing the traffic upon the road in question from interruptions and taxation. The Colonial Office wrote to Sir Thomas Scanlen, and pointed out that the boundary line was—

> "A question which especially, and almost entirely, concerns the Cape Colony; and unless the Colony is prepared to bear their full share of the responsibility and cost which may be involved, Her Majesty's Government will not be justified in further insisting upon the urgency of this question."

To this letter Sir Thomas replied that—

> "The Cape Colony will be prepared to join in any arrangement which may be made for establishing a joint Protectorate, and to pay its fair share of any expenses incurred."

Upon the strength of these representations and promises Her Majesty's Government succeeded, after months of negotiation, in effecting a settlement which met the object desired by the Cape Government. The Transvaal Government assented to the settlement unwillingly, and only in exchange for costly concessions, made at the expense of the British taxpayer. It was much to be regretted that the present Cape Ministry had hitherto not carried out the promises made by Sir Thomas Scanlen, and which had involved this country in heavy liabilities. It was said that the Cape could not undertake indefinite responsibilities. But this country had done so on the faith of their representations. It was very hard on the British taxpayer that the cost of a policy in which his interest was so infinitesimal should fall on him, and, in his opinion, Sir Hercules Robinson's communications to the Cape Government had been most judicious. He justly observed that the present obligations were unwillingly undertaken by the British Government at the request and in the interest of the Cape, and under the distinct promise of contribution to the expenses, and of cordial co-operation; and he concluded—

> "As the Governor feels very strongly that this promise is binding in honour on the Colony, he would fail in his duty to Ministers if he were to withhold from them the frank expression of this opinion."

That was in July, and did not appear to have had much effect; but it would seem, from the telegram of the 24th of September, that, alarmed by the German annexation of Angra Pequena and other recent events, the Cape Ministry were now more disposed to fulfil their promises; and he should be glad to know whether they had proposed, or would propose, to take a grant of money for this purpose? He should be glad, therefore, to know what steps the Cape Government had taken to give effect to the telegram of the 24th of September? They must remember that in July Mr. Upington, the Cape Premier, used very similar language in the House of Assembly. The House itself passed unanimously a Resolution in the same sense, and yet, subsequently, the Cape Ministry contended that this did not commit the Cape to anything definite. Had the Ministers proposed any Vote to the Assembly, as was urged on them by Sir Hercules Robinson? Mr. Upington's telegram of the 24th of September said that the Ministers of the Cape would be prepared to render the Imperial Government their co-operation in the terms defined in their Minute of the 26th of July. Now, what were those terms?—

> "The Cape Ministry," Mr. Upington then said, "will be prepared to propose to Parliament in its next Session a measure for the annexation to this Colony of the territory on the South-West Border of the South African Republic, now under British protection, provided, first, that such course should meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Imperial Government; secondly, that there be no alteration in the condition of the territory proposed to be annexed which would involve this Colony in responsibilities not contemplated by Parliament at the time of passing the Resolutions referred to in His Excellency's Minute under reply; thirdly, that the Convention of London be ratified by the Volksraad of the South African Republic; fourthly, that no unwillingness be shown to annexation by the inhabitants of the territory proposed to be annexed; and, fifthly, that no demand be made upon this Colony by Her Majesty's Imperial Government for any expenditure incurred in the assertion of British protection up to the date of annexation, and that the territory proposed to be annexed be transferred to this Colony free from debt."

This, then, did not contemplate any contribution to the expense of restoring order and establishing the Protectorate; but only stated that after the Imperial Government had pulled the chestnuts out of the fire the Colonial Government would be disposed to eat them. The necessary expenses were not even to be a charge on Bechuanaland itself; because, by Mr. Upington's conditions, the country was to be handed over free from debt. Practically, therefore, under this arrangement, the whole burden would be thrown on England. He could not believe that our fellow-countrymen at the Cape would approve this; and he hoped they might hear from Her Majesty's Government that the Cape Ministry had reconsidered the matter. For his own part, he must say that he always had grave misgivings as to the policy of assuming a Protectorate over Bechuanaland; and he was glad to see that the Earl of Derby had impressed on the Government of the Cape that it was only in deference to the strong representations of the late Premier of the Cape Colony, and relying on the co-operation of the Colony, that they insisted on securing for the Colony the important provision respecting the trade route. If the Cape Parliament and Government were not prepared to fulfil their promises, they must reconsider the position which they had taken up at great expense in the belief that they were acting in accordance with the strong wishes of our fellow-countrymen at the Cape. The country would also, he believed, support Her Majesty's Government in holding the Transvaal responsible for any expenses which might be incurred in expelling and punishing the marauders who used the territory of the Transvaal as a base of operations. The Republic had not done its duty in maintaining order; on the contrary, they despatched a Commissioner, who, instead of making any effort to restrain the subjects of the Transvaal from the depredations of the marauders, actually lent his sanction to their operations, of which the latest was an attack in force while the Commissioner was actually in the neighbourhood. The troubles in Bechuanaland were, indeed, as the Earl of Derby said, greatly due to the failure of the Transvaal to fulfil its engagements; and, as he justly observed, the claim they would have to make on the Republic for the expenses which their neglect had entailed on us would greatly depend on the action they might now take in bringing the offenders to justice. Of course, great allowance must be made for the weakness of the Transvaal Government. Still, he regretted that the representations made to the Transvaal had been treated with unbecoming levity. For instance, in reply to the remonstrances of the British Resident with reference to the robberies and murders committed by the Boers from the Transvaal, the Transvaal Government wrote as follows:—

> "Sir,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 7th instant. I am instructed to state in reply that his Honour the State President is deeply grieved to hear of the bloody conflicts which have taken place in the Rooi-Grond. His Honour has always considered that the only way to put an end to these troubles is by proceeding in a peace-loving way, and not by violence. The Executive Council will be called together as soon as possible to consider the proposal to send a Commissioner."

Of course, it is quite absurd to proceed against robbers and murderers in a "peace-loving way." Again, Captain Bowers mentioned that, so far from attempting to check and punish these atrocities—

> "The public enlistment of volunteers at Pretoria had been for some time going on without let or hindrance from the Transvaal Government."

Perhaps they would be told that the Transvaal authorities had not sufficient power to prevent these atrocities. But what did they say with reference to the treacherous imprisonment of Mr. Wright? The Transvaal Government wrote to the High Commissioner—

> "Through the Hon. Mr. R. Rutherfoord temporarily acting as Consular official of England at Pretoria, this Government has been informed that the Volunteers of Rooi-Grond, under cover of a flag of truce, have taken prisoner Mr. Wright, Assistant British Commissioner in Bechuanaland. While taking cognizance of this, I have the honour to acquaint your Excellency that this Government have no doubt that both the Special Commissioners who have been sent off will know how to adjust this matter also."

They did not express the slightest contrition, or make any apology; and, so far from disclaiming responsibility, they firmly stated that their Commissioner would be able to "adjust this matter." He confessed that he read that letter with much pain. He did not, however, wish to attach too much importance to what might be merely an unfortunate selection of words. He was glad to see, in a subsequent despatch of the 6th of September, that the Transvaal Government promised that it would—

> "Adopt all possible measures for preventing the subjects of the Republic within the Transvaal territory from organizing predatory expeditions against those who are under Her Majesty's Protectorate in Bechuanaland, and declares anew that it is prepared to co-operate in a friendly spirit with Her Majesty's Government for maintaining peace and tranquillity in those regions."

Of course, none of them doubted the success of the Expedition which was about to be undertaken; but they could not but ask themselves what was to happen when the object of the Expedition had been achieved. If it was not worth while for the Cape Colony to interfere in this matter and co-operate with us, surely it was not worth our while to carry this matter any further. He could not say we had any legal obligation to protect these people indefinitely. What was to happen if we expelled the marauders? As long as Native Chiefs were prepared to give farms of 4,000 acres to every volunteer who came for a year's service he was afraid we must expect that there would be disturbance in South Africa. He observed from the Papers that the Colonial Governments were continually saying that this, that, and other must be paid for out of Imperial funds. There was a great fallacy in the expression "Imperial funds." The fact of the matter, unfortunately, was that there were no such funds as Imperial funds. What was meant when they talked of "Imperial funds" was that the English taxpayer must pay for the Expeditions. We were all anxious to co-operate with the Cape Colony, and do everything reasonably in our power to promote their interests; but it was impossible for us to go on voting and spending million after million for wars in all parts of the world. The Committee had already that evening voted one very large sum for a war in the North of Africa, and they were now called upon for another very large sum in South Africa. While he was not prepared to oppose this Vote, he was very much concerned about the Protectorate of Bechuanaland. He was very glad indeed to see the despatch of the Earl of Derby on page 76 of the Blue Book, in which the noble Earl warned the Cape Government that they must not expect that we should go on indefinitely in this course. We had undertaken this Protectorate in deference to the strong representations made to us by the Cape Government, relying, at the same time, upon the co-operation of that Government. He was pleased to find that at a meeting recently held in the Cape Colony the Colonists seemed much more disposed to co-operate with the Mother Country in a generous and liberal spirit than the Government had hitherto done. He believed that if the matter was placed before them that would be the general feeling of the Colonists. We were most anxious to co-operate with them in every respect, and promote, as far as possible, the prospects and well-being of the Cape. Still, he thought the Colonists must realize that if they were not prepared to come forward and co-operate with us in this matter, we should then be obliged to reconsider the position we had taken up in Bechuanaland, a position which we took up very reluctantly, and only in deference to what we believed to be the strong wishes and the interests of the Cape Colonists.

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY said, he was glad to understand from the right hon. Gentleman the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) that it would be more convenient to the Opposition to take a discussion on this Vote, if necessary, on the Report, which he (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) was in a position to say would be taken on Thursday next. He should not have risen to say anything had not the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) made some observations to which he felt bound to reply. The hon. Baronet said that Mankoroane had found out that he must not lean on the protection of England. As a matter of fact, neither Mankoroane, nor Montsioa, nor any other Chief, had any claim or right to say they were under the protection of England until England declared the Protectorate. There was no sort of Treaty with them, so that their right to rely upon the protection of England dated only from the time the Protectorate was proclaimed, and that was in the early portion of this year. Then the hon. Baronet devoted a good deal of time to complaining of the delay from the time the Government first heard of the action of the Transvaal Government till the telegram of the 7th of October. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) supposed he had cleared up that point. Certainly he went into some details to show, what the hon. Baronet omitted to show, that the Government were requested by Sir Hercules Robinson to withhold their answer, and that the remainder of the time was devoted to telegraphic communication with the Cape, that they might know what the views of the Cape Ministers were, and what the exact state of things was before they arrived at a final decision. He hoped the hon. Baronet remembered what the final decision involved. It involved war with the Transvaal as a Government, and therefore he did not think Her Majesty's Government took too long a time to consider what form the demand should assume. As a matter of fact, all they could have done was to have anticipated all their proceedings by one fortnight, because it must be borne in mind that the action the Government had taken with regard to the Transvaal Government was then and was now apart from the action to be taken with reference to the freebooters. Then the hon. Baronet complained of the Government's want of attention, and as an illustration said that they gave no answer to the telegram of the 13th of October, in which Sir Hercules Robinson asked them to give instructions as to additional police. The answer to that was simply that they did reply that Mr. Rhodes was to wait for instructions. The whole condition of affairs was changed since then. At that time there was a question of 400 additional police; but, of course, that force of police was not wanted now. The hon. Baronet had also complained that they had sent no answer to Sir Hercules Robinson's request that he should be allowed to inform the Transvaal Government that force would be used. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had already called attention to the despatch of the 22nd of October, in which Sir Hercules Robinson was authorized to communicate with the Transvaal Government to that effect. Now only one word further as to what fell from the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) about Mr. Wright. What happened about Mr. Wright was this, that he was induced under a flag of truce to put himself in the hands of the freebooters. As soon as Sir Hercules Robinson heard of the occurrence he communicated with the Transvaal Government, and they sent out M. Joubert —they certainly used the very odd expression "to adjust the matter," which his hon. Friend had commented upon; but what was meant was that they would put the matter right—but before M. Joubert arrived at the frontier, Mr. Wright had got away and the matter was determined. Reference had been made to Mr. Bethell. Well, the position of Mr. Bethell's case was still under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government; but it was not by any means so simple as hon. Members imagined. They had received a communication from Cape Town, in which it was said that it was not possible for the Government to make any demand, because they had no power to try the murderers, inasmuch as the murder was not committed in either the Transvaal or British territory. The Government, however, had consulted their own Law Officers, and he thought that by their aid it would be possible to overcome some of the legal impediments in the way, and, if so, the Government would make a demand to the Transvaal Government for the surrender of the murderers. One word merely as to what his hon. Friend (Sir John Lubbock) said about the co-operation of the Cape Government. With a great deal of what the hon. Baronet said he cordially agreed, and he recalled what he said last Session in the debate upon Transvaal affairs, as to the duty of British subjects out there to exert themselves more to assert and support and maintain the British connection, and not to leave everything to the Imperial Government. He thought, however, that in the meetings held and speeches recently made at the Cape, there was good proof that the British subjects would in future be willing to co-operate with us and take some trouble and risk to maintain British influence and the British connection. He was certain Her Majesty's Government fully shared the feelings of the hon. Baronet upon the question of the co-operation of the Cape Government. No doubt, the Ministry of Sir Thomas Scanlan was much more ready and willing to actively co-operate with us than the present Ministry. When he was over here, Sir Thomas Scanlan held out a great prospect of real and cordial co-operation; but, as the hon. Baronet was no doubt aware, between the dates of Sir Thomas Scanlan's interview with Her Majesty's Government and the signing of the Convention and the arrival of Sir Hercules Robinson and Mr. Mackenzie at the scene of action, there was a change of Ministry, Sir Thomas Scanlan went out and the new Ministry came in, and certainly the new Ministry had not acted quite so cordially with us as Sir Thomas Scanlan's Ministry did. He (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) was far from saying that the new Ministry did not intend to co-operate with us; in words they had undoubtedly done so, and he trusted they would be found to do so in their actions. They certainly had great sympathy with the Dutch population; but their Representatives had now gone to Bechuanaland on the distinct understanding that if they could succeed in obtaining that which was indispensable by their own efforts, we would not employ force. If, after a reasonable time had elapsed, it was found they could not by their own efforts succeed, force would be employed. His hope and belief was, however, that they were so impressed with the value of the British connection that even if we had to resort to arms we should not find them fail us on this occasion.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND said, he did not rise for the purpose of unnecessarily prolonging the discussion which had taken place on this Vote; but he felt that it was necessary for him in the discharge of what he considered to be a duty in opposing the Vote to explain, as briefly and as satisfactorily as he could, the reasons why he most certainly should record his vote against the application of so much money to the purpose for which this money was now being asked. He was sorry that the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) did not remain in his place after he had proposed this Vote, because he (Mr. W. Redmond) would have liked to have noticed how the noble Marquess took the remarks which fell from the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) and from the hon. Baronet the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock). The noble Marquess said very distinctly, and he (Mr. W. Redmond) was very glad to hear it, that this money was to be applied to the purpose of punishing some freebooters in South Africa. Now, it would be very satisfactory not only to the Members of the House, but to the people of the country, who, of course, were the most interested parties in the voting of a large sum of money for war purposes, to have some guarantee from the Government that this money would not be devoted to any other purpose but the punishment of marauders who had perpetrated outrages in South Africa. Certainly, the tone of the speeches delivered by the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) and his Friends upon the Opposition side of the House in the debate upon South African affairs which took place some time ago was altogether different to the tone which had been adopted to-night by the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War. While the noble Marquess proclaimed it to be the sole intention of the Government to make war upon the freebooters, undoubtedly the tone of the speeches proceeding from the Conservative Benches with reference to the South African Boers might be interpreted to mean that the Opposition wanted Her Majesty's Government to use this money not so much for the purpose of punishing the freebooters as for the purpose of actually initiating another war with the Transvaal Republic. The whole tone and tenour of the speeches delivered in the debate raised some time ago by the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) and his hon. Friends was that of bitter hatred and resentment against the Boer Republic; and he (Mr. W. Redmond) felt it his duty, as an independent Member of the House—independent so far as he cared very little for the interests of Parties in the House, and so far as the interests of Great Britain in South Africa troubled him very little—to raise his voice in protest against the tone of the speeches and the actions of certain hon. Gentlemen in the House, who had spoken really for the purpose of exciting in the country a war feeling against the Boers, who were a young people, if he might use the term, but, after all, a brave people, who had nobly fought for their liberty, and who, in winning it, had beaten the Imperial soldiers of this country. Every one of the speeches which were delivered in the discussion which was the result of the Motion of the hon. Member for Midhurst displayed a characteristic which was extremely contemptible in the people of this country—namely, the characteristic that whenever or wherever the English people were beaten in fair and open fight, as they were undoubtedly beaten by the Boers, it was their invariable custom to lose no opportunity of maligning and of slandering the people who had beaten them. He noticed that in the speeches which came from the Conservative Benches, prompting Her Majesty's Government to take the action they were about to take, very little indeed was said with reference to the action of the freebooters alone; but it was imputed, all through the speeches of Conservative Members, that the freebooters were acting, if not with the actual support, certainly with the silent sanction of the Transvaal Republic. The hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst, in his speech that night, again insinuated as much—indeed, he had said absolutely that if the freebooters were not receiving the actual countenance of the Boer Republic, they were receiving the silent co-operation of that Republic. He (Mr. W. Redmond) asserted, with all the responsibility which attached to his words as a Member of the House of Commons, that he did not think there ever was a more unfounded or more unworthy accusation hurled against the people of any country than the charge which had been made against the Boer Republic, that they countenanced these freebooters. In the speeches which had been delivered he noticed there was not one particle of proof to support the statement that the Transvaal Republic was responsible for the action of the freebooters. One of the reasons why Her Majesty's Government were urged to take the action which he was sorry to say they were about to take, was, that Mr. Bethell, a British officer, met his death at the hands of these men. Speaking of Mr. Bethell, personally he was sorry that that officer had met with so lamentable an end; but the language in which Mr. Bethell's death was described in the House was altogether inaccurate and misleading. He remembered that, in one speech delivered from the Opposition Benches, it was insinuated that Mr. Bethell had been foully murdered, and that his death was due indirectly, if not absolutely directly, to the action of the Transvaal Republic. It was contemptible, it was child-like, for English Members to rise in the House of Commons and to speak in such a way of the death of Mr. Bethell. How did Mr. Bethell die? He was heading a party of men who were to make an attack upon the people who killed him. ["Oh, oh!"] He was killed in action.

Sir HENRY HOLLAND: He was wounded, and while on the ground he was killed in cold blood.

Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND said, that Mr. Bethell was mortally wounded in action. If he (Mr. W. Redmond) remembered rightly, the hon. Gentleman the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) stated most distinctly, in the debate which was raised upon the Motion of the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), that Mr. Bethell had received his death-wound before he was actually killed. What he (Mr. W. Redmond) asserted, without fear of contradiction, was that Mr. Bethell met his death in an action, that he was heading an armed party, and that most undoubtedly, if he had not been killed, he would certainly have killed some of the people he went to attack. If, therefore, hon. Gentlemen sifted the case, and looked at it in an unprejudiced and a matter-of-fact way, they found it amounted to this—that Mr. Bethell, a British officer in a foreign country, whose people were not at all enamoured of British rule, and whose people were not at all impressed with the desirability of that rule, met his death in an action he was taking against the people. It was said that Mr. Bethell had been foully murdered, that he had met his death at the hands of the Boers, and it was insinuated also that the Boers were barbarians. There was no adjective too strong to use against the Boers in the course of the debate to which he had already referred. The Boers were assassins and everything that was bad, because, some time ago, their marksmen proved they could shoot better than the British soldiers. The Boers beat the British troops at Majuba Hill, and the memory of that defeat was rankling in the breasts of Englishmen; and what it was desired to do was to initiate a war against the Boers under the guise of an Expedition against the freebooters. The proposed Expedition was unworthy of the Government, and it was contemptible that Conservative Gentlemen like the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) should, by violent speeches against the Boers, by their unlimited abuse of the Boers, endeavour to create a war feeling in the country and to ultimately compel the Government to take action against the Boer Republic. It was utterly indefensible that hon. Gentlemen who probably would never, by any chance, place their own lives in danger should come down to the House and, in an irresponsible sort of way, do their best to bring war upon the heads of the people in South Africa, and to cause the blood of the soldiery of this country to be shed, and millions of the treasure of this country to be spent, in a most unprofitable war. In support of the statement that Mr. Bethell met his death at the hands of the Boer Republic, it had been said that the Boer Republic had refused to deliver up the so-called murderers of Mr. Bethell. That was put forward as a reason why the Government should take strong action against the Boer Republic; but such an argument was so child-like that it was with surprise he heard it used in the House. So far from encouraging the action in which Mr. Bethell met his death, the Boer Government had, by Proclamation, declared that it was their desire that the people of the Transvaal should not take the action suggested; and as for the charge that the Republic refused to give up the murderers of Mr. Bethell, it had not yet been proved, and he did not think there had been any attempt to prove, that they even knew who the murderers were. If some English gentleman—let them suppose the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) himself—were to go upon an expedition to Spain, and there met his death at the hands of some freebooters or robbers, and if the Government of Spain were wholly ignorant of the men who caused the hon. Member's death, and they were to say so, and if they refused, as undoubtedly they would have to refuse, to give up the murderers, would this country go to war with Spain? In this case, it was desired by hon. Gentlemen that we should go to war with the Transvaal Government because they would not deliver up to the British authorities the men who killed a British officer, and who were totally unknown to the Government of the Transvaal. Again, the attack upon Montsioa was declared to have been the direct outcome of the action of the Transvaal Government. He would refer the Committee to one brief paragraph in the first Blue Book issued with reference to the affairs of the Transvaal—words from a despatch from Sir Hercules Robinson to the Earl of Derby. On the 26th of June, Sir Hercules Robinson said—

> "Rutherfoord telegraphs that the Transvaal Republic are issuing strong Proclamations prohibiting burghers to take part in hostilities against Moutsioa."

And yet they had it stated by such Gentlemen as the hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) that the Government of the Transvaal were responsible for these hostilities. Such statements as that would go forth to the people of this country, who did not take the trouble to read the Blue Books themselves, and who trusted for their information on Colonial and Foreign affairs to the representations of persons like the hon. Baronet. The English public would accept the statement that the Transvaal Government was responsible for the attack on Montsioa, whereas the truth of the matter was that so far from conniving in the attack on Montsioa, the Government of the Transvaal went to the trouble of issuing a Proclamation warning the citizens of the Transvaal to have nothing at all to do with it. Did the Committee not see that Her Majesty's Government, in taking action, and in sending a force to South Africa, were altogether following the advice they received from the Conservative Benches? He recollected that in the course of one of the debates they had had on this question, it was strongly urged that it was no use sending Sir Charles Warren to the Cape, unless they sent him backed up with a goodly force of British troops. Her Majesty's Government had, to some extent, taken the advice of Gentlemen like the late Lord Mayor of London (Mr. R. N. Fowler), who, in the debate to which he (Mr. Redmond) had referred, had delivered a most sanguinary and ferocious speech, which he certainly was surprised to hear from the lips of that hon. Member, having regard to the character which he possessed for geniality and good nature. If Her Majesty's Government had altogether taken the advice of the Opposition, they would have sent quite as large a body of troops to South Africa to make war on the Boers as they were sending to the Nile to relieve General Gordon—in regard to which Expedition Her Majesty's Government had been again led by speeches coming from Conservative Members. To listen to some of these speeches, it would appear as though there could be no hope of settling the affairs of South Africa without sending a large military force out there. Again he would quote a few words from the first Blue Book bearing on the affairs of the Transvaal. The late Lord Mayor of London had said that Sir Charles Warren should be accompanied by a large force of British troops. No doubt, the hon. Baronet the Member for Midhurst—although he had not heard him say it—had also recommended that a large force should be sent. [No, no!"] Well, if the hon. Baronet had not said so directly, he had indirectly. At any rate, several hon. Gentlemen on that (the Conservative) side of the House had recommended in plain language the employment of a large force, and Sir Charles Warren had gone out with 40 officers. But while they had hon. Members on the Conservative Benches—most of whom, he believed, were in some way connected with the Military Profession, and, therefore, not altogether averse to times of war, which were times of promotion and general gain for people belonging to the Army—recommending that a large Expedition should be sent out to the Cape, and while the people of England, reading their speeches, were led into the belief that a large force was necessary, what did they find Mr. Mackenzie saying—

Mr. Mackenzie, who had been more than once quoted in the House as an authority on South African affairs? Why, on the 55th page of the first Blue Book, it would be found that, in answer to the question put to him before he left England for Bechuanaland—"What force do you propose to have behind you?" he said—and he (Mr. W. Redmond) would recommend this answer to the attention of the Committee and the country, in view of the various suggestions from the Conservative Benches to the effect that a large force should be sent to the Cape—

> "There are plenty of fighting men in South Africa, so that we do not need any soldiers from England at all."

This opinion was given on the spot—in Bechuanaland—in response to a question which had been asked in England. It was satisfactory to see that Her Majesty's Government, as they had proved by their action, were more inclined to take the advice of a gentleman on the spot, in South Africa, who must, no matter what his position might be, know more of the requirements of the case than hon. Gentlemen on the Conservative Benches in the House of Commons. He would no go so far as to say—he would not be so audacious as to hint—that Mr. Mackenzie was a man more clever or more wise than many of the warlike Gentlemen on the Conservative side; but he did contend, and he thought he had reasonable grounds for thinking, that Mr. Mackenzie must know more about what was necessary to settle the trouble in South Africa than any Member of the House. Mr. Mackenzie had written the words just quoted most distinctly, and evidently with a full sense of responsibility. Sir Charles Warren had gone and had taken 40 British officers with him, and he (Mr. W. Redmond) believed there were to be British troops landed at the Cape. There was not the slightest doubt in his mind that, in the fullness of time, this Expedition which was now being initiated, and the cost of which was being so bravely voted that night, would ultimately result in a war with the Boer Republic which would cost Great Britain very many soldiers and a vast amount of treasure. He did not speak of these things because he was at all solicitous of saving the resources of the English Treasury. He was not burnt up with a desire to economize the lives of the troops of this country. He did not care how lavishly the money of England was spent in this war—he did not care, as a matter of fact, how many British soldiers met their deaths in an attempt to keep up an unjustifiable state of affairs at the Cape. His argument was, that these men would meet their death in an indefensible cause—in an attempt to keep together an Empire which, sooner or later, must come asunder; an Empire, a particular part of which might be expected soon to cease its connection with it. He did not speak now because he was anxious to save the lives of British soldiers, or the money of the British Treasury, but for the reason that he was a Member of the House independent of Party, and because he did not think that in days to come, when this Expedition should have developed into a war, he would be able to say to himself that he had done his duty as a Representative of a liberty-loving people if he did not raise his voice against the present action of the Government. He was convinced that the step the Government were taking was but an initial one between this country and the Boer Republic. It was a very easy thing for Members to vote money for war. There were not even a large number of Members present that night to do it—to do it by the simple action of walking into the Division Lobby, or by feebly saying "Aye." No less than £725,000 of the money of the taxpayers of this country was to be granted in this way for the purpose of sending troops out to make war on a people who, after all, were only struggling for right to live in the land which was theirs by adoption — who were really struggling for liberty. Already that night £1,000,000 had been voted for the purpose of carrying on a war against the unfortunate people of the Soudan. He believed he would not be in Order if he referred to the Soudan Vote, and he would, therefore, merely say that the Soudanese had sinned in no way except that they had expressed the opinion that they could best live in their country under an independent and Native Government. The Soudanese were struggling for their liberty. So were the Boers at the Cape. They were determined that their country should not be governed from that House—from across 6,000 miles of ocean. All they asked was for leave to live in that land of their adoption without the interference of the Parliament of this country. Of course, it might be said that there was no intention of making war on the Transvaal Republic, and that the Expedition was only for the purpose of punishing the freebooters. He would call the attention of hon. Members to debates which had taken place in years gone by—debates before the Zulu War was initiated. He remembered the cheerful way in which hon. Members had spoken of it, describing it as a "raid," and the Zulus as "a people who only required to be punished." In that way Great Britain had gradually drifted into a war with that great savage race—a war which resulted in some of the most ignominious disasters to the British arms that the whole history of the country could afford. So he said that day. If the Government interfered at all—if they went even to the fringe of the Transvaal Republic—they would ultimately bring about a war with the Boers, who were an unoffending people. They would plunge this country into debt and misfortunes of every kind. He thought himself perfectly justified, therefore, in lifting up his voice in opposition to the Vote that night; and he believed he was only speaking the sentiments of many people in the country when he said that there was no necessity for an Expedition to the Transvaal. Let them look at the war from a purely Colonial point of view. What was the trouble? In the Cape Colony some 80 per cent of the people were of Dutch descent. Taking all the Cape populations together, they were Dutch in sentiment and Dutch in blood. There were some British subjects there who had suffered from raids made by Dutch freebooters. The British Colonists were not able to defend themselves against the inroads of their Dutch neighbours. Very well; what did these British subjects ask for? They sent home to a Government 6,000 miles away for Generals, officers, and troops to punish the men who had invaded their territory, and to save them from further invasion. It was all very well to comply with that request once in a way; but the question hon. Members had to ask themselves was—"Are we prepared for all time in the future to keep a large garrison of British troops in South Africa?" He did not think that even the most Conservative Member in the House—the Gentleman who had most warmly declared himself in favour of this Expedition—would rise in his place and say that he would like to see South Africa permanently garrisoned by British troops. He did not believe there was any intention on the part of the Government despatching the Expedition to do anything of that kind. He did not believe there was any such wish in the breasts of the Conservative Members urging them to take their present action. But let this be remembered. They had had a war with the Boers. The Boers had beaten them. They patched up a peace, and came away. As soon as their troops were withdrawn, what happened? Why, some Dutchmen—irresponsible men, not accountable to the Transvaal Republic, but still Dutchmen—crossed the border, and attacked British Colonists; and now, for the second time within a few years, they were sending out a General and troops to defend the British Colonists against the Dutch. It would be admitted very readily that if the English Colonists were not able to defend themselves without assistance in South Africa against anyone who might attack them, the sooner the Dutch claimed ascendancy in South Africa the better. They could not be always sending out troops, and backing up the English Colonists against the Dutch; and unless they made up their minds to keep up a large permanent Force in South Africa, they would have to give way. Send out the Expedition; beat the Boers, or let the Boers beat them. What would be the result? They might restore peace, and drive the freebooters back; but how long would that peace last? What guarantee had they that, when their troops had been withdrawn, the Dutch would not again attack the British Colonists? The real view to take of this question was this—to let the people who were strongest be uppermost. They might suppress for the time being the march of the Dutch towards ascendancy over these Colonies, but they would only be able to suppress it for the time being. When their troops were withdrawn, the Dutch would again make inroads. Sooner or later, the Dutch element would prevail in South Africa; and that part of the world would become not a Dependency of the German Empire, but a Free State for people of German and Dutch blood. As he had said before, he did not say this because he had any interest in British operations in South Africa. They might send out all their soldiers, spend their last penny, get beaten—the oftener they got beaten in attacking a small people, the more glad would he be. He did not speak from a British point of view, but because he wished it to be left on record that he had protested against any action on the part of the Government or the House which would plunge the country into war with the Transvaal Government. He objected to anything which might do that, not because he wished to save this country from expenditure or from blood, but simply because he did not wish to see a brave people like the Boers, who had fought for their liberty and had gallantly won it, pressed down and rendered helpless for a time by the brute force it was in the power of the British Government to bring to bear on them. He had no sympathy with the present Government, nor with any of their policy. He had no more sympathy for their Colonial policy than he had for their policy with regard to his own country; but he would say that one of the best actions perpretrated by a Minister of the Crown in that House for some time was when the First Lord of the Treasury (Mr. Gladstone) declared that it was the intention of the Government not to proceed farther with the war against the Boers. The right hon. Gentleman recognized the fact that the Boers had beaten the British Forces. He recognized that it would be impossible to prop up British authority in the Transvaal always by British soldiers. He withdrew the troops. He (Mr. W. Redmond) did not say that the right hon. Gentleman in so doing had been acting magnanimously. He did not say that he was actuated by any other motive than a conviction that sooner or later British ascendancy would have ceased in South Africa. The conclusion of the War with the Boers was a good thing; but it would be a bad thing for the people of this country and the Government, if out of this Expedition which was being sent to the Cape a fresh war should arise against the people of the Transvaal Republic. Once more he wished to have it on record—[*Laughter.*] It was all very well for hon. Members to laugh. He knew well enough that his words would have very little weight in that House against the opinions of English Members; but he was sure that if this Expedition did result in war between this country and the Transvaal, it would be satisfaction to the people of the Transvaal to know that there were a number of Members in the English House of Commons who were totally opposed to anything which could embroil this country with them. It would be satisfactory to the people of the Transvaal to know that every time they struck a blow for the liberty of their country and thrust back the English troops, as they did at Majuba Hill, the news was received with gratification by a great many Members of the House. He wished to speak purely on behalf of the people of the Transvaal. Let the English Government spend all their money; but as long as he was sitting in the House representing a people who were struggling for liberty themselves he should never fail to raise his voice to defend, so far as it might be within his feeble power, the liberty of any people who had fought so nobly for their freedom, and whose freedom he was very much afraid was threatened by the bloodthirsty suggestions of the Conservatives in the House of Commons.

Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL said that when the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) was speaking on the last Vote, he had asked hon. Gentlemen opposite, "Would you establish a British Empire in the heart of Africa?" The noble Marquess repudiated any such intention; and, that being so, it was a very extraordinary thing that the Government should now be bringing forward a Vote to do that very thing in South Africa—to establish an Empire, or, at any rate, a Protectorate in the heart of South Africa. If this money did not mean the maintenance of a Protectorate he did not know what it meant. He was afraid they were in for another big job—another big war. He shared the hope of the noble Marquess that possibly there would be no occasion to use force to drive the freebooters out of Bechuanaland. He still hoped that peace might be maintained, or that the war, if there was one, might be a cheap one.

He very much disliked that Her Majesty's Government thought it necessary to ask the taxpayers of the country for £725,000 for another war in the heart of Africa to establish something like dominion there. It was very much the old story of embarking originally in a small war, which, spreading by degrees, further and further, ultimately developed into a great one. At first it was said that the difficulty in Bechuanaland could be overcome by the employment of 100 policemen; but Mr. Mackenzie had never been supplied with 100 policemen. By enlisting every blackguard he could get he could only muster 30 men; then he had a difficulty in providing them with horses. After obtaining a number, on examination he found them all lame but four. When, ultimately, the horse difficulty was overcome, it was found that there were no arms. In the end Mr. Mackenzie went out without any policemen at all; and the result was that as he was found by the people against whom he was sent hardly worth attending to, he was not much respected. This was the way the war might develop into a big affair. Again, he must enter a protest against this war as being an unnecessary one. It was a conflagration started by the Press of this country, and he was afraid that the few poor Radicals below the Gangway would be unable to stop the devouring flame, and that the money asked for would be voted. If the Government were determined to carry on these hostilities, with what object did they do it? Was it to establish a Dominion in the heart of Africa; if not, what was it for? Was it to protect the Natives? If it were to do that, they would be bound to stay in the heart of South Africa and establish a Dominion there. They should not enter into the war without being prepared to fulfil their obligations. He liked to see Natives protected—he had spent best part of his life in the work of protecting them—but he did not wish to go too far, and that was what he was afraid the Government would do. Let them make up their minds what they were going to do. Would they not abandon the Natives to their fate? If there was one thing more clear than another it was that the whole upshot and issue and result of this war, when they had conquered, had possessed themselves of this territory, and had paid the piper, would be that they would find they had only been taking the chestnuts out of the fire for the Cape Government. It was perfectly clear from the Blue Books that the arrangement was that when they had made the path sufficiently clear for the Cape Government, they would take the matter out of British hands. If that was so, where was the protection of the Natives—that for which they were supposed to have undertaken the war? He had not brought down the Blue Books, or he could have quoted passages to show the view of the Cape Colonists. The Cape people said—"We are annexing this land; it is for our young men." Well, if that were so, and they were incurring this large expenditure and entering into this war for the purpose of handing over this territory to the Cape Colonists, they would be entirely failing in the object with which they had undertaken the war. That was one of the things which could not be denied. Then, the Government were not only sending out their own troops, but it appeared that they were also enlisting a large body of irregulars. Notices were published stating that young men who wished to join the irregulars in the Transvaal were to apply to certain authorities in a certain place, and he wished to know who was to pay permanently for this irregular corps which was to be enlisted and sent out to South Africa? Apparently, the war was to be one of sentiment and not one for the protection of the Natives. He believed it to be promoted in a great degree for the purpose of having a slap at the Boers. A large number of people in this country had rankling feelings in regard to their late war with the Boers, and were anxious that they should revenge themselves upon them for the defeat they had sustained. After the very pathetic account they had had of Mr. Bethell's death, he hoped that no technicality would be allowed to stand in the way of executing justice. But, at the same time, he hoped that the authorities would not come to any conclusion without sufficient evidence. What was the worth of such evidence as had now been obtained? They had the story of one Native, which read much more like the incidents of a novel than anything in real life. The man shammed death, heard all that passed, recognized all the people, and then ran away and told a story which made him out to be a very heroic person indeed. He (Sir George Campbell) would not say that the story was not true—it might possibly be true; but he had seen far too much of such story-telling not to be somewhat suspicious of it. Thousands of such tales were set abroad during the Indian Mutiny, and they turned out to be totally untrue. Did the Government believe a story of that kind? If they did, let them bring the people accused of the murder to justice. It was the same sort of thing in regard to other stories like that of killing a little child, and matters of that kind—they did not rest upon any substantial evidence whatever. He must say that he entirely sympathized with all that had been said by his hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) with regard to the tyranny of the Colonists over us. It used to be the case that we tyrannized over the Colonies; but now the times had changed, and the Colonies tyrannized over us instead. In the Native administration, in the Cape wars, and in everything else, it was they who tyranized over us. We had to pay upon all occasions, and it was they who reaped all the advantage. That had always been the result of these wars, and it would be the result of this one; and, therefore, he would say to the Government—"Be calm; do not act without evidence. Do not rush into a war until there is really occasion for it." The hon. Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland) had told them a good deal about the injustice done to Native Chiefs; but he (Sir George Campbell) thought the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) had answered that point very clearly. These people were not under our protection until the present year. What was the injury done to Mankoroane? He had not lost an acre since the Protectorate; and it had been found that his place was nothing but a nest of thieves. There was a vivid description by the Imperial Commissioner of the state of things there, and of the multitude of thieves, and Mankoroane had himself been told of it, and had been threatened with condign punishment if he did not put a stop to it. This was the case of our particular friend who was said to have suffered so much. As to the case of Montsioa, the hon. Baronet (Sir Henry Holland) had referred to some dates; but he had not referred to the 12th of May last, when Montsioa attacked the Boers and burnt their houses. The Boers thereupon declared war against him, and that war was being carried on now. He (Sir George Campbell) did not defend the Boers. He had no doubt that they were very high-handed, and that they had presumed much upon our abstention; but what had we to do with this affair in the heart of South Africa? He did not see why we went out of our way to extend our protection to these people in this year of grace. No doubt, Her Majesty's Government were driven to it; but he thought we had acted foolishly, and that we should take an opportunity to wash our hands of the business. He would be glad to go to a moderate expense in order that we might do so. We might establish our position in South Africa on a much more satisfactory basis than could be found by projecting ourselves into the heart of the country.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, the Committee had just seen the wilds of Scotland and the wilds of Ireland shaking hands across the floor on this subject. The debate must have been extremely gratifying to the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney), who had heard in the views put forward a *reductio ad absurdum* of his own opinions and of those of his Friends on this question. The hon. Gentleman who had just sat down (Sir George Campbell) had asked what was the object of this Expedition. Well, its object was to do two things—to maintain our solemn Treaties, and to protect out allies; and if a nation, great or small, could have worthier objects than those, he would leave it to the hon. Gentleman to discover them. This was not a question of the defence of the Boers against aggression on the part of the British Empire or of British Colonists; and he would remind the hon. Gentleman (Mr. W. Redmond), who had spoken with so much fluency on this subject, that these Boers, whom that hon. Gentleman regarded as people rightly struggling to be free, were nothing more than a very cruel and tyrannical dominant class in South Africa. The cry of "Majuba Hill" was no answer to this statement. The Boers were not the mild and amiable people imagined by the hon. Gentleman—they were not even the best of the Dutch population in South

Africa; but they were the outcasts of that population. When slavery was abolished in the Cape Colony, they "trekked" away into Natal in order that they might maintain their right to enslave their fellow-men; and when it was abolished in Natal, they "trekked" away across the Vaal, into the Transvaal, in order still to maintain their tyranny over human beings; and they now kept hundreds and thousands of unfortunate Natives in practically a state of slavery, denying them ordinary human rights. The hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) seemed to listen to this statement with considerable impetuosity, which might with advantage be restrained. But he did not know that it was very necessary to analyze that hon. Gentleman's characteristic views on the subject, because the hon. Gentleman had been publicly repudiated by his Colleagues. [MR. COURTNEY: No, no.] He begged the hon. Gentleman's pardon; but it was the fact that the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies had publicly repudiated the opinions of the hon. Member for Liskeard (Mr. Courtney) in that House, and had stated that that hon. Gentleman spoke only for himself when he enunciated his extraordinary views. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) repeated that the Boers were a tyrannical, oppressive, slave-driving caste in South Africa, and that they were denying human rights to 800,000 Natives who were more or less under their rule. These Boer freebooters had attacked and maltreated their neighbours in what they called Stellaland and the Land of Goshen, and had been practically encouraged by the Dutch of the Transvaal. They had stolen Montsioa's land and massacred his people; then the Transvaal Government started up and annexed him, and had to be compelled by the action of this country to renounce that operation. He would like now to make a few observations with regard to statements made in that House by the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Chamberlain). That right hon. Gentleman was a Member of the Government which was now, in 1884, asking that House for close upon £750,000 for an Expedition to maintain Treaties which he and his Colleagues promised that House in 1881 should be enforced. The right hon. Gentleman was responsible for this Vote—as responsible as any Member of the Cabinet. And yet it was he and his Party who, by their action in 1881 and also in 1878-9, were the persons who were really responsible for the necessity of this Expedition. They were the persons who paralyzed Imperial action in 1880 and 1884. It was the influence of the President of the Board of Trade in the Ministry that enabled that feeble splutter of a Radical agitation, in 1881, to unnerve our action. [MR. CHAMBERLAIN: There was no Liberal Ministry in 1879.] He was quite aware of that; but he was speaking of the right hon. Gentleman's action in 1881. It was the right hon. Gentleman's influence then which enabled a feeble splutter of agitation, coming from the Radicals below the Gangway, to direct the policy of the Cabinet, and which forced the Government to accept the defeat and humiliation of Majuba Hill, to have the national honour and authority unvindicated, and to submit to the Convention. It was the action of the right hon. Gentleman the President of the Board of Trade which paralyzed our Imperial power, and prevented us from obtaining those securities which would have rendered this Expedition wholly unnecessary. The right hon. Gentleman had invented one or two statements for the benefit of that House which were absolutely without any proof whatever. The right hon. Gentleman had stated that the Natives in the Transvaal had greatly benefited by the Boer rule, and had increased under it. He (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett) traversed that statement, and he challenged the right hon. Gentleman to any proof. In spite of the very superior countenance which the right hon. Gentleman just now assumed, he challenged him to give proof. There were the Representatives of all the Native populations in the Transvaal, who, in 1881, went before our Commissioners, and begged and implored that they might not be sent back under the tyranny of the Boers. So strong and unanimous was their evidence that the High Commissioners did not venture to face them in person, but sent their Secretary to hear the complaints. Every Chief within and around the Transvaal uttered his indignant protest against being handed back to the oppression of these Boers, who, the right hon. Gentleman had dared to state, were popular among the Natives.

The Blue Books which contained these damning facts were carefully suppressed for months, so that at that time Parliament and the country knew nothing of what was going on. It was absolutely contrary to the fact that the Natives, either in or out of the Transvaal, had benefited by the Boer rule. What was the treatment of Mapoch, an unoffending Chief on the borders of the Transvaal? He offered to come to the relief of our hard-pressed garrison at Leydenburg. After the Convention he was set upon by the Boers, his fort blown up by dynamite, and he himself condemned to hard labour for life, because he dared to defend his liberty. His people were compelled to go into practical serfdom, being forced into indentures under the Dutch farmers. How had Mankoroane and Montsioa been treated by the Boers, in violation of Treaty and because they were our friends? These were the Boers, of whom the right hon. Gentleman spoke so highly. There was one other thing that had been said by the right hon. Gentleman. He had talked of a great union of the Dutch in South Africa against the British Empire. The right hon. Gentleman remarked that he would not venture to say that the might of the British Empire might not be able satisfactorily to cope with such opposition; but he thought it would prove to be a bitter and costly struggle. Was there ever a more ridiculous statement than that? They had heard nothing of the union of the Dutch element until the surrender and retreat of the British Ministry in South Africa. It was their surrender and retreat which gave the impetus to the Africander movement. The only danger of the Dutch element superseding the British element was the danger which might be caused by the present Government itself. By dealing in a weak and powerless fashion with South Africa, they might render it necessary for a stronger element to rise and do that which British influence under the present Administration had proved itself incapable of doing. It was Her Majesty's Government who had stimulated Dutch action in the Cape, and it would only be their weakness that would encourage it. However, he congratulated the Government that they were willing at last, after allowing thousands to be massacred and whole races to be ruined, to take tardy steps to retrieve the honour of the country and to discharge their bounden duty, so long neglected. He congratulated them on the course they were now taking; but he contended that we were paying a heavy price for this long delay. Just as in the case of General Gordon, in which we were paying over £2,000,000 in November, when £200,000 would have sufficed in February or March, so we were having to to pay £750,000 in South Africa now for what two or three years ago would only have cost £3,000 or £4,000 for providing an efficient border police. Thus was a ten-fold cost imposed upon the British people by the long and disastrous inaction of Her Majesty's Government in Egypt and South Africa.

Mr. LABOUCHERE said, that one of the delusions which he was under at the last General Election was that he supposed the Liberal Party were fighting against Jingoism, and that if they succeeded there would be an era of peace throughout the world. They really could not meet in that House at any time of the year, or for any purpose, without the Government coming forward and asking for money for some war. They had met there now to discuss in a friendly and amicable way a little local question about the franchise, and immediately the Government came forward to ask for £1,500,000 for North Africa, and nearly £1,000,000 for South Africa. It was really time that they ought to put their foot down and protest against all this expenditure, in South Africa especially. At one moment the Government were going to war with the Boers; at another they were going to war with the Zulus. At one time they were taking up the cause of some friend of the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster); and at another they were dealing with a Chief with an impossible name who had offended that right hon. Gentleman. What did they know of these people? There were not half-a-dozen Members of that House who even knew how to pronounce their names. Were hon. Members aware that they would find it stated in the Blue Book as a positive fact that one of the allies of the right hon. Member for Bradford—one of these most interesting gentlemen—was actually called "Bloody Nose?" He (Mr. Labouchere) had read it in the Blue Book. Did any hon. Gentleman know anything at all about that remarkable man Montisoa or Montsoia?—he really could not say which it was. He did not pretend to know anything about these people himself; but what he did know was that one month after another, and year after year, they were called upon, for some absurd cause or another, to spend all this money. They were either against Montisoa or Montiroa, or some equally eminent personage, and unless they absolutely put a stop to it they would never get any further. The Cape Government would never spend anything in the matter—they were not such fools. They declined to spend a penny. They said—"If there are a quantity of silly people thousands of miles off who are ready to engage in this sort of thing for our sake—who will come to the Cape and spend money on contracts for our benefit—we will encourage them to do it. We will let them have these Expeditions, and we will always furnish them with an occasion." It would always be found that between barbarism and civilization there was a sort of debatable ground where the noble savage and the bush-whacker would fight and quarrel together; and if they went on taking the part of one against another they would never get to the end of it. He would like the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) to inform the Committee why so much money was asked for. Last Session they were told that they were likely to engage in a most important Expedition which would involve military operations, and yet only the sum of £320,000 was asked for. It was not pretended that they were going to war now. Why, then, were they asked to vote £725,000? No doubt, the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) would tell them he was not going to spend it all. But he (Mr. Labouchere) did not like to trust the Government with so much money for these purposes. When once they had got the money they generally managed to spend it. A smaller Vote should, he thought, have been proposed. When they were told that the money was merely to be put into the hands of the Colonial Office in case they might find occasion to go to war at the Cape, they should meet that at once by saying—"Tell us specifically the smallest sum you will require." When they were asked for almost £1,000,000, they ought to refuse it.

MR. WARTON said, it had been arranged between the right hon. Baronet the Member for East Gloucestershire (Sir Michael Hicks-Beach) and the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies (Mr. Evelyn Ashley) that the debate was not to go on that night, but was to be deferred to the Report. It was not his (Mr. Warton's) intention to go into the affairs of Bechuanaland; but, as a matter of usage and right, he claimed this opportunity of making a most decided and solemn protest against all these proceedings. The Vote now submitted was an invasion of the Rules and Standing Orders of the House. It purported to be a Supplementary Estimate, and the heading described it as the further amount required to meet the deficiency caused by the additional expenditure arising from the Expedition to Bechuanaland. But that was an altogether inaccurate description. There had been no additional expenditure caused by the Expedition to Bechuanaland; and what the Committee were really asked for was not a Supplementary Estimate, but a Vote of Credit. It was too bad for the Government to be trying to evade the Rules of the House in this barefaced way. This was a Vote of Credit for money the amount of which was not yet fixed, and it was really such and nothing else. The object of the Government was perfectly clear—they wished to prevent any Motion being made on the Question that the Speaker do leave the Chair. Some might say that was a matter of no consequence. He was not saying whether it was or was not; but the Government had been calling this Vote a Supplementary Estimate, and refusing to call it a Vote of Credit, and by acting in that manner they had prevented hon. Gentlemen from bringing forward Motions. One hon. Baronet might have had an Amendment saying that there ought to be contributions from the Boers; another might have desired to put forward an Amendment saying that the money ought to be defrayed partly by the Cape Government. These different views might have been advanced had a fair opportunity been given to any Member who desired to place such an Amendment on the Paper. But the proceedings that night were even worse than that, because if the first Vote was really in the nature of a Supplementary Estimate, as perhaps it might be, the Government were now taking a Vote of Credit and linking it on with the other; and now that the Speaker was out of the Chair, the Chairman of Committees had to put a Vote which was really a Vote of Credit. That sort of thing was trifling with the Committee. A Vote of Credit should be kept by itself. He only desired to assert the rights and privileges of the House in this matter. He would not enter into a discussion of Bechuanaland affairs, because the debate on that subject was to come on later.

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): In reply to the remarks of the hon. and learned Gentleman who has just sat down, I may, perhaps, be allowed to refer him to the hon. Baronet who sits near him, the Member for Midhurst (Sir Henry Holland), from whom he will learn that the strongest objection has always been entertained by the Committee of Public Accounts against Votes of Credit, unless absolutely necessary. The Rule as to a Vote of Credit is—that it is only asked for when it is impossible to apportion the total amount among the Votes. So far as the Treasury is concerned, a Vote of Credit is far more convenient than a Supplementary Estimate, as it gives much more latitude in appropriating the amount to particular Votes. Therefore, it is not with any object of the kind mentioned by the hon. and learned Gentleman that we have made this a Supplementary Estimate. As I have said, where it is possible to divide the expenditure under the different heads of Account, it is the well-known Rule of the House that we should ask for a Supplementary Estimate, and not for a Vote of Credit. The only object we had was to carry out the Rule of the House, and we certainly had no desire to shirk a preliminary discussion.

MR. ILLINGWORTH said, he was afraid it was not very satisfactory to see the way in which the money of the nation had been dealt with that evening. In the last Division there was a very small Vote; and now that an Estimate was proposed for the initiation of a new war, the Committee was thinner than it was before. They were told, of course, that they were to have more information, and that the discussion should come on afterwards; but he ventured to think that the House of Commons was really losing its power and control over the question of the initiation of a new war in South Africa. He did not doubt, for one moment, that a plausible case might be made out as to what had happened in South Africa. The further they extended their territory Northward, Eastward, and Westward in that Continent, no doubt they would come more frequently into contact with savage races; and it was inevitable that the Cape Colonists would always be anxious for new enterprizes. Reference had been made, in the course of this short debate, to the attitude of the Cape Colonists, and to the general indisposition shown in the Colony to contribute any portion of the expenses, or to accept any real responsibility for these misunderstandings. What the Cape Colonists were wanting in this case was what they had always wanted, and that was the squandering of British taxes by the million. Nothing fructified the soil of South Africa so much as the expenditure of the hard-earned taxes of the British taxpayer. He remembered that they were engaged in a very expensive undertaking not very long ago. The Colonial Office impressed upon the Colonists that some contribution should be made towards the enormous expenditure undertaken for the benefit of the Colony, and he remembered that the reply was that they were prepared to contribute a few hundreds of thousands of pounds; but even that offer was coupled with an impossible condition. He anticipated that it would be so in this case, and that this country would be encouraged by the Colony if the House allowed the proposed expenditure to be made. For his own part, looking to the position of Her Majesty's Government on this question, the first mistake they had made was, in his opinion, the sending out of Mr. Mackenzie. Doubtless, Mr. Mackenzie was a man who knew a great deal of South Africa, and his advice might, therefore, have been considered as of some value; but the misfortune was that from the very outset he took a position which he (Mr. Illingworth) could not but regard as one-sided and anything but judicial; and he must say that as an administrator and an official, who was to be backed up by an armed force, the selection of Mr. Mackenzie was about the worst that could have been made. To turn a returned missionary into a fighting man was about the very worst act Her Majesty's Government could have made themselves responsible for. He desired, at this juncture, to make an appeal to right hon. Gentlemen on the Front Bench. He would remind them that, in the case of the war in Egypt, Her Majesty's Government had sent out their Expedition, in the first instance, for a small and specific object, which was the removal of Arabi from the position of influence and power he had occupied in that country; and it was understood that, this being done, they would have to incur no further expenditure either of life or money, but should immediately withdraw without any difficulty, compromise, or humiliation. But what had actually been the case? He thought that the lesson taught by the last two or three years of intervention in Egyptian affairs ought to make Her Majesty's Government exceedingly careful before entering into what was now recommended to the Committee as only a small undertaking. He could not but ask himself this question—what was it that was asked for only a short time ago? The Committee would remember that it was then proposed to send a small body of police—not a military force at all—to the scene of the late disturbances in Bechuanaland, and it was then considered that the expenditure of a few thousands of pounds ought to have been sufficient for the maintenance of the Treaty. But what happened? Why, the very next step taken by the Government was to propose that no less a sum than £750,000 should be voted for the purpose of sending out a large Force to South Africa. The Government ought to tell the Committee plainly what the undertaking of this Expedition really meant. It could not be for the purpose of doing the work intended to have been performed by the few hundred police who were asked for in the first instance that a sum of £750,000 was to be voted at the present moment by that Committee. He also should like to have an answer to the question why it was that so large a Force was to be sent out? It must really mean that instructions were to be sent out to the Officer in charge of the Force now being equipped that there would be as much discretion permitted to him as was accorded to the Admiral of the Fleet at Alexandria, so that no one could tell, when he had left their shores, how far this country might become involved. He must confess that he looked with considerable alarm at the course Her Majesty's Government were taking in the matter of this Military Expedition. There could be no doubt, although there might have been some exaggeration on the point, that there was very general distress prevalent in this country, which would probably be greatly increased should there be a hard winter. ["Hear, hear!"] The cheers with which that statement was received from the other side of the Committee were altogether misplaced; for whenever anything was proposed in the shape of military expenditure, their objection always was that the amount to be voted was not large enough, while it was only hon. and right hon. Gentlemen on that (the Ministerial) side of the House who were the champions of economy and the humble petitioners for some mitigation in the amount of the taxes that were levied on the people. He was extremely sorry that Her Majesty's Government had found it necessary to ask for this enormous sum of money. His regret was even greater at finding that, although they were asked for the Vote that night, the instructions that were to accompany the employment of the money were to be given to the House subsequently. He thought the House would be abandoning its functions by yielding up their purse strings under such circumstances. He should have infinitely preferred the postponement of the Vote until the House had been put in possession of the instructions; because the House of Commons was at that moment asked to endorse blindfold the policy of the Government in the administration of that large Vote. He confessed that in regard to questions involving these large military undertakings, when they had again to go before the country, they would be only too liable to be confused by the admiration passed on the Predecessors in Office of the present Government for wantonly or negligently entering upon war. He could not help saying that he should feel it his duty, as he had done in the case of the Egyptian War, to vote against the first step that was now proposed to be taken. He had not voted in the Division on the last

Vote, because he had entered his protest against it at the outset, and left the responsibility to those who had recommended it. But as this was a new departure, and as the Committee was asked in the name of humanity to enter on an Expedition involving the expenditure of blood and treasure, in which he saw inconsistency, he felt bound to vote against against it.

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: I cannot pass without observation the remarks which have just fallen from my hon. Friend the Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth), the more so because, upon the whole, I can say that I sympathize very much with the spirit in which those remarks have been made. I am not at all ashamed to say that the feelings with which my hon. Friend contemplates this expenditure, and the possible results of it, are fully shared by Her Majesty's Government. I do not myself think that the highest courage was shown by the bluster which has been manifested in the speech of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Eye (Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett), who seems to enter on a war of this kind with a light heart. On the contrary, I think that those show the truest courage who recognize the facts of the position, and who, if they do ask the House to make sacrifices, do so with full knowledge.

Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT: Will the right hon. Gentleman give the Committee an instance of the bluster he speaks of?

Mr. CHAMBERLAIN: My hon. Friend the Member for Bradford has said, and in that I cannot agree with him, that this is a new departure, and that it is a critical stage in the proceedings that the House of Commons is asked for the first time to take a course which he regrets. I think, Sir, that a brief review of the circumstances will suffice to show that this is not the case. The whole of the trouble comes originally from the annexation of the Transvaal. When we found that that annexation had been made under a misapprehension of the wishes of the people of the Transvaal, we did not hesitate, although we knew that our motives might be misrepresented, to retire, in the middle of the war in which we had engaged, from the position we had taken up. We thought on that occasion, and therefore could not hesitate to express our opinion, that the Boers were in the right, and we were in the wrong. That being so, we retired from what we thought was a false position. No doubt, a course of that kind, which was somewhat unusual—though not on that account the less honourable or the less dignified—was open to misapprehension, and I think it quite possible that the intentions and the spirit and the objects of Her Majesty's Government were misapprehended, certainly by hon. Members on the other side of the House, but also by the Boers themselves. At all events, we found that at a later stage the Boers were not so ready as we could have wished to carry out the agreement into which they had entered, and to co-operate with us in securing a proper protection for the Natives, for whom we were bound to care. The difficulties in that case arose in part from the imperfect nature of the Convention we had made. That Convention was never represented as a permanent and final arrangement, and Her Majesty's Government were quite willing to reconsider it in the light of subsequent experience. We made, on the occasion of the second Convention, great concessions to the Boers. We made them without the least hesitation—and we are not at all ashamed of them—in every case in which we thought the Boers had good reason to ask for an alteration. But, at the same time, Her Majesty's Government maintained their original position that there were certain obligations which they could not set aside, and we were glad to find that the Boers themselves accepted those obligations, and once more agreed with us. They agreed solemnly that they would join with us in protecting the Borders, and in securing the Chiefs outside the Borders from the aggressions of filibusters and freebooters. After that Convention was made—in fact, almost immediately afterwards—it was broken—broken in the spirit, not in the letter. I do not allege that against the Boers; but the freebooters came from the Boer territory into that of our allies, whom we had declared we would protect, and the Boer Government were either unable or unwilling to prevent it. Now, I say, we have arrived at a new position, in which we are able to say the Boers are wrong, and we are right; and, under these circumstances, Her Majesty's Government have no more hesitation in maintaining their obligations than they had on a previous occasion in yielding to the demands of the Boers. When we thought the Boers were in the right we yielded; and it is now, because we think we have our quarrel just, that we ask the House of Commons to take the course we propose. We now say that we have, in accordance with the Convention—the last of these Conventions—made with the Boers, in accordance with the conditions which have been accepted by the Boers themselves—established a British Protectorate over that territory. That British Protectorate has been invaded, and that is a thing which it is absolutely impossible for any nation, with anything like a feeling of self-respect, to submit to. Therefore we say we will maintain the obligations into which we have entered. Well, Sir, I stated on the last occasion, and I now say again, I do not wish to conceal from the Committee my own opinion that this is a serious business. Nor do I wish to conceal from the Committee that there are circumstances and contingencies which we cannot lightly contemplate; but I also say that it is our business to do everything in our power to render these contingencies improbable. My answer to the hon. Member for Bradford and those who think with him, and who ask "Why do you require so large a sum?" is, because if we are to avoid the possibility of these contingencies, if we are to prevent a conflagration from arising and spreading and becoming dangerous, it is necessary that we should employ a very large force in order that we may show we are in earnest, and that we have the means, and are going to use them, for the purpose of carrying out the intentions we have expressed. Large as is the sum we are asking from the Committee and the country, it will, I think, be cheaply expended if it finally settles this difficult question, and prevents the possibility of demands very much larger, or the possibility of much more serious contingencies which might otherwise arise. If we did not go to that country—and we are now dealing with the filibusters alone—with an overwhelming force, we may be sure that they will have friends in the Boer territory and elsewhere who would be tempted by our weakness to join them, and the matter would go from a small start to a very large affair. I confess that, in that case, I should look to the future with the greatest anxiety. I am not going to say that the future is free from anxiety even now; but I do say that the true wisdom in a small matter consists in treating it as an important thing, and in not being shy to ask the House of Commons to give us all the support we require. To a certain extent I agree with my hon. Friend the Member for Bradford in what he has said regarding the Colonists. My hon. Friend has spoken of wars undertaken at the entire expense of the British taxpayer for the benefit of the British Colonists, who do nothing. Speaking from a responsible position, I cannot accept so strong a view.

MR. ILLINGWORTH: I did not say altogether in the interests of the Colonists; but they are always ready to fan the fire.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: I should be sorry to misrepresent my hon. Friend; but I do not see a great deal of difference. But I was saying that, to a certain extent, I agree with him. I think we are entitled in this matter to call on our fellow-subjects at the Cape for their hearty co-operation; and if their hearty co-operation is at this juncture withheld from us, it will change the aspect altogether. There are at least two matters that are involved in this question. In the first place, there is a question which chiefly concerns the Cape Colony, and that is the protection of the trade route into the interior of Africa, which is threatened by these filibusters. If the Cape Colonists do not give Her Majesty's Government their hearty co-operation, the aspect of that question, at all events, will be entirely changed, and it might well be that this Government, or some future Government, would say to the Cape Colony—"If you will not co-operate with us in a matter which so entirely affects your interests, we shall leave you to deal with it as best you may, and you cannot call on us, at the expense of the British taxpayer, to support you." Then, there is the second question, and that is our personal obligation to the Native Chiefs. That is a personal responsibility which we cannot devolve upon anyone else. What we have undertaken for ourselves we must carry out ourselves. In doing this we have a right to ask for the cordial co-operation and support of the Cape

Colony, and I hope, therefore, under all the circumstances, we may confidently expect it. I admit that that support has not been rendered quite so freely as Her Majesty's Government have been entitled to hope and expect; but, at the same time, I believe that when it is understood at the Cape that Her Majesty's Government are determined to do all that properly belongs to them, our fellow-subjects there, having regard to the enormous interests which they have at stake, will not be wanting when called on to render their part.

MR. CALLAN said, he was glad for once to be able to agree with the hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. Illingworth). He was quite sure that to-morrow, when the country read the report of that discussion and analyzed the Division Lists of that evening, it would view with disgust the professions of a large body in that House, and would stand amazed at the conduct of those chivalrous Radicals who followed out the noble maxim that "Those who fight and run away, may live to fight another day." If he was not mistaken, one of them, the hon. Member for Bradford, had carried out that precept. He would, however, ask the hon. Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) not to press the matter to a Division, which would only have the effect of delaying the Business for some time, and of compelling officials like the Secretary to the Treasury to swallow in Office all the declarations they had made when out of Office, while it would put to the test such chivalrous and patriotic Gentlemen as the hon. Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), the hon. Member for Stalybridge (Mr. Summers), and others, who, while holding themselves forth to the country as paragons for economy, found it more convenient, in view of impending events, to retire to the outer Lobby when the Division was called. For his own part, he preferred to be clubbed with the Irish Members, as on the recent occasion when a Division was called for by the Radical Members, every one of whom retired at the last moment, and left the brunt of the battle with 17 Irish Members, not one of the Radicals upholding by his vote the principles he had enunciated.

MR. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT said, the right hon. Gentlemen the President of the Board of Trade had described him as having spoken in a spirit of bluster. He challenged the right hon. Gentleman to quote a single word from his remarks that would justify that assertion. The statement was like the right hon. Gentleman's affidavits the other day—it was a pure invention. The right hon. Gentleman had now told the Committee that Her Majesty's Government had retired from a false position, and that their conduct was honourable when they ran away from the Boers three years ago. The false position from which they had retired was this. By their factious electioneering speeches, they had encouraged the Boers to rebel; they had rejected the demands of the Boer Envoys who were sent over in 1880 to ask for terms of concession; when the Boers broke out in rebellion, they promised to vindicate the authority of the Queen; they allowed three sanguinary battles to be fought in the Transvaal; they sent a gallant General with reinforcements to put the Boers down. When their troops had been badly defeated, the very Ministers who had caused the war, ordered the battles to be fought, and promised to vindicate the national honour, discovered that the guilt of blood lay upon them, and they ran away and surrendered. That was the conduct which the right hon. Gentleman had, forsooth, described as honourable! The fact was, that the right hon. Gentleman was in a false position. He was responsible, more than any other Minister, for the troubles and disgrace that had fallen on this country in connection with South Africa. The present large Vote was rendered necessary in order to discharge their personal obligations to the Chiefs Montsioa and Mankoroane, who had, ever since 1881, been constantly attacked and plundered by the Boers, and the duty now so tardily acknowledged was just as obligatory on the right hon. Gentleman during the last three years as at the present moment. The country would remember the right hon. Gentleman's conduct in the past, and would not forget that the Ministry which had caused the greatest dishonour the British name had sustained, even during the last four disastrous years, now, in its fifth year of Office, was willing to reverse its policy of the past, and to inflict on this country a very heavy expenditure, which the exercise of timely precaution and courage might easily have averted.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 78; Noes 31: Majority 47.—(Div. List, No. 15.)

## NAVY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1884-5—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND BECHUANALAND.

(3.) Motion made, and Question proposed,

> "That a Supplementary sum, not exceeding £324,000, be granted to Her Majesty, for certain Navy Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising out of the Military Operations in Egypt, which will come in course of payment during the year ending on the 31st day of March 1885."

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he thought that this Vote needed some explanation. The Committee had already passed one Vote on account of the operations on the Nile; but he believed that a very considerable portion of the sum now asked for was for the operations at Suakin. He trusted the Secretary to the Admiralty would be good enough to say how much of this money was on account of Suakin?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, he was unable to state precisely how much of this Vote was to be placed to the Suakin operations, but it provided for the whole body of Marines employed in Egypt. He believed the total amount of extra pay was £1,500.

MR. LABOUCHERE asked if he was correct in saying that the whole of this money was expended on extraordinary expenses owing to the Expedition to Egypt?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, the charge for medical service embraced a considerable amount of expenditure for Suakin.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, in that case the Committee ought to have some further information. They were called upon to pay a large sum of money for no one knew what or why, and they were right in calling upon the Government for an explanation. Some months ago, the country had undertaken, for reasons best known to the Government, the defence of the Port of Suakin, and a large number of persons had been murdered in the neighbourhood, whom they chose to qualify as rebels. But surely the Government had discovered in the quarrels in South Africa and on the Nile a reason for not persisting in the utter folly of retaining Suakin. He wanted to know what possible object there could be in defending that place against Osman Digna and the tribes around it? They chose to say that they held Suakin for the Egyptian Government, and as there was no reason why they should do so, it was for the Egyptian Government to meet these expenses, and no one else. Perhaps someone would tell the Committee what object there was in holding Suakin, which was a miserable place? The harbour was very bad, and he believed that the men there had to be put on board ship and brought back again to Suakin, where those who remained were attacked every night by the Arabs; there was also a great deal of mortality at the place. They had been told that one object was the prevention of slavery in the Soudan; but he did not believe that that doctrine would be held now, because it was well known that the slaves were brought down to the little creeks along the coast and not to Suakin. They could be brought down in one night to these places, whence signals were made, and the cargoes then landed. Therefore, he said that neither they nor the Egyptians had anything to gain by the occupation of Suakin. This senseless policy had already led to the expenditure of £300,000, and now they were called upon to expend more money. Were they, every time that Parliament met, to be asked for money to defend this place? Unless these questions were answered very clearly, he thought the Committee ought to divide against the Vote.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the question of the occupation of Suakin was fully discussed last Session, when, he believed, no exception was taken to it.

MR. LABOUCHERE said, he had taken exception to the occupation, last Session.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the question as to the permanent occupation of the seaport was a very fair one, and was a matter for the Government further to consider. Whatever might be the ultimate opinion of the House as to the permanent occupation of the port, the garrison there could not be withdrawn at the present time.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL asked if the Marines at Suakin, being British troops on Egyptian territory, the Government received the Capitation Grant from the Khedive's Government?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (MR. CHILDERS) said, the Marines at Suakin were not on the same footing as those employed in Egypt.

Question put.

The Committee *divided*:—Ayes 66; Noes 26: Majority 40.—(Div. List, No. 16.)

(4.) £50,000, for Additional Expenditure arising out of the Operations in Bechuanaland.

First and Third Resolutions to be reported *To-morrow.*

Second and Fourth Resolutions to be reported upon *Thursday* next.

Committee to sit again *To-morrow.*

### POOR LAW GUARDIANS (IRELAND) BILL.—[BILL 9.]

(*Mr. John Redmond, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Barry.*)

CONSIDERATION.

Bill, as amended, *considered.*

Amendments made.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That the Bill be now read the third time."—(*Mr. John Redmond.*)

MR. TOTTENHAM said, he objected to the third reading, on the ground that several hon. Members interested in the Bill were absent.

MR. WARTON said, he believed it was not usual to take two stages of a Bill of such dimensions at one Sitting.

MR. PARNELL asked if the objection of a single hon. Member was fatal to the Motion of his hon. Friend?

MR. SPEAKER said, that was not so. The question was for the decision of the House.

Question put.

The House *divided*:—Ayes 72; Noes 4: Majority 68.—(Div. List, No. 17.)

Bill *passed.*

*The Marquess of Hartington*

## MOTIONS.

### WORKING MEN'S CLUBS REGISTRATION BILL.

On Motion of MR. JOHN HOLLOND, Bill to amend "The Friendly Societies Act, 1875," as to the Registration of Working Men's Clubs, *ordered* to be brought in by MR. JOHN HOLLOND, MR. BRYCE, MR. FRANCIS BUXTON, and MR. LYULPH STANLEY.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [BILL 33.]

### POLLUTION OF RIVERS BILL.

On Motion of MR. HASTINGS, Bill for the Prevention of the Pollution of Rivers, *ordered* to be brought in by MR. HASTINGS, Earl PERCY, and Colonel WALROND.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 34.]

### COMPENSATION FOR IMPROVEMENTS (IRELAND) BILL.

On Motion of Colonel NOLAN, Bill to afford Compensation for Improvements in Towns, Ireland, *ordered* to be brought in by Colonel NOLAN, MR. MARTIN, MR. BIGGAR, MR. O'SHEA, MR. SMALL, MR. O'SULLIVAN, MR. SHEIL, and MR. SULLIVAN.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 35.]

### COMMONS AND INCLOSURE ACTS AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of MR. JAMES, Bill to amend the Commons and Inclosure Acts, *ordered* to be brought in by MR. JAMES, MR. STORY-MASKELYNE, and MR. BRYCE.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 36.]

House adjourned at half after Twelve o'clock.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Friday, 14th November,* 1884.

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The House met for the despatch of Judicial Business only.

House adjourned at Four o'clock, to Monday next, a quarter before Eleven o'clock.

# HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Friday*, 14*th November*, 1884.

MINUTES.]—SUPPLY—*considered in Committee —Resolutions* [November 13] *reported.*

PUBLIC BILL—*Ordered—First Reading*—Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act Amendment * [37].

## *QUESTIONS.*

### ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT, 1876—PAYMENT OF SCHOOL FEES.

MR. SALT asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, inasmuch as Section 10 of the Education Act, 1876 provides that the payment of school fees may be made by the Guardians by reason of the poverty of the parents, and also provides that payment shall not be made on condition of the child attending any public elementary school other than such as may be selected by the parent, it is legal for the Guardians of the Poor to order a parent, when making application for payment of school fees, to send the children to a Board School, the parent not desiring to do so?

MR. MUNDELLA: I think there can be no doubt that the choice of the public elementary school at which the child attends rests with the parent; and it is, therefore, not legal for the Guardians to order the attendance of the child at a school objected to by the parent.

### MADAGASCAR—THE FRENCH WAR SHIP "BOURNSAINT."

DR. CAMERON asked the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, Whether any Report has been received as to the circumstances under which the French war ship *Bournsaint*, disabled while engaged in belligerent operations against Madagascar, was allowed to refit at Port Louis, Mauritius?

MR. EVELYN ASHLEY: The *Bournsaint* was allowed by the Governor of the Mauritius to be repaired at Port Louis, under the advice of the Procureur General, who is Colonial Law Adviser, and who said there would be no breach of neutrality, as the vessel had put in for repairs, and was not taking in warlike stores or increasing her armament. We, however, referred the matter to the Foreign Office for their consideration.

### PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—COMPENSATION FOR MALICIOUS BURNING—CASE OF PATRICK HANLEY, OF ASHBROOK, CO. ROSCOMMON.

MR. O'KELLY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he will direct the police authorities to make a Report on the circumstances attending a claim for compensation made by Patrick Hanley, of Ashbrook, county Roscommon, in regard to alleged malicious burning; and, whether Hanley has on former occasions made similar claims which, on examination, proved to be groundless?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Hanley's claim is now pending, and I cannot interfere with regard to it. I am informed this is the only claim he has made.

### PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882—WARRANTS—EXTRA POLICE AT RATHCLOONEY, CO. CLARE.

MR. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the townland of Rathclooney, county Clare, is charged with the cost of extra police stationed at Spancil Hill, some miles away; if these police have been stationed there in consequence of the murder of a man named McMahon, which occurred near Spancil Hill, in August last; if Rathclooney is in another parish from that in which the murdered man lived, and if two intervening townlands are not charged with the tax; and, if so, for what reason; and, if he will state upon what grounds the whole of the parish in which the murdered man lived is exempt from the Police Tax, while portions of an adjoining parish are compelled to contribute to it?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: In consequence of the murder of M'Mahon, an extra police force is stationed at Spancil Hill to afford protection and prevent further outrage. The townland of Rathclooney, about one and a-half miles distant, is a part of the district taxed, which is that believed to be responsible for the murder and for the concealment of its perpetrators. One intervening townland—not two as alleged—is exempted, because it contains the houses and farms of the murdered man's widow and immediate relatives. The remainder of the parish is not included, because it is outside the usual area of taxation.

MR. KENNY: Is it not a fact that the land exempted from this tax is ground held by landlords, and is not that the reason that the Crown do not wish to tax it?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have already stated the reason.

### REGISTER OF PATENTS, GREAT BRITAIN—SUPPLY OF INDEX FROM 1877 TO PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE (IRELAND).

MR. SEXTON asked the President of the Board of Trade, What department is responsible for the failure, since 1877, to supply to the Public Record Office, Four Courts, Dublin, the Annual Index to the Register of Patents applied for and granted in the United Kingdom; and, whether the indices in question will be now supplied?

SIR CHARLES W. DILKE said, that his right hon. Friend had asked him to answer this Question for him. The Act of Parliament required all these specifications to be enrolled; but that statutory obligation had not been extended to indexing. The omission since 1877 had been accidental, and would be at once remedied. His right hon. Friend added that copies of the specifications had been sent to Trinity College, Dublin, and also to the National Library, Kildare Street, where they could be seen free of charge.

### BOARD OF WORKS (IRELAND)—LOANS TO RAILWAYS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, What were the dates, amounts, and rates of interest of the loans given by the Irish Board of Public Works to the promoters of the Sligo, Leitrim, and Northern Counties Railway; who are the sureties for the prescribed payments by the Company on account of principal and interest; when the last payment by the Company on account of principal or interest was made; and, what is now the total of principal and interest in arrear?

MR. COURTNEY: A single loan to this Company of £100,000 was sanctioned in February, 1879. The rate of interest was 5 per cent up to June 30, 1883, when, in common with other railway loans, it was reduced to 4 per cent. Seven gentlemen interested in the district made themselves sureties for the payment of the interest, the principal being secured on the undertaking in the usual way. The Company have paid nothing since September 23, 1882, and the arrears of interest due from the sureties are £15,300, while £10,000 of principal is also due.

### LUNACY LAWS—SCOTCH AND ENGLISH JURISDICTION—CASE OF THOMAS HARRISON.

DR. CAMERON asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether he is aware that Thomas Harrison, an escaped inmate of Cheadle Lunatic Asylum, Manchester, has made his way to Glasgow with a view to having his mental condition publicly investigated under the safeguards afforded by Scotch Law; whether it is true that, in 1882, Harrison escaped from the same asylum, and, reaching Scotland, brought his case before the Sheriff Court of Lanarkshire; and that, while the case was pending, two attempts were made to seize Harrison, and carry him back to Cheadle; whether the first attempt was frustrated through the intervention of the judge before whom Harrison's case had to be brought; and whether, in spite of this warning, Harrison was a few days later (on June 15th 1882) kidnapped in Glasgow, and carried out of Scotland in defiance of Scotch Law; whether he is aware that, in 1882, the authorities declined to prosecute Harrison's abductors, on the ground that reports from Cheadle after his recapture showed him to be a lunatic; whether he is aware that, on the present occasion, certificates of Harrison's sanity signed by four medical practitioners, and all dated within a month past, have been sent up to the Lord Chancellor; and, whether, as Minister for Scotland, he can give any assurance that Harrison will be protected against any repetition of the attempts made with impunity in 1882 to abduct him from Scotland in defiance of Scotch Law?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I have been asked by my right hon. and learned Friend to answer this Question. We are informed by the

Superintendent of the Manchester Royal Lunatic Hospital, from which Mr. Harrison has escaped, that he is now in Glasgow. We have, of course, no means of information as to his object in going there. The facts with respect to Mr. Harrison's escape and recapture in 1882 are, I believe, correctly stated in the Question. Mr. Harrison appears to have been recaptured by some artifice or deceit after the legal period for reclaiming the custody of his person as an escaped lunatic had expired, and after proceedings taken before a magistrate with that object had failed. I am of opinion that his recapture at that time was not legal nor justifiable by the law of Scotland. With reference to the communication made to the Lord Chancellor, I am informed by his Lordship that if Mr. Harrison is a Chancery lunatic, which, according to our information, he is, any application as to his residence or otherwise must be made to the Lords Justices sitting in Lunacy, and cannot be dealt with extra-judicially by the Lord Chancellor. If Mr. Harrison is in Scotland, he will have the same protection as any other citizen, and if his liberty is invaded, he will have the same legal remedies.

Dr. CAMERON: What I wish to ask is, whether Harrison will, in the present case, be protected?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): As I have already stated, according to our information, Harrison was recaptured by something that looked like artifice or deceit. Of course, if he is a sane man, as the Question implies, he will know how to take care of himself.

Dr. CAMERON: What I say is, that he was taken out of Scotland illegally and locked up, and how can he possibly have any remedy after he is locked up?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): Of course, after the man is brought across the Border, his remedy must be had in England.

Dr. CAMERON: I beg to give Notice that I shall ask, on a future occasion, Whether it is not the fact that the Judge before whom he was brought wrote to the Lord Chancellor specially protesting in the matter; and I shall ask why his abductors were not prosecuted?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): The two persons who persuaded him to go with them were not within the jurisdiction of the Scottish law after they had gone.

## MOROCCO—FRAUDULENT CLAIMS OF ENGLISH SUBJECTS AGAINST NATIVES.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the inquiry which he promised in last July into the alleged fraudulent claims preferred by English subjects against natives of Morocco has been held, and with what result?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Inquiry has been made into the alleged abuses in connection with the claims of British subjects against natives of Morocco and the misconduct of a British official. These charges have been proved to be in some instances well founded, and the inquiry has led to the dismissal of the official implicated. El Arbi ben Abdulaziz has been released, and Her Majesty's Minister has been instructed to insist on a searching scrutiny of the claims of British subjects before any money is paid to the claimants. The attention of Her Majesty's Minister had already been called to the alleged state of the Moorish prison at Dar al Baida, in which the debtors were confined, and the alleged cruel treatment of the prisoners detained therein. He has caused a strong remonstrance to be addressed to the Governor, who, however, denied the truth of the allegations. The matter, however, will not be allowed to drop.

Mr. W. J. CORBET inquired whether there were any Papers which the noble Lord could lay on the Table?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: I cannot undertake to present the Papers without consulting the Secretary of State.

## EDUCATION (IRELAND) — HOURS OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN NATIONAL SCHOOLS—CASTLEGARDEN SCHOOL, CO. DOWN.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether any Correspondence has passed between the Education Office, Dublin, and the manager of the school where it is alleged a Commissioner of National Education, the Rev. Hugh Hanna, took part in religious exercise at a time not set apart for that purpose in the school time table; and, whether he will consent to lay upon the Table of the House Copies of the Minutes of the Board, or of the Sub-Committee, in reference to the occurrence in question, with all Correspondence relating thereto?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have obtained, as I intimated I would, a statement from the Rev. Mr. Hanna, and also a further Report from the Commissioners of National Education. The hon. Member's original Question by its terms indicated no case of which the Commissioners had any official knowledge. It is now assumed that he intends it to refer to incidents which occurred nearly a year and a-half ago at a meeting held in a school-house at a place called Castlegarden, in the county of Down. Some correspondence did at that time pass between the Commissioners and the manager of the school, but the facts as regards that meeting do not support the allegations made with respect to the Rev. Mr. Hanna; and in justice to that gentleman I must enter into the matter at a length which I fear will be a trespass upon the time of the House. The Castlegarden vested school-house was completed and an opening meeting held in June, 1883. To that meeting Mr. Hanna was invited by the manager. The Bishop of the diocese occupied the chair. As Mr. Hanna reached the platform a hymn was given out. Mr. Hanna knew nothing of the intended programme beyond the fact that he was expected to give an address on popular education, which he did. This is the only ground for the allegations made with respect to Mr. Hanna. He did not cause a hymn to be sung, and was in no way responsible for it. The school was not in operation at the time, and did not come into operation for six weeks afterwards. The assembly was not one of scholars and teachers, but was a mixed gathering of residents in the neighbourhood. Mr. Hanna was never, as suggested in the Question, called to account for his share in the proceedings, and his name was never mentioned in the correspondence between the Commissioners and the manager of the school. That correspondence turned on the infraction by the manager of the Commissioners' rules as to the improper use of a vested school-house—that is a school-house built with the aid of the Commissioners. The manager relied upon the fact that his old school-house was non-vested, and that the new house had at the time never been used for school purposes. His breach of rule was a technical one, and the Commissioners agreed to take no further notice of it. Mr. Hanna was not responsible for it. The Commissioners do not think there is any ground upon which such a correspondence should be laid on the Table.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MOVILLE COUNTY COURT.

Mr. BIGGAR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If he is aware of a Memorial from the magistrates and merchants of Moville, asking His Excellency to grant a County Court sitting in Moville; if His Excellency declined to grant the request of the Memorialists; if he is aware that the inhabitants of the Session district of Moville are taken a distance of forty or fifty miles to have their legal business conducted, and to smaller towns; and, if His Excellency has any objection in stating his reasons in withholding the privileges granted to other towns?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Member for the county of Donegal (Mr. Lea) will perhaps allow me to answer at the same time the Question No. 16, which he proposes to put to my hon. and learned Friend the Solicitor General. I have not been able to ascertain that precisely such a Memorial as that referred to by the hon. Member for Cavan (Mr. Biggar) has been received since the year 1871. At that time the matter was fully considered by the then Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council, who did not feel themselves able to comply with the prayer of the Memorial. Several Memorials have been recently received from the county of Donegal, including three from Innishowen, relative to additional places for Quarter Sessions. They have been referred to the County Court Judge for report, and will shortly come before the Privy Council.

## LAW AND JUSTICE—THE NEW ARRANGEMENTS.

Mr. BARRAN asked Mr. Attorney General, If his attention has been called to the statement made at Leeds on Monday last by the Town Clerk of that borough, showing that great public inconvenience and loss resulted from civil and criminal causes arising in the West Riding being tried at York instead of at Leeds; whether he is aware that, at the present Assizes, no fewer than 64 out of a total of 101 prisoners entered for trial were from the West Riding; whether he will state on whose advice and authority the arrangements for the Assizes were made; and, if, in view of the whole facts of the case, he will use his influence to prevent such unsatisfactory arrangements being made in the future?

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir HENRY JAMES) said, that the arrangements had been altered by the fact that the number of Assizes held during the year had been increased, and it was impossible to get Judges enough to attend at every town. If these causes were tried at Leeds instead of York, there would probably be the same complaint from the former district. The Lord Chancellor, however, intended to confer with the Judges upon the subject.

## EDUCATION (IRELAND)—NATIONAL SCHOOL TEACHERS.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether an Irish National teacher, desiring promotion to the second division of first class, must first satisfy his head and district inspectors that his school is in a highly efficient state, and then score not less than 55 per cent. in an examination on what are known as the "A papers;" whether a teacher desiring promotion from the second to the first division of first class must satisfy the inspectors that his school is in a still more highly efficient condition than in the former case, and must subsequently score not less than 65 per cent. in an examination on the identical "A papers" specified above; whether it is the fact that a teacher in the second class, who scores 65 per cent. or over in the "A papers" on his first examination in them, is kept in the second division of first class, and if he seeks to reach the first division of first class must not only satisfy the inspectors of the higher efficiency of his school, but must also, not sooner than the following year, pass another examination in the same class of papers (A) in which he has already scored a per centage high enough to qualify him for the first division; and, whether, in the case of such a teacher, the Board will dispense with the second examination, and in the year succeeding the first examination promote the teacher to the first division, provided he satisfies the inspectors as to the efficiency of his school?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: The facts as to the necessary conditions of promotion are as stated in the first three paragraphs of the Question, and the Board of National Education could not consent to make the change suggested in the last paragraph. The two divisions of the first class are in reality, though not nominally, distinct classes having different rates of pay; and the fundamental principle of the different examinations is that every change of salary should be brought about by examination.

MR. SEXTON asked the Secretary to the Treasury, If the Treasury will sanction the payment to Irish National School teachers of the second moiety of results fees in cases in which the manager of the school, or any other person interested in public education, would advance the deficiency between the amount of local support contributed and the second or contingent moiety of the results fees?

MR. COURTNEY: There is some uncertainty as to the word "advance." If we are to understand it to mean the final payment, I have to say that the Commissioners of National Education think the suggestion in the Question, so understood, may properly be adopted under certain safeguards; and if they and the Irish Government make a representation to the Treasury in this sense, I do not foresee any difficulty in agreeing to it.

## IRELAND—THE ROTUNDA, COOMBE, AND PITT STREET HOSPITALS, DUBLIN—COMPOUNDING OF MEDICINES.

MR. PATRICK POWER asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is the fact that there is no duly qualified compounder of medicine in the Rotunda Hospital, the Coombe Hospital, or the Pitt Street Institute, Dublin?

MR. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN: This is not a matter in which the Government have any direct responsibility or control. As, however, each of the two hospitals named receives a small sum out of the Parliamentary Vote for

Hospitals and Infirmaries, I deemed it right to let the Hospital Authorities know that this Question would be asked, and I find that in each case there is an arrangement with an eminent firm of dispensing chemists for the compounding and dispensing of medicines, and that in the few intern cases at the Rotunda Hospital where medicines are necessary, they are made up under the supervision of the master and the assistant physician. I cannot supply any information as to the Pitt Street Institute.

## RAILWAYS (METROPOLIS)—THE DISTRICT AND METROPOLITAN RAILWAYS.

**Mr. BIGGAR** asked the President of the Board of Trade, Whether he is aware the District and Metropolitan Railways do not now work on the block system, and that the trains are exceedingly unpunctual; if so, whether he will use his influence to remedy the above complaint?

**Sir CHARLES W. DILKE**, replying in the absence of the President of the Board of Trade, said, that the Metropolitan and District Railways had been provided with instruments for working their lines on the block system, and the Board of Trade had every reason to believe that these lines were now worked on that system. There had been no time to communicate with the Companies since the Question had been put down on the Paper. No complaints had been received as to their unpunctuality; but even if they had been received, the Board of Trade had no power to interfere with the actual working of the lines.

**Mr. FIRTH** asked whether the right hon. Gentleman was aware that since the month of September these Railway Companies had sold to the public no time tables, so as to avoid liability?

[No reply.]

**Mr. BIGGAR** gave Notice that he would repeat his Question on Tuesday next.

## LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF THOMAS BEHAN, A CONVICT.

**Mr. LEAHY** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the Irish Government have received Resolutions from the Town Commissioners of Naas, Newbridge, and Athy, in the county of Kildare, expressing their firm belief of the innocence of Thomas Behan, convicted and sentenced to penal servitude for arson at Newbridge, in said county, and requesting the case to be further inquired into; and, if any steps will be taken to further investigate his case?

**Mr. CAMPBELL - BANNERMAN**: The resolutions mentioned were received, and the matter is at present under the consideration of the Lord Lieutenant.

## WESTMINSTER HALL (RESTORATION).

**Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL** asked the First Commissioner of Works, Whether he understands that the Committee appointed to examine plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall, laid bare by the abolition of the Law Courts, has power to deal with all plans for becomingly utilizing the available space, and is not confined to questions of archæological architecture?

**Mr. SHAW LEFEVRE**, in reply, said, he had no desire to limit the inquiry in any way. It would be open to the Committee to examine any plans they might think it fit to consider.

## EGYPT—REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS.

**Sir GEORGE CAMPBELL** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he will now produce the Report on the tentative working of representative institutions in Egypt, which he last summer obtained from Sir Evelyn Baring; and, if it is true, as stated in the public prints, that the Egyptian Government has just ordered arrears of Taxes due from Natives to be rigorously exacted, but has suspended the House Tax on Foreigners?

**Mr. LABOUCHERE** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether the telegram of *The Times* of November 12, in which it is stated that the Egyptian Government had determined to collect taxes in arrear, amounting to £180,000, and that, where payment is refused, crops, cattle, and land will be seized; and, whether, if so, seeing that the professional experts stated in their Report to the recent Conference that the fellahs, far from being able to pay arrears of taxation, are already in the hands of usurers, owing to their having been obliged to borrow to meet the requirements of the State, on account of the fall in the price of produce, Her Majesty's Government contemplates informing the Egyptian Government, that, so long as order and the rule of the Khedive over the fellahs are maintained by a British Army of Occupation, such a system of seizure and eviction cannot be permitted?

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: A Report on the working of the representative institutions in Egypt has been received from Sir Evelyn Baring, and will be laid before Parliament. The Egyptian Government has been compelled to suspend temporarily the new law for the collection of house tax owing to the difficulties encountered in putting it into operation. The law will be amended. A Circular was issued at the end of July by the Ministry of Finance ordering the payment of arrears of taxes, but it referred to the deficiencies of the rich landowners who were in a position to pay, and the Circular had very good results. No information has been received of the description mentioned in *The Times* of November 12. The whole question of finance being at present under consideration, I cannot enter into the matters raised by the second half of the Question of my hon. Friend the Member for Northampton (Mr. Labouchere) within the limits usually assigned to an answer.

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL**: When will Sir Evelyn Baring's Report be circulated?

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: It will be circulated in the next set of Papers on Egyptian affairs. If there be any great delay, which I do not anticipate, I will see whether arrangements can be made for laying this Report separately on the Table.

**SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL**: Will the noble Lord undertake that the Report will be presented during the present Session?

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: I do not know I can undertake that it will be laid on the Table during this Session; but I will see that it is circulated before next Session.

**LORD RANDOLPH CHURCHILL**: Are we to understand that no further Egyptian Papers are to be laid on the Table during the present Session?

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: I referred to Egyptian Papers generally, not to special Papers.

### EGYPT—THE SLAVE TRADE.

**MR. W. M. TORRENS** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What steps have been taken by the present Khedive of Egypt to carry into effect the stipulations of the Convention of 4th August 1877, made between the British Government and Ismail, late Khedive of Egypt, for the suppression of the Slave Trade, the period having expired after which the kidnapping and sale of persons into slavery was to have been prohibited?

**LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: The best answer I can give is to say that Papers will be laid on the Table next week. They will contain all the information asked for, and will show that steps have been taken which, I think, he will recognize as being effectual.

### THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—WHITEGATE, CORK COUNTY.

**MR. DEASY** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that about a year ago the Constabulary at Whitegate, county of Cork, received information that Colonel Thackwell, a resident in that district, had attempted the life of one of his servants with a revolver; and, whether any entry of the information was made in the barrack journal; and, if so, why Colonel Thackwell was not prosecuted?

**MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: I have no information on this subject, and as I received no Notice of the Question, I have not had opportunity to obtain any. If the hon. Member will be so good as to put his Question down again, allowing time for a reference to the county of Cork for inquiry, I will be happy to answer it.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—CASE OF BRYAN KILMARTIN.

**MR. SEXTON** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, acting on the precedents in the cases of Galley and Habron, the Government will propose to grant compensation to Bryan Kilmartin, of Arran Island (lately released from penal servitude, his innocence being established), in consideration of the injury to his health, and the loss to his wife and children, resulting from a half-year's imprisonment awaiting his trial, and nearly two years' penal servitude?

Mr. GLADSTONE: Sir, I have inquired into this matter and find that the subject has received attention. I myself have no official cognizance of the facts; but the conclusion arrived at by the Irish Government is, that they do not feel themselves at liberty to comply with the prayer in the Memorial with reference to the case of Kilmartin. To do so would involve a departure from the general rule, which shows that the granting of compensation in such cases is extremely rare, and that such granting compensation has been confined to cases in which there is no doubt of the innocence of the person whose case is considered. The release of Kilmartin took place upon the ground that there was doubt of guilt; but it would be a complete alteration of the prevailing and, I believe, unvarying rule if compensation were given in cases where there is only doubt of guilt. I ought to say that the cases referred to, of Galley and Habron—of which, however, I have no official knowledge—were cases in which there was no doubt of their innocence.

Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: I beg to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether Kilmartin received a free pardon or was released on a ticket-of-leave; and if not on a ticket-of-leave, on what basis is it to be said that there is a doubt of his innocence?

[No. reply.]

Mr. SEXTON: I will endeavour, on a future occasion, to convince the right hon. Gentleman and the House that there is no rational doubt of the innocence of Kilmartin.

## INTESTATE, &c., ESTATES (IRELAND)—ESTATE OF THE LATE MRS. HELEN BLAKE.

Mr. SEXTON asked the First Lord of the Treasury, with regard to the estate of Mrs. Helen Blake, late of 4, Earl's Terrace, Kensington, deceased, intestate, What is the amount of the annual rent received from the real estate, and what is the amount of the personal estate, and how it is invested and applied; why, in view of the fact that the "card" found among the papers of the deceased lady (admitted to be in her handwriting), in which she described herself as "daughter of William L. Sheridan, Esq. of Baltimore, U.S.A. and Galway, Ireland," the Treasury did not advertise for heirs in the Galway papers; in what respect Mr. William P. Sheridan, of Galway, failed to satisfy the Chief Clerk in Chancery of his relationship to the deceased; if, considering the fact that no register of marriages in the Catholic Church in Ireland was kept at the beginning of the present century, the Lords of the Treasury will insist on legal proof of the marriage of the parents of Mrs. Helen Blake being produced with reference to the claim of William Patrick Sheridan; and, whether, and in view of the statement in the "card," already quoted, and of the representation made to Her Majesty in favour of the claim of William Patrick Sheridan, by the Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, the Protesant Bishop of Tuam, the Catholic Bishop of Galway, the High Sheriff of Galway, and other distinguished persons, the Lords of the Treasury will afford to the said William Patrick Sheridan any further information contained in the papers of the late Mrs. Helen Blake, and will institute an inquiry to satisfy themselves as to whether his claim has a just foundation?

Mr. COURTNEY: I have been requested to answer this Question. The net annual value of the real estate in the case of Mrs. Blake is about £1,000. The net amount of the personal estate was about £93,000, of which about £19,000 went in intended legacies, and the remainder is retained by the Crown. The advertising in such cases is directed by the Court, and the Treasury have no control over it. But this case was so widely known that there was every opportunity for anyone to apply who thought they had a claim, and, in fact, very many did so, including W. P. Sheridan. The Court had before it the piece of paper described as a card when ordering the advertisements. The case has been decided judicially, and we have no knowledge of the reasons for the decision nor any power to vary it. Any person wishing to reopen the question should take legal advice and act accordingly. So far as any discretion was left us by the order of Court, we have carefully investigated the various applications with the best legal advice at our command, and have come to the conclusion that no one has established, even approximately, any claim to be related to the deceased. If W. P. Sheridan had established any *primâ facie* case he would have been entitled to see all the papers; but he has not done so.

MR. SEXTON said, he would call attention to the matter on a future occasion.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON asked was there any information in the hands of the Treasury which had not been given to the public—any information that had been kept concealed?

MR. COURTNEY: I do not think it would be judicious to answer that Question.

MR. STANLEY LEIGHTON: I would ask the hon. Gentleman, is he aware that the Indian Government publish a register, giving all the information in their possession respecting cases of intestacy, and whether there is any reason why similar information should not be given in this country?

## PARLIAMENT — QUESTIONS TO MINISTERS.

MR. ROUNDELL asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, considering the abuse to which the practice of putting Questions to Ministers is being brought, he contemplates making any proposal for a change in the system?

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL said, that before the right hon. Gentleman answered the Question, he should like to ask him whether his attention had been drawn to the fact that in a list of 28 Questions, two only stood in the names of Conservative Members, while 17 were by Irish Members, and nine by Liberal Members, and whether he had noticed that that was by no means an unusual proportion?

MR. SEXTON said, he would like to ask the Prime Minister whether he had considered that if the Irish had a Parliament of their own they would not have to ask any Questions in that House?

MR. GLADSTONE: Perhaps if we were so much entertained with all Questions as we have been in relation to this one, we might be more disposed to spend a considerable fraction of our time upon them, as undoubtedly we do. I do not propose to enter into any controversial matters; but I may say in relation to this question that the inquiry made by my hon. Friend behind me (Mr. Roundell) is an indication of the sense which prevails in what I may call the non-Questioning part of the House that there is considerable danger in this direction; but I think it better, however, to avoid saying anything which might be construed in the nature of a censure. I think we must feel that the conduct of Members cannot be judged simply by any reference to the number of Questions put. We must have regard to the urgency, or what they deem to be the urgency, of the topics contained in them, and therefore I am very far from presuming to censure or to say anything which may be interpreted in the way of censure. But, generally, this subject is undoubtedly deserving of consideration —it ought to be a comprehensive consideration, and could not be dealt with by the Government off-hand and in an isolated manner. That would be my answer to my hon. Friend, whom I thank very much for calling my attention once more to the subject. Perhaps I may say a word on my own behalf in regard to Questions. A practice has sprung up—I am not complaining of the hon. Member for Sligo (Mr. Sexton) or anyone at all—but a practice has sprung up of late years of putting to the First Lord of the Treasury Questions which are purely Departmental. If I may say so, there are several objections to that practice. I am compelled sometimes to ask the Representative of a Department to answer for me; I am conscious that this appears to be discourteous, and I resort to it with reluctance, and only when I find it necessary; but I do not like to do it, because it has a discourteous appearance, and yet it is a matter of absolute necessity. Then I may say, particularly at times of unusual pressure in the House, that this practice prevails, and the House will readily understand that at a time of unusual pressure it is extremely difficult to do justice to Questions which do not come within my own notice as First Minister of the Crown. And, lastly, that being so, I am not able to do them as much justice in many cases as would be done if they were put directly to the responsible Minister. There is, I know, a vague impression, perhaps even in this House to some extent, and largely among the general public, that the Prime Minister constitutes a sort of tribunal of appeal from the decisions of Chief of Departments. That is not a principle in our system of Government. There is not, generally speaking, any such appeal at all except in relation to the Treasury, and that, therefore, is peculiar. These Questions rather have a tendency to encourage the belief that there is such an appeal. I beg, again, to say, Sir, that I make no complaint of anyone with regard to Questions of this class; at the same time, I may suggest that it would be for the public convenience if they could be limited, and I believe it would be for the benefit of those who put them.

## AFRICA (SOUTH)—ZULULAND.

**Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether over 10,000 Zulus have perished in civil war since the restoration of Cetewayo; whether the Boers have invaded Zululand, and annexed more than 3,000,000 acres of the most fertile portion of that Country; whether Usibepu, a chief friendly to England, has been driven from the territory assigned to him by Sir Garnet Wolseley, and his people massacred and ruined; and, whether, in view of such great suffering and the destructive warfare that still continues, the time has come for the British Ministry to restore peace to Zululand?

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: I will simply answer the Question by saying that it is not the opinion of the Colonial Department with regard to the two first heads of this Question that the statements of the hon. Gentleman can be verified; they look upon them as going very far indeed beyond the facts. That is as to the two first heads. As regards Usibepu, there is no doubt that he has been driven from his dominions; but with respect to the causes of his having been so driven, this constitutes a matter of controversy upon which we are not prepared at the present time to give a positive opinion. With regard to the last Question, I can only say that the attention of the Government is being directed to the condition of Zululand with the view of considering the question whether at any time their obligations of honour or policy are involved in an interference. The moment they see that the time for such interference has arrived they will deem it

their duty to make it known to the House; but, of course, the hon. Member will see that they cannot arrive at such a decision at the instance of any hon. Member. Fresh information arrives from time to time that may tend to throw fresh light upon the facts, and it will then be our duty to consider as well as we can what decision we ought to arrive at.

**Mr. ASHMEAD-BARTLETT**: I understand the right hon. Gentleman to traverse the statements contained in my Question that 10,000 Zulus have perished since the restoration of Cetewayo, and that the Boers have recently annexed or divided among themselves 3,000,000 acres of the most fertile portion of that country. I beg, therefore, to give Notice that on the first opportunity that offers I shall bring proof of these facts before the House.

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: Perhaps I ought to say with regard to the first of these Questions—whether the Boers have annexed 3,000,000 acres—I am not disposed, according to the information we possess, to question the statement made by the hon. Gentleman; but the question that arises is as to the manner in which the land was acquired. We shall not be able to admit the contention of the hon. Member as to the means of acquisition of the land. The figure I cannot admit is the number of 10,000 Zulus alleged to have been killed.

## EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

**Mr. W. H. SMITH** asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If he had any information to give to the House with regard to General Gordon?

**Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE**: Sir Evelyn Baring telegraphed to-day, at 10 minutes to 2, from Cairo, that Colonel Swaine, Military Secretary to Lord Wolseley, had telegraphed as follows:—

> "After consulting with Sir Charles Wilson, I may assure you that no such rumours regarding General Gordon's death are even breathed here. We entirely discredit them. Major Kitchener's messenger from General Gordon has arrived at Debbah with a long letter from General Gordon and four Arabic cipher letters."

**Sir JOHN HAY**: Is that from Dongola?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Yes. The date of General Gordon's communication is not given.

### NAVY—H.M.S. "ACTIVE"—BURSTING OF A GUN.

MR. CARBUTT asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, Whether the report in *The Times* of to-day was correct, that one of the guns of the *Active* had had the muzzle blown off; whether this accident was due to the defective system of rifling; and, whether that unmechanical system of rifling was the same as in the new 43 and 100-ton guns which were sent away from the manufactory without one of the guns being properly tested?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that the official Report was to the effect that, while firing yesterday from one of the 6-inch breech-loading guns of the *Active*, the gun broke at about five feet from the muzzle. A preliminary investigation had been arranged to take place to-morrow at Portsmouth. It would be premature at present to assign any cause for this accident. He was happy to say that nobody had been injured.

MR. CARBUTT inquired if the rifling were the same as the system adopted in the new guns that had been made?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY said, that he could not answer technical Questions without Notice.

MR. STUART-WORTLEY asked if this particular gun was manufactured at the Royal Gun Factory, Woolwich?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: That, I think, was not the case.

### PARLIAMENT—BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE—THE EGYPTIAN POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, I wish to put a Question to the Government as to the progress of Public Business. As we are neither in possession of the information which has been received from Lord Northbrook, nor in possession of the financial proposals of the Government with regard to the Vote of £2,000,000 which has been taken with regard to the Egyptian operations, we are not in a position satisfactorily to discuss the Egyptian policy of the Government. I think it would be the most convenient course that we should wait for the financial proposals of the Government instead of making a separate Motion. Therefore, I wish to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he proposes to take Ways and Means on Monday, and to make his financial proposals?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): Yes, Sir; I propose on Monday, in Committee of Ways and Means, to make certain financial proposals.

### CRIME AND OUTRAGE (SCOTLAND)—MUTILATION OF SHEEP IN THE ISLAND OF LEWIS.

MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON asked, Whether the Lord Advocate's attention has been called to two cases of mutilation of sheep in the Island of Lewis, one in the month of June last, and the other on the 4th November; and, whether any steps in the matter will be taken by the authorities?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): I am familiar with the first case referred to by my hon. Friend. The circumstances were very peculiar. After careful consideration, it was decided that there was not sufficient ground for a criminal prosecution, whatever ground there might be for a civil action at the instance of the owner of the sheep. The second case has not yet been reported; but I shall cause inquiry to be made in regard to it, and it will be duly considered.

### LUNACY LAWS—ESCAPE OF AN ALLEGED LUNATIC.

MR. W. J. CORBET asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, Whether his attention has been called to a report in the newspapers of the escape of an American gentleman named Bruce, formerly a Baptist minister, from the Brookwood Lunatic Asylum, where he had been confined; also whether Mr. Bruce has not made every effort to bring his case before the authorities, and has even gone back to the asylum to prove his sanity; and, whether the Home Secretary will inquire if the Lunacy Commissioners have had their attention called to the matter, and what steps he proposes to take?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that he had no knowledge of the case, except from what had been stated by the hon. Member; but he would inquire into it.

## EGYPT (FINANCE, &c.)—LORD NORTHBROOK'S REPORT.

**Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE**: I beg to ask whether the Prime Minister can tell us now, and, if not, I shall repeat the Question on Monday, when he expects to be in possession of Lord Northbrook's Report, and when he will be able to make a communication on the subject to the House?

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: I thought I had stated on Tuesday last that I hoped to be able to make a communication on that subject on some day in next week.

**Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE**: On Monday?

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: No; I do not think on Monday.

## *NOTICE OF QUESTION.*

—o—

### PRINTING OF PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS.

**Mr. W. H. SMITH** gave Notice that on Thursday he would ask the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether he would take steps to expedite the printing of Parliamentary Papers, having regard to the fact that on two recent occasions Parliamentary Papers had been published in the newspapers 24 hours before they were in the hands of Members of the House?

## *ORDER OF THE DAY.*

—o—

### SUPPLY.—COMMITTEE.

Order for Committee read.

Motion made, and Question proposed, "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair."

### CROFTERS AND COTTARS (SCOTLAND).

### RESOLUTION.

**Mr. MACFARLANE**, in rising to call attention to the condition of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; and to move—

> "That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or to apply such other remedies as they deem advisable; and that this House concurs in the opinion expressed by the Royal Commission, at page 110 of its Report, that 'The mere vindication of authority and repression of resistance would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain,'"

said, he had drawn the attention of the Government to this subject last Session, and had warned them that the situation was becoming serious and grave. He had tried, along with other hon. Friends, to convince the Government of the fact, but without success. Now, it had become quite obvious, not only to the House, but to the whole country, that the situation was exceedingly grave. Armed police and soldiers were being sent into the Island of Skye. They knew that Skye was a place where soldiers came from, and of the best quality too; but this was the first time in modern history that they had been sent there to coerce the people. He hoped and believed that, in spite of the efforts of the Local Authorities to bring about a collision, they would not be successful. In his opinion, those who were nicknamed agitators had succeeded, by their influence, in preventing a collision between the soldiers and police and the people. He trusted that would continue to be so. When disturbances occurred on the same subject—namely, the Land Question—in Ireland, they used to be attempted to be explained on the ground of the religion of the people. Some few people, perhaps, believed that; but the most of those who made the statement did not believe it. As a matter of fact, it was not true; but even if it had been, that explanation was not available in this case, for the people involved in the Skye disturbances—the extent of which had been greatly exaggerated for specific purposes by interested persons—were good, substantial, sober Presbyterians. They were not open to the charge so falsely made against the Irish people. A Member of the Government, the other day, at the opening of the Liberal Club, said that he hoped words of warning addressed to the House of Lords would not be regarded as a menace; but in this case the Home Secretary treated the words of warning as a menace. Indeed, the right hon. and learned Gentleman indulged in many phrases which were so simple that they might have been taken from any penny copy-book. Questions on this subject had been addressed by himself and others to the right hon. and learned Gentleman; but all the answer they could get was a statement of principles which were easy to accept. He readily accepted the principle that law and order should be maintained; but there was another proposition which should be put on a level with that, if not before it, and that was, that law and order should coincide with justice and right. That was not the case here. The Home Secretary said on Tuesday that the Question put to him invited him to express an opinion that there was some palliation or justification on the part of these men for their defiance of the law, and that he could not do so, inasmuch as he thought these proceedings were entirely without justification or extenuation. The right hon. and learned Gentleman added that if there were grievances—putting it as a doubtful matter—there were other means for remedying them. Thereupon he (Mr. Macfarlane) invited him to mention a single instance in which the Civil Law had been defied in the locality in question; and all he could get from the right hon. Gentleman was a vague statement about the general defiance of the law. Commenting on what then passed, *The Times* of the following day recalled the fact that the Royal Commission had not only begun, but finished its labours, and that its Report had been for months before the world, and said that, while having regard to the Franchise Bill, legislation could not have been fairly looked for, and those interested in the question might be excused for declining to be satisfied with vague official assurances that the matter was receiving the attention of the Government. In regard to the assumption of the Home Secretary that there was no justification on the part of the Skye crofters, he thought that those who looked into the matter would find that there was very considerable justification. He had in his hands the letter of a correspondent of a Glasgow newspaper, of the 10th instant, describing the condition of the tenants where the disturbances had arisen. The writer said that Major Fraser was not long in possession of his estate when he believed in the large sheep-farming system; and, of course, the crofters, with their small holdings, were looked on as in the way, and were treated accordingly—townships, in many instances, being altogether deprived of their pastures. Along with this, the rents were raised considerably, and a few years afterwards were raised again, while in 1879 or 1880 the rents were doubled. This last rise was considered a special hardship, as it took effect at a time when the price of live stock fell very low, and when most of the crops, which had been partially secured, were blown into the sea. When these facts were brought before the factor and the landlord as an argument against the increase of rents, the factor told the crofters that this was one of the risks which they had to calculate in taking land. The increase ranged from 200 to 300 per cent. In 1871 the Major's rental was £6,250, and in 1881 it was £7,486, showing an increase of £1,236. The people were not consulted in the raising of the rents, but were simply told that the rent would be so-and-so; and if they were agreeable good and well; and if not they must clear out as quickly as possible. This was only the testimony of a newspaper correspondent; but he could also refer to an authority that he thought would not be questioned—that of a minister of religion in the locality, the Rev. Donald M'Phail, Free Church minister at Kilmuir. This rev. gentleman was far from being a partizan, and, indeed, was in very bad odour with the crofters on account of some dispute that had taken place during these disturbances. This gentleman stated that he was a personal friend of Major Fraser, and that since the Major came into possession of the estate the Free Church community had enjoyed far more freedom than existed before. He had been a minister in Skye for 30 years, and 10 years at Kilmuir; and he expressed the fear that, in the present circumstances and mood of the population of the Island, a little more strain and a little more agitation would soon land them in a state of wild confusion. He went on to say that he had observed a gradual sinking of the people into deeper poverty during the last 10 years, and that they were becoming yearly less able to pay their way, and more displeased with their circumstances. This gentleman stated that the taking of the hill pasture from the crofters had greatly added to their discomfort, and said that if things remained as they were, there seemed to be no remedy for this gradual sinking of the people except by their dying out. The official table of the number of decrees of removing from holdings in the Island of Skye between 1840 and 1883 inclusive showed them to have affected 6,960 families. Taking each family at five persons, a total of 34,800 persons had been affected by these decrees of removal, and this at a cost to them of £3,480. The gentleman who was factor in Skye described how necessary these notices were in order to obtain rent, and in the management of an improving estate. In these 43 years the number of summonses of removing amounted to very nearly twice the whole population of Skye. It had never been stated—at least, he had not heard it so stated—that these people were unwilling to pay rent; and if it was necessary to issue these summonses of removal so often, it followed that the people were unable to pay their rent. He inferred from that that the rent was more than it was possible for them to earn. If anyone would just go down to the Western Isles, and look at the place, they would see, what everybody there knew, that the rents were paid from the fishing, and not from the holdings. He asked hon. Members to consider what that meant to the people of Skye, and to consider what was the state of the Land Laws under which it could take place, that there should be notice to quit to the whole population twice over in 40 years? In regard to the Island of Lewis, he had the statement to the Crofters' Commission of the Free Church clergyman of one of the parishes—a gentleman who was born in Lewis, and whose recollection of the Island went back for 70 years. The clergyman, in his statement, contrasted the present state of the population with their state 60 years ago. Then the people were in a condition of comparative comfort, with ample land and hill pasture, whereas now poverty and want largely predominated. Increase of population could not be the cause of the immense difference in the condition of the people. The present population of 3,489 was only 448 more than it was 50 years ago. This was so, in the face of the large increase of the value of the fishing industry since 1831. How, then, arose the unfavourable condition of the people now? It arose from large reaches of pasture land being taken from them and put into sheep walks and deer forests. That was done without a decrease in the rent of the crofters, and with, in some cases, an increase. The rev. gentleman, in his statement, also described the evils resulting from absentee landlords, and referred to the large sum of money spent by the late Sir James Matheson in the Island. Much of the sums, it was stated, had been spent in mere experiments, which would lead to no permanent good. Had part of the money so spent been applied to the improvement of the crofters' dwellings, and in making piers and harbours for the development of the fishing industry, the result would have been that the welfare of the people would have been very different from what it was. The whole tenour of the management, they were further told, had been rather to discourage than encourage the crofters. Were it not for the fishing, the crofter population could not subsist. The soil in possession of the large farmers was by far the best in Lewis. It was taken from the crofters and given to these large farmers. This was done without the crofters having got any compensation or consideration for what they had done to improve it. So much for the statement of this Lewis gentleman; and he thought he had quoted enough to show that these people had a grievance. The right hon. and learned Gentleman (Sir William Harcourt) had told them that if they had grievances there were other ways of redressing them. He should like to know what ways there were except agitation? He knew of no law in this, or any other country, that had ever been remedied except by agitation. But the right hon. and learned Gentleman said—"Yes, but not by breaking the law;" and he also said so. He had no wish that the law should be broken; and he hoped the Home Secretary would to-night make such a statement as to the intended action of the Government as would give no further excuse for opposition to the law. He hoped the right hon. and learned Gentleman would make such a statement as would disarm violence. The people had been holding out their hands praying for redress, but could get none. It was stated by the Government that the subject was under consideration; but no time was indicated when the people might expect to obtain redress. They never asked, nor desired, nor expected that the Government would bring in a Land Bill for Scotland during this Autumn Session; but he wanted the right hon. and learned Gentleman to give an assurance which would satisfy the people that something was going to be done when the Government had time to do it. The right hon. Gentleman said, "Am I to yield to violence?" or, at all events, he indicated something of that kind. The violence which had occurred would not, he hoped, be put forward as an excuse for any delay in this matter on the part of Her Majesty's Government. He did not wish to minimize the difficulty of dealing with this question; but a beginning would have to be made, and the sooner it was made the better. That there was a necessity for remedy he could quote many other authorities to show; but he had only taken two samples dealing with the Islands of Skye and Lewis, and they confirmed him in his opinion that there was an absolute necessity for a change in the Land Laws of Scotland. That that was so was asserted by the Commission of the Government. It was asserted by public opinion. The Government themselves had admitted it, yet nothing was done. He wanted to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman whether he could see his way to make a statement that when the Franchise Bill and the other measure intimately connected with it were disposed of, he would deal with this question seriously? If the House should pass his Resolution, it would be accepted by these people as a promissory note. The Home Secretary could not give them a note payable on demand; but perhaps he would put upon it some approach to a date with reference to the time when he would deal with this question. If the right hon. and learned Gentleman would do that, he believed, even far as things had gone, the turmoil and excitement in the Islands of Skye and Lewis would quickly subside, because unless these were peaceable people they would not have remained quiet so long. He wished hon. Members could go down and see for themselves the condition in which these people lived. They were huddled together in dwellings resembling pigsties, they were half suffocated with smoke, and they were covered with dirt. Dukes and Earls and great landlords seemed to think that these people were kept there by some law which could not be changed, and that the people were fore-ordained to live in these places. Why, English gentlemen would be ashamed to see their dogs in such places. Highland chiefs and Highland lairds made good use of these people whenever they wanted them to assist in robbing others; but as soon as that game was at an end the people were cast off, and those who fought for and bled for the chiefs and lairds, fools as they were, were cast aside to live as best they could. Many of the lairds were so ashamed that they had not the face to live among these people, but left behind them some hireling to screw out of these poor people every farthing which could be got. The hon. Gentleman concluded by moving the Resolution which stood in his name.

MR. FRASER-MACKINTOSH said, he had great pleasure in seconding the Resolution. The question divided itself into two parts—one the present condition of Skye, and the other as to the question generally. He hoped he might be allowed to make special reference to the state of Skye at the present moment. It had been said the Motion was in the nature of censure upon the Government. He did not think so; and if he had thought so he would not be in the position of seconding it. He thought, on the contrary, the Government would be only too glad of the opportunity of satisfying not only the Highlanders, but the civilized world, that the circumstances of Skye were such as required the placing among a lot of inoffensive people armed soldiers and sailors. They knew nothing of the grounds which had prompted the Government to accede to the request of the Local Authorities to send an armed force. All they knew was that the hon. Member for the County of Inverness (Mr. D. Cameron) placed on the Paper, on the shortest Notice, a Question last week, in which he asked the Home Secretary whether he had received intimation that there were movements in Skye of a lawless character, and what the Government intended to do? Next night the Home Secretary made a statement that he had received intimation of lawlessness, and that the Government were prepared to take measures to support the law. As soon as he (Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh) had an opportunity he put a Question to the Home Secretary, asking for the communications which the

Local Authorities had sent requesting an armed force, and also the reply of the Government agreeing to such a proposal. What was the answer he received? The Home Secretary made a very civil reply; but it was one which put him for the time being entirely out of court. The right hon. Gentleman said as negotiations were going on he could not give any information; but the information, to be of any use, ought to have been given at once, so that they might know what they were about. Under these circumstances, he thought they were entitled to look with some suspicion on the application made by the Local Authorities. Who were the Local Authorities who made this demand? They were a self-elected body. They had no shadow of popular representation, and they had no responsibility whatever. The Commissioners of Supply—landlords of £100 value and upwards—were the ruling body in the county. They numbered about 100, and yearly devolved their duties on a Police Committee, which consisted of about 12 members. These 12 members had the whole authority of the county. They could do as they thought proper; but they had no responsibility whatever, unless such as was due to supervision by the Home Secretary or the Lord Advocate. Who were the officials who took part in this state of matters? The Sheriff and the Procurators Fiscal. The Sheriff was non-resident, and could know very little of what was going on. And who was the Procurator Fiscal? Well, in the case of Inverness County, although he was a gentleman for whom he had great respect, by that unhappy state of matters, whereby such officials were allowed to take other business, this gentleman held the position of agent for a great number of landlords in Inverness County. He believed he was not wrong in stating that in the Police Committee the Procurator Fiscal was agent for one-third or one-fourth of the members of the Committee. He had not the slightest fault to find with the Procurator Fiscal for the county of Inverness; but the public might come to the conclusion, rightly or wrongly, that his interests were to some extent mixed up with the landlords' and proprietors'. There was another under Procurator Fiscal in the Island of Skye. He was not, so far as he understood, agent for any landed proprietors; but, unfortunately, he was also in the unhappy position of not being paid by salary, but by business done; and it was inevitable there might be a tendency to think that cases might be trumped up which would not be if the Procurator Fiscal were an independent man, paid by fixed salary. In looking over the official statistics for the county of Inverness for 1883, he observed a very significant fact with regard to the number of people apprehended. There were apprehended and taken up on criminal charges in that year 384 people. Of these, there were not tried, 42; acquitted, 53; undisposed of at the end of the year, 4; convicted, 285. What was the result? Of all the people apprehended in the county of Inverness during the year 1883, 20 per cent were not tried at all, or were acquitted. He was afraid they could come to no other conclusion than that there were mischievous efforts to trump up cases. With regard to the general question, as far as he knew, all that the people of Kilmuir did was to turn back 10 policemen sent from Inverness—for what purpose? Not to keep order, for there had been no disorder. The people had met, as they had every right to do, to discuss the conduct of certain individuals who had given evidence before the Commission; and really, if they did use some strong language with regard to those individuals, he thought it not altogether unjustifiable. A certain individual named Urquhart was at this moment in possession of the lands of 43 crofters, containing more than 150 souls; and the consequent shiftings, removals, and evictions had taken place from these lands within the last 30 years. Could it be supposed that the people had no feelings on this matter? He did not justify anything that was illegal; but he felt that a great deal could be said for his fellow-countrymen in their unfortunate position. With regard to this very property, it was well known that the rental of the crofters had been increased three times over within the last 30 years, and the proprietor had been obliged to reduce, or temporarily abate the crofters' rents, by nearly 20 per cent. He was in great hopes that the Home Secretary or the Lord Advocate would be able to make a satisfactory statement on this question. The words of the Resolution of his hon. Friend were written by the noble Chairman of the Commission (Lord Napier and Ettrick), after a great deal of thought and consideration. They knew that certain expectations were raised by the issue of the Commission, and by the evidence taken before it; but they were afraid that, like many other Commissions, nothing would come of it, and that the end might be worse than the beginning. Therefore, they put these pregnant words into their Report in order to warn the Government of what was likely to take place, and that a police force, which might be necessary in certain contingencies, would be of no use in a permanent settlement of the question, unless beneficial legislation were adopted. One of the chief grievances of the crofters was that they had not sufficient land, although there was plenty of land for them if it were properly distributed. A factor of the Duke of Sutherland had told him that in parts of Sutherlandshire they would not be right unless the population were diminished by one-half. When it was known that there were in that county nearly 1,250,000 acres, with but 23,000 people, the absurdity of this was evident. There were splendid glens and straths in the Highlands which at one time were under cultivation, and which might profitably be given to the people. The same state of things existed in Skye and the Long Island. But there were other matters to complain of. One was the question of deer forests. When this subject was before the House last Session, he made some observations with regard to deer forests. In order to have a unanimous Report of the Commission on the subject, he had agreed not to interfere with the existing deer forests. But with new forests the Commission were unanimous. But had the formation of deer forests come to an end? In the last debate he had pointed to a property of 20,000 acres on the West Coast of Inverness. It was then a sheep farm, running down to the sea, and it had been advertised for sale as a proper subject for a deer forest. That was bad enough; but not far from that locality there was another large farm now in process of being afforested, great part of which ran down to the sea. This was running directly against the indications of the Commission that no new forests should be made, at least under a certain altitude. Who was the person who was running in the teeth of the recommendations of the Royal Commission? No less a person than Her Majesty's Representative for the county of Inverness. The evils of deer forests were becoming intolerable. The largest deer forest in Scotland, covering nearly 200,000 acres, was occupied by one man; and he at this moment had actually taken out a process of interdict against a poor man living on the shores of Loch Duich, because a pet lamb had strayed 60 yards into the forest. Was not that intolerable? He had made these observations in no hostile spirit towards the Government; but he would not have acted on the Commission, and would have considered he was appointed under false pretences, unless he had been satisfied that the Government were in earnest in their desire to rectify those matters which were complained of in the Highlands. In that view, he hoped the discussion to-night would strengthen the hands of the Government, and not be one of which they would have any reason to find fault.

Amendment proposed,

To leave out the word "That" to the end of the Question, in order to add the words "in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or to apply such other remedies as they deem advisable; and that this House concurs in the opinion expressed by the Royal Commission at page 110 of its Report, that 'The mere vindication of authority and repression of resistance would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain,' "—(*Mr. Macfarlane*,)

—instead thereof.

Question proposed, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the Question."

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: I have no doubt that many Members of this House wish to express their opinion on this subject. At the same time, I have no doubt it may be convenient that at an early period I should make the observations on behalf of the Government that I have to make on the Motion of the hon. Member. I have no ground to complain in any way of the speeches that have been made by the Mover and Seconder of this Motion, or of the spirit and terms of the Motion itself, in which I generally concur. There is only one thing that I would desire to explain with reference to what the hon. Member who made this Motion has said of the expression I used, that the violations of the law had no justification or extenuation. Perhaps I should have been more accurate if I had confined myself to the first word, and said they had no justification, because the word extenuation is a word of more doubtful meaning. With reference to the whole of this question, all that I can say is, that I stand in a rather different and a more difficult position with reference to it than either of the hon. Members who have addressed the House. With the official responsibility that I have in this matter, hon. Members in the House will feel that I am not free to say all that I think, because I must exercise a certain amount of reserve. But I think I am not acting inconsistently with my duty in this matter in saying what is known to the hon. Member who made this Motion, that the persons on whose behalf he speaks have long had my deep personal sympathy. I know these West Highlands well. I doubt whether there is anybody in the House who knows Skye better than I do. I have spent my leisure time for nearly 20 years mostly upon its shores and its bays; and all I can say is, that I have a deep sympathy and regard—I might almost use stronger terms—for the people who inhabit them. They are a people distinguished remarkably, as I think I once observed before at Glasgow, by a mildness of character which seems to belong to the climate in which they live. They have a high-bred courtesy in their demeanour; they have a kindliness towards all who have dealings with them that is singularly attractive. I, for one, therefore, approach this question certainly not in any spirit of harshness or of rigour. All I can say is, that though there are painful duties connected frequently with the Office which I hold, I have never exercised a duty which I considered incumbent upon me with more personal regret than when I felt myself under the obligation to send a force to support the Local Authority in that part of the country. The hon. Member who has just sat down—though I do not think the hon. Member who made the Motion took that view of the subject—seemed to question whether there had been any disturbance in Skye at all, and whether there was any occasion for the interference of the Government. To anybody who has read the reports in the public Press, I should have thought it was almost unnecessary to offer any evidence on that subject. What took place was this—A certain condition of things existed in Skye in which individuals were menaced in the pursuits of ordinary life—a condition of things of which in recent times we have unfortunately been too familiar. I will not go into many of the details of petty outrages which had taken place. The hon. Member who has just spoken referred to a case which led to a small force of police being sent to Skye, where it was intimated at a meeting of the crofters that three individuals—I abstain from mentioning names—were to be forcibly carried to the meeting to demand explanations of their conduct—I think there is no man in this House who will justify such a proceeding as that—whereupon the Police Commissioners thought it necessary to strengthen the Police Force in Skye. That is a thing entirely within the competence of such an authority; and I should be extremely suprised if in any part of London I was informed that there was a certain district requiring a larger Police Force my rights to increase that force were questioned. What happened? The extra police—I think there were six men—were sent to give protection to the people in Skye. As soon as they arrived at Portree, a large number of people used certainly very violent proceedings, turned them back, and said they would not allow them to come into the country. Now, I think there is no man who will not admit that that is a condition of things which it is impossible to tolerate. Well, the information that reached us was, that there was a special animosity there against the police. That, to my mind, is a very grave symptom indeed. It is a symptom which deserves, I venture to say, the attention of all classes of the community, and of the proprietors quite as much as any other class; because I am the first to state and to feel that the employment of the Naval or Military Forces of the Crown in keeping peace in this country, or in any way aiding the civil authority, is in itself an immense evil. It is one to which I am most reluctant to resort, and never would do so unless I was convinced that it was absolutely necessary. The preservation of peace, and the exercise of the civil authority, ought to be carried out by the Civil Force, which is the police; and happily in this country, although cases do occasionally occur where the police, not being sufficient, military support has to be given to the police, I take it to be a maxim, subject to very few exceptions, that the Military and Naval Forces ought never, if it can possibly be avoided, to be used for that purpose. And, accordingly, when a few years ago there were disturbances in Skye, and I was pressed by the Local Authorities to send military there, I told them of my reluctance, and declined. I am speaking in the presence of my hon. Friend, if he will allow me to call him so, the Member for Inverness-shire (Mr. D. Cameron), whose counsel I naturally sought upon a question of that character; and he agreed with me that that ought to be postponed to the latest possible moment. Accordingly, the military were not sent to Skye two years ago. I confess it was with the greatest reluctance that I came to the conviction that if this were left to the police alone there would be such a powerful and violent resistance as would probably lead to a very dangerous breach of the peace; and I believe that is the opinion of every man acquainted with that district of Scotland. Well, under these circumstances, I came to the conclusion that, upon such an occasion as that, to exhibit weakness was no kindness to the people of Skye; and, thinking it necessary that order should be preserved, it was essential that it should be preserved in a manner that did not invite or admit of conflict, and I think that was at once a humane and a prudent view to take of the case. Now, at the same time that I speak of what occurred in 1882, the Government showed that they were not insensible to the consideration that there were grievances to be redressed, and that there were inquiries to be made. I can assure my hon. Friend who has last spoken that when I, on behalf of the Government, appointed the Commission, of which he was so valuable a Member, it was with the fullest intention that the Commission should bear practical fruit. Therefore, we acted in that respect with a spirit that, while the law ought to be sustained, at the same time every grievance that could be demonstrated ought also to be redressed. Well, now, Sir, there has been a good deal of exaggeration, I think, about this state of things. There has been a great amount of sensational reports. I received a telegram only yesterday, which, although it was not very complimentary to me, and was very strongly on the side of the crofters, I thought contained a great deal of good sense. It said—"If it were not for the agitators and the newspaper reporters, we should get on very well." Of course, there is a habit of picking up every flying rumour, whether it is well founded or not, and then it gets into print—and people have a habit of believing that everything that gets into print is the truth—and the result is that a great many unfounded statements receive a credit that they do not deserve. But I think there is no doubt—and the House will take this from me without my going into great detail—that there is a very serious condition of things existing in Skye and the West Highlands generally, and I do not think it will be in the least disputed by the hon. Member who has made this Motion. Now, I say alone this hostility towards the police, this determination not to show to them that obedience and that respect for law and order which is common in other parts of England and Scotland, is in itself a very serious symptom. When it comes to this, that in some parts of Skye and the Highlands the police have to be sent to execute the ordinary processes of the law, that is in itself a very serious condition of things. At the same time, I say it is very necessary that all classes of the community—and I include in that the Police Committee of the county of Inverness — must understand that the Government cannot undertake to aid the police permanently by military force. And a state of things must be established in which the police shall be able to maintain the public peace, and execute justice within their own territory. The Government make it clearly understood that in giving this support to the police it is as a subsidiary force, and not as a principal force, in the execution of the law. In my opinion, nothing can be greater proof that there is something which requires a remedy than when you are obliged to employ a military force. Now, I join with the hon. Member who has made this Motion in the hope and the belief that there will be no conflict in Skye. There is one phrase which I am sure the hon. Member dropped in the heat of the moment, and which he would not wish deliberately to repeat—that the Local Authorities or anybody else desired to provoke a conflict. I believe that is a statement which is without foundation. If it were true, it would be a most serious state of matters. I believe nobody desires to provoke a conflict; but there are persons who have rendered, in my opinion, great services in preventing a conflict, whose influence I ought to acknowledge, and they are men who, from their profession, were bound to exercise such a duty—the ministers of religion in Skye. In a meeting which took place, and which is reported in *The Scotsman* of yesterday, I find, first of all, the Rev. Mr. Macdonald, the Free Church minister from Inverness, exercised his influence most beneficially in advising the people to abstain from any breach of the peace. I find also the gentleman to whom the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) has referred — the Rev. Mr. M'Phail, of the Free Church of Kilmuir—used his influence in a speech which he made on that occasion; and I have also read a speech from the Rev. Mr. Davidson, of the Established Church at Stenscholl, one of the disturbed districts, and I have a telegram from him to say that he was satisfied that the people would be tranquil. I will ask leave to read the observations which he made, for they are short, and I think they highly deserve attention—

> "He stated that prior to his being settled at Stenscholl, two and a-half years ago, there was not a single man in Skye who was more opposed to the Land League, and for months after entering on his duties as minister of the district he had but little belief in the crofters' grievances. He soon, however, began to see that the state of matters existing in that parish was such that he could not but sympathize with the people. He could not consistently ask the people to stop their agitation to secure a remedy for their grievances; but he solemnly impressed upon them the danger of offering resistance to the police, and bringing themselves under the correction of the law. He had been present at some of their meetings, and he could honestly say that the speeches were moderate, and that the business was conducted in the most orderly way. He was fully acquainted with the men who were considered the leaders of the movement, and he could say that they were among the most respectable men on the Kilmuir estate."

I think that statement is a most weighty one, and one which is extremely worthy of the attention of the proprietor of the Kilmuir estate. And, Sir, that spirit of conciliation having been shown on the part of the ministers of religion, who have sought by their influence to allay the spirit of excitement and to prevent a conflict, I confess it was with very deep regret that I received this morning a newspaper which was forwarded to me —*The Nairnshire Telegraph*—reporting a speech of Major Fraser, which is couched in an extremely different spirit. He says repressive measures will be required to be used, and he did not know that another week would elapse before these would be used; and he hoped, when justice was done, all dissensions would pass away. I also hope, when justice is done, dissensions will pass away; but I hope that Major Fraser puts the same construction on justice that I do in these matters. I wish, at the same time, to have it clearly understood that this force which is sent to support the police is sent for the preservation of the public peace, and that if that support so given to the police were to be used for the purpose of oppressive measures, which would not and could not otherwise be employed, to use it as a cloak or a shield for such a purpose would be a gross abuse of that support. It is not intended to cover these notices of removal of which we have heard—things which, I think, are deeply to be regretted—notices of removal which are served, not for the purpose of being enforced, but for the purpose of keeping up a condition—I do not know whether I should call it "suspension," or whatever term I should employ. These notices of removal seem to me to be a source of irritation which is not to be justified at all. That there exists in these districts extreme poverty, in some parts borne for many years with extraordinary patience, I think everybody who is acquainted with those districts must be aware. There is one subject to which the hon. Member for Carlow referred, in some of the evidence that he read, in which I very much agree with him. Some people say—"Oh, the remedy for this is emigration." Well, Sir, in my opinion, emigration is a very poor remedy indeed. I have myself no sympathy with a policy which improves a country by getting rid of its people. To my mind that is the policy of despair.

It is like the old medical treatment of Sangrado, who cured all diseases by blood-letting; but, after all, blood is the life of the body, and the people are the life of the country. I, at all events, do not accept the policy of making a solitude and calling it political economy. No doubt the Scottish are people who have shown great qualities for emigration. A great part of the Empire of England, which covers every sea, is due to their intelligence and to their energy. Under Lord Chatham they played a great part in the conquest of Canada, and they still, by their industry, support and extend the greatness of that Colony. The history of Scotsmen in India is famous, and in New Zealand, also, there is a Scottish Colony of great prosperity and eminence. But that is, or ought to be, in my opinion, a voluntary emigration. I am entirely against pressing people out of their own country, and, least of all, such people as the West Highlanders. These people are remarkable—and I know them well—for their passionate attachment to the soil upon which they live. I have myself always thought that those beautiful lines in which one of the greatest masters of human nature—Goldsmith—described the history of the Swiss peasant were singularly applicable to the Highlanders of the West. I may be permitted to remind the House of those lines—

> "Dear is the shed to which his soul conforms,
> And dear the hill which lifts him to the storms;
> And as a child, when scaring sounds molest,
> Clings close and closer to his mother's breast,
> So the loud torrent and the whirlwind's roar
> But bind him to his native mountains more."

I believe that a policy which is founded upon tearing these men from their soil is not the remedial policy which is the best to be applied in these cases. I believe that you ought to find means for these people, so attached to their country, to live in their country. But that is a very difficult problem. It will be asked how? Well, there were times when they did live in the country in comparative happiness and prosperity; and, therefore, the problem is not insoluble in itself.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL: Kelp.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: Well, there was not a great deal of kelp in the inland Highlands of Scotland, and yet there were a great many people who lived there. I think the hon. Member for Wigtonshire will have to study the history of the Highlands a little more closely before he comes to the conclusion that kelp is the solution of the problem. The Royal Commission has collected a great deal of valuable materials, and it has made some important suggestions; but one great difficulty in dealing with this question is, that I do not find that all the suggestions, or even the most important, of the Royal Commission have met with general acceptance from any quarter, or even from the friends of the crofters themselves. This is a very ingenious project for the creation of the communal system; but in all the discussions that I have heard since that project was announced by the Commission I find extremely little approbation. Even in the resolutions of the Land League itself it has been only faintly alluded to. All the proposals that I have seen accredited by the friends of the crofters have been a great deal more in the direction of the Irish Land Act than in the direction of that particular recommendation—extremely ingenious, but more theoretical than practical—of the Royal Commission. When it is asked in some quarters that the principles of the Irish Land Act should be applied to the West Highlands, I have to observe that the condition of the West Highlands, as I understand them, and the evils that exist there, are not of precisely the same character as those which were dealt with by the Irish Land Act in Ireland. There is not the same competition for land. I will speak directly about the question of there not being land enough. There is not in the West Highlands of Scotland that same competition of tenant against tenant which had led in many cases to great over-renting in Ireland. I do not say that there are not cases of over-renting in the West Highlands—that is certainly not the general character of the grievance which has been alleged; nor, according to my knowledge of the matter, is there the same prevalence of eviction that took place in Ireland; and, therefore, the evils in the Highlands are not the evils of over-renting nor eviction which took place in Ireland. And, therefore, if the two principal evils do not exist—at least to the same extent—and if the evil is not the same, it would not appear that the remedy would be identical. What is complained of, and what was complained of by the hon. Member in his Motion, is the want of more land. Well, in a certain sense, I suppose everybody wants more land if he could get it. I have no land, and I suppose many people in that position would desire to have it; but that is not the sense, no doubt, in which the hon. Member uses it. I confess that when you come to such a question as that, the evils and the difficulties, and, even if those were superable, the danger of compulsory legislation upon such a question appears to me to be extremely great. They may be necessary; but nobody can doubt that they are an evil in themselves; and, therefore, upon this point I would venture to take this opportunity of making a very serious and earnest appeal to the proprietors of the West Highlands themselves. They have very great facilities for dealing with this question. I speak in the presence of my hon. Friend the Member for Inverness-shire (Mr. D. Cameron), whose speech that he made last June I am sure very strongly impressed the House. And no difference of political opinion upon other questions would prevent me acknowledging the great benefit that I have derived from my hon. Friend in all these difficult questions as they have arisen. The number of proprietors in these districts is extremely small. That, in itself, I should call a great evil; but it does offer great facilities of coming to some understanding as to what would be the best to be done in these circumstances. I think in the Outer Islands, in the Long Island, I doubt whether there are six separate proprietors altogether. When you come to Skye the number is very few—proprietors of any magnitude at all. When you come even to the mainland the number is not considerable. Certainly, there are no people who have more reason to desire to see this question settled than the proprietors of the West Highlands. It is certainly not their interest to raise a great land question in Scotland; and there are great reasons, it seems to me, also, why they should be prepared to make—I will not say great sacrifices, but moderate sacrifices, to settle this question. They must remember, in the first place, that there is a very remarkable feature in the history of the land in the West Highlands. There has been in it a sudden growth of rental which has never been equalled anywhere else, I should think, within the course of the last century, and even still more of the last half-century. If you think of what the Highlands were long before the introduction of sheep farming, you will find that estates which were worth hundreds, or perhaps only tens, are now worth thousands. In those times, and not so very long ago—almost within the memory of living man—those great tracts of hill yielded no profit at all to the proprietor. Lord Malmesbury, in his Memoirs recently published, states that in his own recollection any man could go and shoot where he liked without paying anything, or almost anything, at all. But before the question of shooting arose, you must remember there was the question of grazing; and I do not think it would be untrue to say that 100 years ago in the West Highlands all these people who are now crofters, and were, in fact, the population of the country, had practically their grazing upon the land, just for the same reason that in Lord Malmesbury's recollection a man could shoot because it was not worth anybody's while to prevent it. The chief of the clan, or the proprietor, did not object to his clansman turning his black cattle on the hill any more than he objected to a man shooting; on the contrary, it was an advantage to the proprietor, who got something from him. No doubt, it was a rude state of life—a life, as appears from *Burton's History*, not of high civilization, but of great comfort. We read an account of it—perhaps the most accurate account—an account to which Scott gave an air of romance in *Waverley*—in *The History of the Highlands*. It there appears that the chief, or proprietor, and the clansmen lived together, certainly in a rude state, but in a state of comparative comfort. Then, however, came the great and sudden growth of the wealth of the Highlands by the introduction of sheep-farming. I do not complain of sheep-farming. The Duke of Argyll, in an article in *The National Review*, has gone a considerable length into that, for the purpose of showing that it is of a great economical advantage. Well, so far it gave an immense increase to rent. Men who had hundreds before found themselves in possession of thousands a-year of rent. I am afraid that within the last year or two that account is more unfavourable than it was. That undoubtedly was the history of the transformation. What happened after that? After the sheep farm gave an enormous increase to the rent of the proprietor—an increase without absolutely any expenditure on his part—there was possibly never a better instance of the unearned increment except that which I am going to mention. [Lord RANDOLPH CHURCHILL: Belgrave Square.] I will not dispute with the noble Lord in that peculiar hostility to Dukes which he always displays. I was only referring to the great windfall which came to the Highland proprietors. Then close upon the sheep-farming came the grouse-shooting rent, which was often, I believe, equal to the sheep-farming rent; therefore, the proprietor found himself in possession of land which rose within a generation from being worth nothing at all to an enormously increased and valuable rental. In more recent years, in my own recollection, there was found a still more valuable thing than the sheep farm and the game rent, and that was the deer forest, over a great part of the county of Ross and a considerable part of the county of Inverness, in the place of both the sheep rent and the game rent. Well, what was the result of that? The result was that, while the rent value increased, the grazing of these people disappeared. The Duke of Argyll, in his article in *The National Review*, says that it was not only the high hills that were necessary for the sheep, but also the low hills, in order that the sheep might have their wintering. But, then, what became of the black cattle of the crofter and the tenant? Unfortunately, there was not that softening influence which, happily, in England, softened the harsh outline of proprietary rights. Recollect what happened in this country. There was a population even more humble in its condition, more subject in its lot, than the crofter of the West Highlands, and that was the old villein of socage tenure in England; and what happened to him? He had rights of usage of this character, rights which certainly in their origin were not distinguishable in law, rights which were never enacted by any Statute, but which were consecrated and crystallized and secured to him by the spirit of the Common Law of England. What happened to them was described by the rough, masculine, and liberal language of the great Common Law lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, who said that—

> "In Saxon and Norman times these copyholders were subject to their lords' will: but now they stood upon a sure ground, and waited not their lords' displeasure."

That is a curious and very interesting chapter of law. It is one of those fortunate circumstances which have gone to create the safety of the social system of England. In modern times we have had another example of the operation of the law sustained by the action of Parliament. It was a work and a policy that was mainly conducted by the man whose loss we have recently had occasion to deplore—by Mr. Fawcett. The work which he began, and which I and many others did our best to aid him in—in the prevention of the inclosure of commons—was a highly useful work. It prevented the absorption in single hands of all the commonty lands, which would have placed the mass of the population under disadvantage, and which was sure to have created discontent. Now, Sir, I say that all these considerations seem to me to point to a remedy which I cannot help thinking that the patient might administer unto himself to a great degree. Now, just consider what would have happened if, when these large tracts of land were being turned into sheep farms or into deer forests, yielding, as they did, an enormous increment of rent, there had been a more moderate use of these powers—if, while thousands of acres were taken for these purposes, a few hundreds had everywhere been reserved for the small population of these Highland glens—why, it would not have destroyed the system of sheep-farming at all. It would have been perfectly possible to have kept a moderate area which would have been sufficient for this population. They never could have covered the whole of these hills. That, it seems to me, is a thing which might very reasonably and well have been done. We have heard in this debate, and evidence has been given, of townships losing the hills which they had before. Why should townships lose the hills? I have never heard of them having refused to pay rent, except under the influence—I was almost going to say of pardonable excitement. But why, if a reasonable rent and a fair rent be offered them, should not these people have the accommodation which might make to them the difference between penury and comparative ease? It is quite unquestionable that it has led in a great degree to the change in the condition of the crofter in the West Highlands. What has become of the crofters' black cattle? There is no doubt that they can look back to a time, which they remember themselves, or of which they certainly had a tradition from their fathers, when they had this land, on which they had black cattle, and which, having lost, they have been confined to that little spot in the strath which, when potato disease comes or a bad season, is totally unable to sustain their existence. Well, is there not room in this matter for a very reasonable settlement? I appeal to my hon. Friend (Mr. D. Cameron), who knows this matter very much better than I do; and I ask him, considering how few hands this land is in, how reasonable might be the settlement of a question like this? I ask you to consider whether in each locality it would not be possible to apportion to these people a single hill in their immediate neighbourhood? That might deduct, say, £20, or £30, or £50, from the rent of a great sheep farm; but is not that a settlement of a question like this, which is worth while making if it can be done? Sir, there is no doubt whatever—from the reason that I have already stated—there have not been those modifications, those *temperamenta*, as it is called by the lawyers, of the naked right of proprietorship in Scotland which arose under the Common Law in England. It is because civilization in Scotland in earlier times was ruder. ["Oh, oh!" *and laughter.*] I am ready to acknowledge how much more rapid, comparatively, the advance has been, and I thought the contrast would be agreeable. But from some cause or another the question of the bare proprietorship of land in Scotland is presented in a more raw and more harsh form in its legal aspect, certainly, than it is in England. I believe this to be a correct statement. Well, then, I have endeavoured to indicate that there are methods by which these people and the Government, in the task which is justly imposed upon them, may be greatly aided by a wise and prudent generosity on the part of the landlords themselves. There are immense difficulties in compulsory legislation, although I do not say it may not be necessary. The real truth is, that in all these cases the innocent bear the burden of those who are most to blame. A single landlord who exercises his right unfairly and harshly brings discredit and injustice upon many who deserve no blame at all. That I believe to be the case, to a great extent, in the West Highlands of Scotland. I believe it would be very unfair and very unjust to say that the landlords in the West Highlands are unjust or harsh to their tenants. That there have been instances in which things have been done that could not be approved I am not here to deny; but I believe at this moment that by far the best, by far the wisest thing that could be done, would be that the landlords, who are few in number, and have, therefore, greater facility for acting together, should take into consideration what can, and what ought to be done, to heal a sore which, I am sure, they must feel as desirous as anyone to close; for it is their interest, above all, that it should be closed, and that the Government, co-operating with them in so much of it as requires legislation, may form some scheme which will remove the discontent that everyone must deplore. I only make these suggestions because I am quite sure if they were acted upon they would be a very useful contribution to the settlement. However, that may or may not be the case; but in answer to the appeal which has been made to me by the hon. Member who has made this Motion, I desire most distinctly to state that the Government are fully conscious of the responsibility that belongs to them—the responsibility of endeavouring to find some adequate remedy for the state of things which is disclosed in the Report of the Royal Commissioners. They have always accepted that responsibility. They appointed the Royal Commission to aid them in discharging the responsibility, and it is their intention to discharge it. Now, I understand the object of the hon. Member for Carlow to be to appeal to me to give an assurance that this question was intended to be seriously taken in hand, and that at an early period. He spoke of a date. Of course, he did not mean a particular day or month; but I have an answer to that appeal. I have to say that it was not necessary for these unhappy occurrences in Skye to have taken place to have satisfied the Government of the necessity of at once dealing with it; and if the House will accept from me—for I hope I have spoken in no unfriendly spirit of the subjects of this discussion—in no unfair spirit either towards the crofters or the proprietors—if the House will accept from me the assurance that I have given of the responsibility which the Government feel and which they are prepared to discharge—I hope that under these circumstances the hon. Member will not feel it necessary to press his Motion, which, I believe, only states a proposition that everybody accepts.

MR. D. CAMERON said, that as he had had previous opportunities of expressing his views on this matter he would not detain the House at any length. The wording of the Resolution involved, as the Home Secretary had observed, a principle which every Member of the House must accept. If, however, he had not listened to the speech of the hon. Member for Carlow, he should be compelled to say that some tone of censure might be discovered in the Resolution. The idea seemed to be that the Government had failed in their duty in not taking active measures for legislating on this subject at an earlier period. In spite of the emphatic declaration of the hon. Member that this was not so, he could not help feeling that there was, on the part of the hon. Member and his Friends, a belief that the Government, if they had been so inclined, might have taken earlier steps to legislate on the subject. It was not for him to act as a defender of the Government; but he must remind the hon. Member of the exact state of affairs. Last Session was taken up with one important measure, which swamped all others; and it was impossible to suppose, even had the Home Secretary made up his mind as to the proper form legislation on this matter was to take, that time could have been afforded for the purpose. As to the present Autumn Session, the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) had himself admitted that it was impossible to pass an Act of Parliament at this period. Then, in regard to the ordinary Sitting of the House in February next, the House could hardly require anything beyond the declaration of the Home Secretary that the Government distinctly intended to bring forward some measure. He would like to ask hon. Members, who talked so glibly of bringing in Land Bills, if they had ever considered the gravity of the question; if they had ever seriously contemplated what a Land Bill meant; if they had ever put pen to paper and endeavoured themselves to draw up a Bill such as would meet even their own ideas? To take thousands of crofters, steeped in poverty, holding wretched holdings, mere patches of land, and to transform them into a body of tenants—small tenants, certainly; but still tenants—with some hope of improving their condition, and of becoming eventually prosperous and contented farmers, was a work which appeared to him of no small magnitude. He would point out two difficulties which met them on the very threshold of the question. One of them was not noticed in the general Report of Lord Napier's Commission, although he himself, in a Memorandum printed with the Report, had dwelt upon it; and that was the difficulty of settling the area over which any Bill relating to this matter should extend. Was the area to extend over the whole of Scotland, or was it to be confined to the Highland districts properly so called? If it was to extend over the whole of Scotland, it must necessarily omit certain provisions in parts of the Highlands where remedies were most required, because these provisions would, if applied to other parts in the South, create such confusion between the relations of landlord and tenant, and such dislocation of existing practices, as would render the new state of things insupportable. Such a measure, so far as he knew, had never been asked for, and was not required in the South. On the other hand, if they limited the area to the Highlands, they were certain to create a great amount of discontent in many portions of the rest of Scotland where small tenancies existed, and where they might also expect some relief. There was another difficulty, perhaps a still more important one. How were they to deal with the poorest and most wretched class of all, the landless—he might almost say the homeless—class of squatters and cottars, whose condition was one of misery to themselves, and the cause of an additional amount of poverty among the crofters where they found themselves placed? He could not say that these difficulties were insurmountable; but they were very grave, and what he feared was that those who were demanding immediate legislation had not faced them. As to the disturbances which had lately occurred, he trusted, from the last Report that had been received, that they would come to an end without any serious conflict. If he were asked, however, whether the proceedings adopted by the hon. Member for Carlow, and those who acted with him, had in any way added to the disorder that prevailed in Skye, candour would compel him to admit that it had. It was true it was reported in the newspapers that the hon. Member for Carlow had sent a telegram to those who had deforced the police, begging them on no account to break the law. But when he noticed the Questions which were showered upon the unfortunate Home Secretary and the Lord Advocate the other day, he could not help asking himself what effect those Questions would produce on the people in Skye who had disobeyed the law. The hon. Member for Carlow pressed the Home Secretary again and again on the subject of what he called civil breaches of the law. Everyone knew that the Highlanders, and expecially the men in Skye, were amongst the most law-abiding races in the world. It was not a question of the breach of the Civil Law, but special agrarian outrages, which the police were sent to quell, in doing which they were deforced by the people. That was fully explained by the right hon. and learned Gentleman in answer to the Resolution. He was bound, therefore, to express his deliberate conviction that if peace were happily preserved it was not in consequence of, but in spite of, advice tendered by the hon. Member for Carlow. But it was possible the hon. Gentleman might turn round and say—"Well, you are a landlord; you support the Government where there is any question of coercion; but when the Government bring in a measure of reform to bring about a better state of things—in short, a Land Bill for the Highlands—you will then probably oppose them with all your might." That was not so. If at that time he had the honour of a seat in that House, he should accept the invitation just made by the right hon. and learned Gentleman in the spirit in which it was made, and do all in his power to assist the Government in passing such a measure, even although its provisions might go further than what he himself might consider expedient. He should only ask for two conditions—first, that such a measure would really benefit the crofters; that it would provide some kind of security of tenure to the most deserving and industrious; and that it would provide a mode of adding to their holdings, which was the one point on which everyone in the Islands agreed was an absolute necessity. The other condition which he hoped to see fulfilled, although he would not insist so strictly upon it, was that the Government should not confine their efforts alone to a Land Bill, but take into consideration the unanimously expressed desire on the part of the Royal Commission that other remedies should be forthcoming. He was far from saying that everything recommended in the Report should be carried out. That was impossible; but he did think a beginning might be made in one branch of industry—that of the fishing, to improve the piers and harbours of the unfortunate people of the West Coast, and thus enable them to prosecute the fishing industry with greater success than they had hitherto been able to do. While he had expressed his grave doubts as to the effect of much that had been done by the hon. Member for Carlow and others, he in no way impugned their motives. He believed their object was an honest desire to do good to the people; but he entreated them to lay aside suspicion of the landlords, and co-operate with those who might not hold the same extreme views, but who had the welfare of their common countrymen at heart, so that by the union of all parties, in the interest of the Government, who would have to introduce a Bill, of the landlord, who would have to make some sacrifices of the tenants, who, he trusted, would reap some benefit, and the sympathizers of the crofters in all parts of the world, some solution might be arrived at which would restore contentment to the crofters and add to the welfare and happiness of the whole population.

Mr. PICTON: Mr. Speaker, in addition to the diffidence usually felt by a new Member in asking the indulgence of the House for the first time, I am haunted by a fear lest it should seem presumptuous in a Member for a Midland constituency to say anything whatever about a question affecting the population in the extreme North. But if any excuse is needed, my apology must be that the people of the constituency I represent (Leicester) are profoundly interested in the fortunes of the crofters. And, indeed, if I may venture to refer to my own experience, I may say that having been brougnt into close contact with millions of the labouring classes in the East of London, in Manchester, and in Liverpool. I have reason to know that this question, affecting, in the first place, the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, is very extensively regarded as only a special instance of a much larger issue. The hon. Member for Inverness (Mr. D. Cameron), to whose wise and weighty words we have all listened with respect, sees many difficulties in the way of any solution. But, after all, the hon. Member has not mentioned any difficulty that is insuperable, or even any difficulties greater than those already overcome in the Sister Island. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary spoke with deep sympathy of the sufferings of these unfortunate crofters; but what we wanted to hear from him was his idea of the practical remedy to be applied; and, while I recognize the limitations necessarily imposed by the responsibility under which he spoke, I confess I was disappointed that the right hon. and learned Gentleman did not give us more substantial ground for hoping that something effectual would be done to relieve the sufferings of these poor people. The right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed inclined to leave the whole remedy to the charity of the landlords. [Sir WILLIAM HARCOURT: No, no.] But he also told us that there were circumstances in the South which softened the harshness of the outlines of proprietary rights, and that these circumstances did not exist to the same degree in the North. Well, if the landlords in Scotland are more unsympathizing than the landlords in England, I cannot help saying that I pity the poor tenants who are committed to their tender mercies. The right hon. and learned Gentleman gave the House some interesting information about the change which took place centuries ago in the tenure under which copyholders held their land. He spoke of this change as happy and beneficent, and this precisely because, in consequence of the change effected, the copyholders received fixity of tenure. Surely, if fixity of tenure is good for copyholders, it may turn out also to be good for ordinary tenants. In fact, the interest I have in this question arises from the belief that the principles involved manifestly affect not a few Islanders, but the whole Kingdom, for the core of the difficulty presents only a special case of an evil that is more and more widely condemned—I mean the absorption of the land by the few to the detriment of the many. In the Report of the Royal Commission, I find it stated on page 14 that in four parishes there are 30 occupiers, forming less than 1 per cent of the population, who hold two-thirds of the whole area of the land. Now, if anyone regards that as a natural and fitting arrangement, I confess I cannot understand him. How did the land come to be thus concentrated in the hands of so few occupiers? The cause is that it has been monopolized by a very few owners, and that they have found this arrangement more profitable to them than a wider diffusion of occupancy. But how did these few owners come into possession of their power? This is not a mere theoretical or unpractical question. It is often said, and the right hon. and learned Gentleman has hinted as much this evening, that the fact of possession must be accepted as final. Nevertheless, in the case of the crofters it is not possible entirely to reject the moral aspect of the question. If we have endeavoured to unite law and equity in Judicial Courts, surely it would be a very poor thing to insist upon separating them in the High Court of Parliament. Now, in the course of the debate, reference has been made to the fact that old tenures subsisted to a later period in the Highlands of Scotland than elsewhere. The clan system, we are told, existed down to 1745, and the rights of Chieftains, under this system, were very different from those of landlords in the present day. I am aware that Charters were granted to loyal Chieftains, and that legal arrangements were made by which old rights were changed into those of modern landlords. I am aware also that, as we are often told, estates have since that time frequently changed hands by sale, and it is argued that the moral claims against the former Chieftains cannot be urged against the present territorial owners. But it is not denied that, whatever may be the case with the owners, the tenants and peasantry are of the same race, inheriting old traditions and family claims. Now, what I contend is, that the new owners ought to regard themselves as subject not only to the legal conditions of modern ownership, but to the moral claims and conditions prevalent in the society of the district where their estates exist. The Commissioners say on page 8 of their Report, that—

> "Claims on the part of tenants to security in their holdings cannot now be seriously entertained."

But to this proposition they make a curious exception. They say on page 9—

> "It is difficult to deny that a Macdonald, a Macleod, a Mackenzie, a Mackay, or a Cameron who gave a son to his landlord 80 years ago, to fill up the ranks of a Highland regiment, did morally acquire a tenure in his holding, more sacred than the stipulations of a written covenant. Few will hold that the descendant, in possession, of such a man should even now be regarded by the hereditary landlord in the same light as a labourer living in a Lowland village."

There seems to me to be something of the glamour of military romance about this passage. Surely, if the existing tenant has a claim to security of tenure, because his grandfather or great grandfather fought under a former possessor of the estate, ancient custom and the necessities of life constitute a more general and also a stronger claim. It appears to me that the tendency of the Report, in spirit if not in the letter, is to support such claims as these; and it is precisely their refusal now that is the occasion of threatened disorders. Sir, there is no arguing with misery; you must either relieve it or crush its complaints by violence. In the year 1880 a very similar state of things existed on a much larger scale in Ireland. At that time, the hon. Member for Mid Lincolnshire (Mr. Chaplin), while refusing all legislation, advocated the widest application of charity to the needs of the Irish tenants. But the Government, at that time, said, "No; we want justice, not charity;" and they brought in the Compensation for Disturbance Bill. Of course, that measure was not passed. In the present state of our Legislative Institutions, no large measure of justice ever is passed on the first time of asking. But, at any rate, the Bill showed the mind of the Government; and from the debate of that time I might quote many passages from authoritative speeches strikingly applicable to the case before us. The Home Secretary, indeed, has urged that there is no parallel between the two cases. But what he meant plainly was—that there is no parallel in details. It is impossible to deny that there is, at any rate, this general similarity—that in both cases we have a distressed tenantry who cannot live on their holdings; and in both cases the main reason is that the Land Laws work in an oppressive manner under conditions not suitable to the life of the present day. In 1880 the right hon. Member for Bradford (Mr. W. E. Forster) congratulated himself and the country that the Land Act of 1870 had gone so far as to establish the principle not only in Ulster, but out of Ulster, that the tenant had some right in his holding. And he added that—

> "Without such a clause Ireland would by that time have required to be governed by Martial Law."

Well, the crofters are suffering quite as acutely as the Irish tenants ever did; and, undoubtedly, unless some remedy is forthcoming—a legislative, not a charitable remedy—there are dark days in store both for those people and the Government of the country. If the question of property be raised, I may, perhaps, be allowed to remind the House of certain wise words spoken by the Prime Minister, when discussing the rights of landlords in Ireland on July 5, 1880. He said—

> "The principles of property are vital to the welfare of the State. They are at the very base of the social system; but, notwithstanding these great and fundamental truths, it is not less true that there are occasions when, not merely necessity calls upon you to modify the extreme application of those principles, but when the introduction of modifications are the best and the only means by which you can effectually preserve the principle of property itself."—(3 *Hansard*, [253] 1657.)

These words seem remarkably applicable now. I do not deny the legal rights of the landlords; but I maintain that some legislative changes are necessary—if these rights are to remain worth having—to make them consistent with the happiness of the people who live upon the land. The circumstances are so pressing that I could wish the Ministry were willing—or rather, perhaps, that the working of the Parliamentary machine had enabled them—to bring in some suspensory measure analogous to the Compensation for Disturbance Bill, in order that a stop might be put to the cruel evictions continually referred to in the Report of the Royal Commission. But if that is impossible, surely the Government need not object to the passing of this Resolution. It is an exceedingly moderate one, and yet it would be effective as a record of the opinion of the House. It would give great satisfaction to the poor people concerned, and would, I believe, go farther than hordes of police and fleets of gunboats to keep them in quietness and hope. Sir, the time is coming when this House reformed, and resting upon a much broader electoral basis, will hear much more of the question of land tenure. It is a question on which passionate convictions are held by the multitude—convictions which will find vent in demands for very drastic reforms. And, I believe, that not merely the fortunes of the crofters will be affected by the attitude assumed by the House on the question before us, but that it must influence for good or evil the mood and temper of all the millions who are soon to receive so great an accession of political power.

MR. A. J. BALFOUR said, he must congratulate the hon. Member who had just sat down on the ability which characterized his first speech in that House. It was interesting not only from its ability, but also because it claimed to represent the views of large portions of the population, and to be the harbinger of violent changes in the Land Laws of England and Scotland. But he regretted that the hon. Member cherished feelings against the landlords of this country which were certainly not founded on a profound knowledge of the subject; and he feared that if land legislation in the future was to be founded on the ideas expressed by the hon Member, it would not proceed on very sober or rational lines. The hon. Member lamented the absorption by a few individuals of large tracts of land. He, too, regretted it likewise, that there was not a larger number of freeholders in the country, not because he thought that peasant proprietors would necessarily, or even probably, be a prosperous class, but because, undoubtedly, there was a political danger in the concentration of land in a few hands. The hon. Member seemed to suppose that the landlords of the country were occupied in remorselessly adding house to house and field to field. The real fact was, as everyone knew, precisely the reverse. The landlords of England and Scotland desired nothing more than to find purchasers for the land which they already possessed. He desired to point out the extraordinary attitude which the Home Secretary had taken up on the question with which the House was more particularly dealing, when they reflected what the Government were doing at this moment in Ireland. The Home Secretary denounced the practice of collecting rents by armed force; but what were the Government doing in Ireland? The right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary denounced emigration; but, again, he asked what were the Government doing in Ireland at this moment? Why, they were acting in Ireland precisely as the right hon. Gentleman said he never would consent to act in Scotland. The right hon. Gentleman seemed to think that it was merely political economy run mad which objected to emigration. But if he had read the Report of the Royal Commission with the attention which he ought to have bestowed upon it, he would see that this was not a question of political economy, but a question of arithmetic, and a very simple question too. They had a certain population to deal with, and they knew the amount of ground required by a family to enable it to live in comfort on its holding. Divide the acreage by the number of families, and let them see, in the case of many of the Islands, whether the quotient was equal to what was required. He did not see how the right hon. Gentleman could refuse to assent to the proposition that there were large tracts in the Highlands which could only be adequately dealt with if, in addition to whatever else they did, they, at all events, promoted emigration. Nor was it fair or just to represent the distress existing in the Highlands at this moment as the result of large sheep farms, because the distress existed in places where there were no large sheep farms. It existed in places where almost all the good arable soil, and most of the hill pasture, was in possession of the crofters. The hon. Member for Carlow had said that in the Island of Tyree a great part of the land was divided into large holdings. That, like many of the statements that were made in connection with this question, he was sorry to say by people of responsibility, was untrue. The large farmers in the Island of Tyree had 5,700 acres of the hill pasturage, and of the soil that could be tilled they had about 300 acres. The small tenants of the Island had of the hill pasturage 10,300 acres, or nearly double what the large farmers had, and of the land which was capable of being tilled they cultivated 3,700 acres, or more than 10 times the amount held by the large farmers. He listened with regret to some of the attacks made by the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) on some of the landlords in the Highlands. No doubt, there were individuals here and there in this class, as in every class of society, who did not do their duty; but he thought it might fairly be claimed for the Highland landlords that they had, on the whole, as far as lay in their power, managed their properties less on strictly commercial principles, less with a view directly to their own profit, but more with a view to the happiness and the material well-being of those with whom they were connected than any other class of the community, be that class what it might. The recent Commission had examined, or rather had swallowed wholesale, the case of the crofters; but the case of the landlords had never been examined, and until it was examined no judgment could be passed against them without cruel injustice. The question was, however, What was to be done? He did not profess to have a remedy; but he thought it important to point out what the real difficulties of the problem were. What, then, was the Crofter Question? What was a crofter? A crofter was practically a labourer with a very large allotment, who lived in the very worst climate for agricultural as opposed to pastoral purposes in the world. He had hitherto been obliged to eke out his farming by labour, or his labour by farming—whichever way they liked to put it—and in those parts of the country where overcrowding existed, and where there was insufficient employment, it was absolutely necessary that the man should go afield and seek work elsewhere, either by fishing or otherwise. How was this state of things to be cured? They could not cure the existing evil by merely increasing his holding, even in those cases where that could be done without evicting some of his neighbours. That would do no good unless they increased his capital. Spade labour required, indeed, but little capital; but then spade labour could never be productive or profitable in the Highlands. A very competent witness from Skye, in giving evidence before the Commission, said it paid to import oatmeal. The House could not have a more suggestive statement than that, because oats were the one form of cereal crop which it was supposed could withstand the Highland climate. Spade labour, then, being out of the question, how were they to increase their holdings for pastoral purposes without at the same time increasing their captial? In those districts of the country where distress existed at this moment, the poor people complained that they were in debt to the shopkeeper and the moneylender; and by what machinery and from what source, he asked, did they propose to provide the indebted population with the additional capital necessary to increase their holdings and to stock their land? When he mentioned that there were upwards of 140 inches of rainfall in Skye in a year, the House would see that spade labour, by which the peasant proprietor earned his living, was absolutely out of the question. It must be by pastoral industry, therefore, and pastoral industry, he repeated, rerequired capital, which the people had not. If the British taxpayer chose to provide £300 capital for each family, he should, of course, as a Highlander, be glad to see it done; but would any responsible Government in this country dare to maintain that the position of the crofters on the West Coast was so peculiar that they, among all the distressed populations of the United Kingdom, were to be provided for out of the pockets of the taxpayer? If that was not done, what was to be done? He was afraid that the Government, listening to monitors like the hon. Member for Leicester, might say—"There is great discontent, there are outrages, disturbances, real distress and poverty, and we must do something. What can we do? We cannot subscribe large sums of public money, because the taxpayers will not allow it; we will give these people fixity of tenure or an Irish Land Bill, something that, if it does no good, will, at all events, hurt no one but the landlord." Fixity of tenure would, he believed, be a very serious matter, not for the landlord, but for the tenant. He failed to see how people, who were not evicted, and were not rack-rented, would be benefited by a measure whose only object was to prevent eviction and rack-renting. What they suffered was from neither of those scourges, but from the scourge of poverty; and no mere manipulation of the Land Laws, however drastic, could, he feared, do the slightest good to these poor people. If any man was weak enough to suppose that by buying out or turning out the landlords, or destroying their interests in the estates, any advantage would accrue to those poor men, he made a most melancholy mistake. In one of the Islands at this moment where distress was both acute and chronic, the whole rent had for many years been devoted by the proprietor in aid of the people. He feared that no sudden and miraculous improvement could be produced in this state of things by any human means, least of all by Act of Parliament; they must look to the gradual operation of increased education, improved means of communication, the spread of the English language among the people, and the desire for greater comfort inducing them to emigrate to ameliorate their lot. These were the slow but sure means which would provide a remedy for the present condition of the Highlands. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had spoken of the former condition of those people as if they had once lived in plenty and prosperity in their Highland glens. He dissented altogether from that view. Those who really knew anything of the matter knew that the "plenty and prosperity" of the right hon. and learned Gentleman were fine words for chronic starvation. Nothing was more remarkable than the fact that as rents had increased so was the increase of prosperity in a large part of the Highlands. He admitted freely that there were parts of the Highlands where the state of the population was perfectly shocking, and where the dwellings, the poverty, and the misery of the people were such as to drive them almost to anything that pretended to be a remedy; but that did not by any mean srepresent the whole of the Highlands. There were large tracts in Ross-shire, Argyleshire, and Perthshire, where the prosperity was equal to anything to be found in any other part of the country. In these more prosperous parts of the Highlands, partly by emigration, partly by sheep-farming, partly by improved methods of agriculture, partly by the inflow of Southern wealth, the even layer of chronic misery which once overspread the whole of those glens had now disappeared. The Government, he understood, meant legislation; but what precise form their legislation was to take, he could not gather from the Home Secretary. But one request he would most earnestly press on them. Let them not legislate for show. Let their legislation not be merely contrived to satisfy the people of the big towns, who were not concerned in that matter, but such as should have regard to the welfare of the people who were concerned. Let it not be of that sensational kind which would gratify men like the hon. Member for Leicester, but rather such as would slowly, perhaps, but effectually and permanently, raise the condition of the poverty-stricken dwellers on the West Coast and in the Islands of Scotland.

MR. WHITBREAD said, that he had, like his right hon. Friend (Sir William Harcourt), a strong sympathy with these crofters. Anyone who had spent any portion of his time in the Western Highlands and Islands amidst a scenery unsurpassed, perhaps, in the whole world for beauty, must have had his soul stirred with the sight of dwellings that were for the most part utterly unfit for human habitation. Who did not know the look of the miserable cabin—house it could not be called? Who did not know the look of the listless figure leaning against the gable end? Why was the Highlander, who was energetic enough when met in Canada, so listless and unoccupied when they saw him on his croft? It was the surroundings of his home that had brought the man down. It was the confinement of his home that brought him down. He had not got occupation for his arms. He had got no hope of a better life. These things were not too strong to say of him; but when they came to speak of a remedy, difficulties met them on every side. It was not so easy a task as the hon. Member for Leicester (Mr. Picton) thought. He confessed that, although he was glad that the Government proposed to take up that matter, and to take it up at an early date, he could not hope for very much from legislation. They might give the crofter security of tenure; they would stereotype him in his poverty. They might give him more land, as the hon. Member who seconded the Motion suggested; but how was he to find capital to stock it? He knew of one instance in a district where he had long resided in which the proprietor, anxious to ameliorate the condition of the crofters there, offered to them, at a very low rent indeed—a rent which they themselves would admit to be exceedingly liberal—a large sheep farm which was very close to them, and which they had longed and asked for. The men were anxious to take the farm; but he was sorry to say they were, at any rate a month ago, unable to take any part of that farm through the want of necessary capital. How, then, were they to get over that difficulty of the want of capital? He did not think it was quite an insuperable difficulty. He agreed with the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) that they could not ask the taxpayers of the country, poor as many of them were, to find a large sum of money per family to ameliorate the lot of the crofters; but it was here, he thought, that there was a ray of light if they could only get the reasonable co-operation of the proprietors. He confessed he looked on the action of the proprietor with more hope than he did on any law they could pass, for this reason—that they could not, by a stroke of the pen or by passing any Act of Parliament, suddenly raise the whole mass of the crofters, and make them prosperous. What they could possibly do was so to legislate that they might raise those among them who were most capable of rising, and that the most thrifty crofters might have a better opportunity of getting larger holdings. That was the way in which, he thought, they must look to solve this difficulty. It was not by a sudden elevation of the whole body of crofters, but by a gradual process of lifting those who were capable of rising out of their present condition; and by lifting these they would give hope to those who were behind, and those who were behind would see that thrifty habits and industry might raise a man out of the condition of the average crofters, and put him in a better and more prosperous state. His right hon. and learned Friend the Home Secretary had fired a very heavy gun against any idea of emigration. He could not go with the right hon. Gentleman the full length of what the House understood him to say. No doubt, migration was better than emigration where it was possible, and he would never suggest emigration if he thought that the condition of a man could be bettered at home; but if there was no chance of that—if the difficulties in the way of it were insuperable or appeared to be insuperable—then, if the man himself was anxious and willing to go where his relations and his fellow-countrymen had already gone and prospered, for his own part he would encourage that man to go. That was the principle which had all through governed those who had taken an interest in Irish emigration. To take another point, there was the question of fishing. How were they going to legislate for that? They were told that more harbours and piers should be provided. That was a very good thing; but how came it that the East Coast fishermen came round to the West Coast, and took the fish from under the very noses of the starving crofters? Something might be done by a little forethought as to the storage of salt and such matters; but they could not make the lot of a crofter who had to depend upon arable ground anything but an intolerable one in the West of Scotland. The climate was against them, even if the land was theirs in abundance. The hon. Member for Hertford had said that more oats might be grown. But as a rule the crofter did not eat the oats he grew; in most cases they did not ripen, and they were grown chiefly for the cattle. The climate was wanting, and the crofter had to depend really upon three things—pasture, fishing, and what labour he could get elsewhere. It was all very well to say that the crofters had been squeezed out and sent down from the centre of the country to the shore. But there was no comparison between the lot of a crofter who lived away from the coast on fair land and that of one who lived on worse land, but with fishing close to his door. He did not advise that the crofter should be left to the charity of the landlord. He should be very anxious to see the Government take any steps which they could to help the crofters; and if they had the security of the landlord, he should be prepared to go as far as to vote for any measure which would enable the landlord to acquire money, at a moderate rate of interest, for the sake of improving the condition of the crofter. He could not go further than that. He was very unwilling to burden the public with loans of that kind; but he believed that unless something of that kind were done it would be found almost impracticable to get the crofters into larger holdings. The landlord might be willing to offer the land, but the crofter would be utterly unable to take advantage of it, even if he was in a condition of having security of tenure. He could not see any great danger to the State or the Exchequer if they had the security of the landlord. Whether the landlord would be, in many cases, willing to burden himself with such a debt he was unable to say. He most cordially endorsed the appeal made by the Home Secretary. In the first place, in endeavouring thus to ameliorate the condition of the crofter, it was necessary to pick out those who would be able to make their living there. That was a thing which Government could not do; only persons intimately acquainted with the locality, with the varying circumstances of the locality, and with the men themselves, could carry this out. A landlord who was acquainted with these details would know who could be trusted with an advance of capital. With reference to the landowners themselves, he was astounded that, being so few in number as they were, and willing as many of them were to make efforts in the right direction, they had not met together for the purpose of taking some joint action in the matter.

MR. CAMERON: Is the hon. Member sure that they have not done so?

MR. WHITBREAD remarked, that he had, at all events, seen no public mention of their having done so. In the meantime this agitation was growing. What were they waiting for? Were they thinking of sheep-farming, or did they think that they were going to put the whole of the land under forest? He would not go into the question of how far public opinion would tolerate such action; but he thought that there were solid reasons against it. In the first place, deer did not multiply quickly, and the making of a forest was a slow process; and, secondly, there was only a limited number of men who were wealthy enough to afford to give extravagant prices for forests. If the landlords allowed this agitation to go on without taking any collective action to meet the condition of affairs, he feared that the line which separated what was reasonable from what was wild and unreasonable would soon be blotted out; and he thought that they would have themselves, and themselves alone, to blame if, at some future time, legislation of a very drastic, and not of a very useful, character was passed in that House—legislation which was now utterly unnecessary, if now the proprietors themselves would meet and, after carefnl consideration, take collective action in the way of ameliorating the condition of the crofters.

MR. MUNRO-FERGUSON said, that so soon after his admission to the House he would not have trespassed on its indulgence had it not been for the vital importance which was attached to the Land Question in the Highlands. His second plea for extenuating circumstances was that he wished to make public a telegram which he had received in regard to the disturbances in the Hebrides, which had, from the reports in the newspapers, been considerably exaggerated. He received a telegram some three days ago, which he handed to the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate, on the subject of these disturbances in the Island of Lewis, and since then he had received another which he had been requested to read to the House. It was—

> "A large and enthusiastic public meeting of inhabitants of Lewis indignantly repels the untruthful and misleading reports of lawlessness in the Island in *The Scotsman* of last Monday. Contradict these reports in House; they are used for the purpose of damaging the crofters with the Government."

He might say, on behalf of the people of his constituency, that they recognized the difficulties of the Government in dealing with this question in consequence of the position of the Franchise Bill. But while he recognized those difficulties fully, yet he could not help saying that any further delay on the part of the Government in dealing with this question would be fraught with the greatest danger. The Government, in short, must do something at the earliest possible moment. Besides the ordinary reasons for attending to the Report of the Royal Commission, which recommended very sweeping changes in the existing law, there were special reasons to be considered. In the first place, the Highlanders were an imaginative and impulsive people. He had found, in the course of land management in the Highlands, as compared with the Lowlands, that if a contract was to be arranged between a proprietor and a tenant, the decision should be given at once, and the work carried through at as early a date as possible, because if that were not done the one contracting party brooded over the cause of delay, and attributed all sorts of reasons as to the other contracting party; and so it would be with the action of the Government. They would have the people brooding over their wrongs, which would not decrease under that process until the matter was taken in hand and, so far as possible, remedied. Another reason he had for pressing the Government not to delay taking the matter in hand was the outside influence which was brought to bear upon the crofters, and which was not always of the best description. He ventured to say that a speech from the Home Secretary, or a few words from the Prime Minister, would be a better and healthier remedy for the Highland fever than the reckless statements of professional agitators. It was to be regretted that, although the crofters had the sympathy of everyone who had inquired into their case, it had not been accompanied by a just proportion of practical and sound knowledge of the case. Here they had a very grave social problem to tackle—one of the most dangerous that he thought lay before them. The question was a very grave one, and it was quite as serious in all its parts as the Land Question in Ireland. The Land Question was too big a one for a private Member to tackle; and that was why he wished to see the Cabinet turn its attention and resources in that direction. In respect to these disturbances in Skye, while he fully recognized that it was the first duty of the Home Secretary to restore order in that Island—and that action, he believed, had met with the general approval of the House—yet he could not help thinking himself that a Royal Proclamation would have been better before resorting to sending an armed force. This agitation could never have been aroused amongst a deeply religious and loyal people without a strong reason; and that agitation would not subside until the cause had been considered by the House, and it had applied a remedy. There was one other point alluded to by the hon. Member (Mr. Picton), who suggested that a Suspensory Act should be brought in. If there was to be any delay in dealing with this matter, he thought it would be well worth the attention of the Cabinet whether a Suspensory Act should not be brought in, because if it had no other effect it would tend to pacify the people. He thanked the House for the kindness with which it had received his few remarks. He was well aware of his own deficiencies, both in youth and inexperience; but he had studied this question with the utmost earnestness. What he wished, above all other things, to impress upon hon. Members was that this was a question of the first importance, and not one of secondary rank.

Mr. WARTON maintained that contracts with regard to land ought to be fulfilled, and he protested against another Land Act being passed for England and Scotland. Principles were being advocated that, if carried into effect, would deprive the landlords of all their rights, and he was sorry that the Home Secretary should go as far as he had done in support of those principles. It seemed to him that the right hon. and learned Gentleman had almost forgotten the lessons taught by the Irish Land Act of 1881—a measure which he (Mr. Warton) foresaw was doomed to failure. There was plenty of room in the world for all its inhabitants to exist in prosperity, and it was absurd to attempt to overpopulate any particular parts of it. The real remedy for the state of things which was now complained of was emigration; but they could not apply any enduring remedy by taking away the property of the landlord and giving it to the tenant.

Mr. DICK-PEDDIE said, nobody could have listened to the debate without feeling that the crofters had much reason to be satisfied up to a certain point. Much sympathy with them had been expressed, as well as a general desire to provide a remedy, as far as possible, for the existing state of things. The Home Secretary had said much that was very satisfactory to himself (Mr. Dick-Peddie) and to his hon. Friends who took an interest in this question; but there was also a great deal lacking in the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman of what they most desired to hear. While he showed a just appreciation of the character of the crofters, he left them very little satisfaction in anything he promised on their behalf. After recognizing in strong and forcible language many of the evils under which the crofters suffered, he proceeded to tell the House in what direction he looked for remedy; and, so far as he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) could find out, the only thing he indicated that would be of any benefit was the duty of the proprietors to do something for the crofters. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had appealed to the benevolence of the landlords, and to their sense of what was right, but still more to their fears; and he (Mr. Dick-Peddie) should regard the latter appeal as more likely to be successful than any other, for while he well knew that Highland landowners generally were kind and considerate, those of them whose conduct had given rise to the present agitation were not likely to be much moved by appeals to their humanity. Further, the right hon. and learned Gentleman had promised that the subject would very soon receive the attention of the Government. Last Session a similar promise was given, in almost stronger terms than to-night; but nothing had come of it. Still, a slight advance had taken place in the attitude of the Government since 1882, for on that occasion, when the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) brought forward his Motion for the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry, the Lord Advocate appeared entirely to ignore the fact of there being any claims on the part of the crofters at all. The Lord Advocate then said—

> "It appears to the Government that there has neither been in the statements made in the House to-day, nor from the information of which they are otherwise in possession, any sufficient ground for taking such a serious and unusual step as to appoint a Royal Commission such as that which is now asked for."—(3 *Hansard*, [273] 779.)

Last year, when the Government were asked to give effect to the Report of the Commission, they met the demand by a mere evasion on the ground of the difficulties of legislation. He thought it was impossible that the crofters would settle down to bear the evils of their lot unless they got not merely a vague promise, but a serious indication that the Government intended to deal in some definite direction with the evils from which they suffered. He could not help contrasting the attitude of the Government with the attitude of the hon. Member for Inverness (Mr. D. Cameron), a most respected Highland proprietor, who had spoken of the crofters in terms of warm sympathy, and who last year indicated in no vague terms certain directions in which he thought immediate legislation should take place. That hon. Member had suggested the provision of piers and harbours, the cutting down of the high education rate in the Highlands, and a system of loans which would enable the holders to stock the land now occupied as deer forests, and, lastly, to make it compulsory on the landlords to give 30 years' leases, with full compensation at the end for improvements. These were very valuable suggestions, especially as coming from a Tory landlord, and a Gentleman who knew the Highlands as well as any man could know them. He, therefore, thought the Government might be encouraged to set about devising some definite measures. The Home Secretary had read to the House an extract from a speech by the Rev. Mr. Davidson. He did not know where the right hon. and learned Gentleman had got the report; but he held in his hand an extract from *The Daily Mail*, Glasgow, in which he found the language attributed to the rev. gentleman to be much more emphatic in favour of the crofters than that which the right hon. and learned Gentleman had quoted. Mr. Davidson said—

> "When he began to see the sufferings of the people, he became convinced, as any impartial person must be convinced, that the system"—

that is, the crofter system—

> "must be viewed with reprobation. The system of tyranny and oppression was so studied and refined that it had been reduced to an art."

He wished to ask the House whether men in the position described by the rev.

gentleman could be expected to remain silent? He felt there was too much truth in that rev. gentleman's statement, and that there existed an evil which called for immediate remedy. The hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) spoke of some parts of the Highlands where the population were more prosperous than the peasantry of any part of the United Kingdom; but these were the parts where there only remained the shepherd, the gamekeeper, and the ghillie. These crofters were told two years ago that they had no grievance. In the following year these grievances were acknowledged by a Royal Commission. Last Session they had a discussion on the Report of that Commission, in which the Home Secretary promised legislation; but nothing had been done, and now they felt that they were being trifled with. They knew that the Irish peasants had gained great advantages—not because they were more entitled to them than the crofters, but because they were stronger and more numerous. The crofters were a small body, peaceable, and well ordered; and he believed the statements in many newspaper reports of their proceedings had been exaggerated. They had been bearing with a patience, which no other persons in this Kingdom could equal, hardships which the more they were considered the more grievous they were found to be. He trusted that the result of this debate would be to induce the Government more boldly to face this problem, and, notwithstanding its difficulties, to feel that there was nothing in the way of legislation, after the Reform Bill had passed, which more demanded their attention than this question of the crofters of Skye and Lewis.

SIR HERBERT MAXWELL wished to explain an interjectional remark which escaped him during the interesting and eloquent speech of the Home Secretary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman was speaking of the condition of the crofters at the present time as compared with the condition of their predecessors, and gave the House to understand that the condition of the crofters now was not so good as it was in former times. His own experience thoroughly bore out the correctness of the picture which the right hon. and learned Gentleman drew; but other causes had been at work to the deterioration of the comfort of these small holdings, and among those causes, especially in maritime districts and in the Isles, he thought there could be no question that the great change which had come over the industry of the manufacture of kelp had not been one of the least. When he interjected the word "kelp," he by no means meant to indicate that he considered "kelp" a panacea, and that if the industry were restored they could thereby remedy the evils that existed; but there was no doubt the manufacture of kelp was in times past a profitable source of income to a class of people who could ill afford to dispense with it. The speakers in the debate had generally spoken in support of the Motion of the hon. Member for Carlow; but there were one or two considerations which presented themselves in connection with it that had not yet been set before the House. He came from a district of Scotland in which, not very long ago, the crofters' system was in full swing. It had passed away, and with it had passed undoubtedly a great part of the rural population. They had in their hills in the Lowlands traces of the townships which the Royal Commission recommended should be re-established and confirmed in the Highlands. The small villages on the hill sides were now objects of interest to the anthropologist and archæologist; but they had completely passed away from rural society. Would the South of Scotland, he asked, be any better if, at a former period, the old state of things had been stereotyped and confirmed? Should they be better now if the crofters who 100 years ago occupied the bleak hills of Galloway and Dumfriesshire were still settled upon the miserable holdings; or were they not infinitely better off, and were not the people who had gone to other parts of the world better off, than if they had remained upon those bleak hill-sides? Nobody who knew that part of the country could doubt what the answer would be. Landowners lived in palaces; farmers lived in what used to be landowners' houses; and the labourers, in their turn, lived now in houses which were infinitely better than the houses of 100 years ago. Was there, or was there not, in such a state of things any reason for congratulation or satisfaction? He said most decidedly there was. If legislation had been undertaken such as was proposed by the hon. Member (Mr. Picton) and others of his school in that part of the country 100 years ago, they should have been infinitely further back on the road of progress than they now were. It had been admitted on all hands that the question was full of difficulties, but that the difficulties were not insuperable. They were met at the outset of the Report of the Commission by the warning that they were not to take everything "at the foot of the letter," but that in judging of the validity of much of the evidence they should do well to bear in mind that depositions were made from hearsay, memory, or popular tradition, even where they were not tinged by resentments or passions of the hour; and in addition to the causes of infirmity which would apply to miscellaneous testimony not given on oath, they had the fact that the progress of the Commission was anticipated by agents enlisted in the popular canse. He remembered that in the last Autumn Session, two years ago, the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) asked him, as a Scottish Member, to sign a requisition for a Royal Commission to inquire into the grievances of the crofters. He declined, saying he did not approve of "round robins," whereupon the hon. Member for Carlow said he was wrong, and further observed—"Mark this; we will take care that this subject shall not rest, and you will hear plenty of it before another year." Who was the "we?" He presumed the "we" referred to the hon. Gentlemen from Ireland with whom the hon. Member for Carlow usually acted. ["No, no!"] At any rate, he considered that the "we" certainly included the remaining Irish Members; and he was struck by the fact that in last August a most singular phenomenon manifested itself in the Western Islands. A steam yacht arrived laden with senators, and senators not of the same caste—the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane), the hon. Member for Waterford (Mr. R. Power), and his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). He regretted very much that his hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham was not in the House, and he hoped that the hon. and learned Gentleman would take an early opportunity of disclaiming, at all events, a portion of the sentiments and utterances that were attributed to him. It certainly was with dismay the Members of the Conservative Party read one morning in their newspapers the utterances that were attributed to his hon. and learned Friend, whose abilities and resource had made him conspicuous in the House, and who was also conspicuous in another way, because on the very last occasion of his appearance in Scotland he was the accredited official of the Central Constitutional Association in London, for the purpose of Party organization in Scotland. In a hurried interview before the debate began, his hon. and learned Friend had thanked him prospectively for giving the opportunity of refuting these speeches. According to the report in *The Scotsman*, the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst), who was introduced by Professor Blackie as a Tory with common sense, advised the electors not to be tied to any one Party if they wanted Reform, but to form a party of their own. He deprecated the idea of a landlord being a suitable Member for them, and was proceeding to criticize Mr. Ferguson's speeches when he was interrupted by the meeting. What his hon. aud learned Friend said was this—that owing to the presence of the hon. Member for Waterford and himself on the same platform their utterances were by the reporter confused. He must say it seemed strange that his hon. and learned Friend had taken no opportunity since then of rerepudiating statements so utterly at variance with those usually professed by the Party with whom he had been in the habit of acting, and to whom he certainly owed some degree of consideration. He could not believe that his hon. and learned Friend would be willing to tarnish his reputation for political sincerity merely because he happened to find himself *dans la meme galere* with the hon. Member for Carlow. There was one thing he should like to say with reference to the present state of the crofting population in the West Highlands—Was it so very much worse in the present than it was in the past? Of course, they had a mass of evidence taken before this Royal Commission, which contained a narrative of suffering, of indigence, and of poverty. But it was not an altogether unmitigated picture.

It was because he wished really that this question should be satisfactorily dealt with that he urged upon hon. Members not to expect any Utopian solution of this problem. Let them not aim at too much if they had truly at heart the interest of the crofters, whom they all loved and honoured for their character, for their demeanour to strangers, and for the part they had borne in the history of their country. Let them be content if they could devise for the crofters some reasonably comfortable and healthy mode of existence. They could not expect more. They could not expect ever to be in affluence, because the very elements were at war against them; and he for one—if the discussion to-night were not altogether barren, if it led the present Government, or any succeeding Government, to undertake this matter and deal with it satisfactorily—if it led to the amelioration of the hard circumstances which were endured by these brave people—then he should say this night had not altogether been spent in vain.

MR. JESSE COLLINGS said, it was remarkable that the elements were only against the poorer classes of the rural districts and never against the landlords. The elements were always advanced when any explanation was needed of the condition of the farmer or the labourer. He did not regard this as an exclusively Scotch question. It was merely one phase of the great question which was becoming the most burning question throughout the country. It now came forward in a manner which touched the sentiment and conscience of the nation, because it was allied to intense suffering. The debate would carry very little comfort to the crofters. But it would add a great deal to the force of the agitation in Scotland and England. Those connected with the territorial interest had admitted the evils and dangers which existed, but they had no remedy. It would be the large towns that would settle this question. The eyes of the toiling millions who were suffering socially and in every way from the Land Laws would take this question in hand, and the landlords, when the time came, would have cause to regret that they had not agreed to something reasonable in time. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had, it appeared from his speech that night, no remedy to propose for the present state of things in the Highlands, and hon. Gentleman on both sides of the House had declared how difficult it was to find a remedy; but they were even then engaged in the discussion of a Report which contained a remedy. Was the Commisssion which drew up that Report intended to be merely an insult to the poor people whom it affected, or was it intended to have some practical result? That Commission had now presented a Report which was eminently practical in its character, and it was now to all intents and purposes ignored by the Government. He thought the Government were shirking a responsibilty which would become greater and greater as it went on. They were teaching the multitude that they would get no reform unless they made themselves disagreeable. The Home Secretary had admitted the evils, but he had no statesmanlike remedy; he had sent a force and not a remedy, and had by so doing assumed a responsibility which he would find, on reflection, a very solemn matter. Could not an Act of Parliament afford a remedy? Had not Acts of Parliament secured a remedy in many cases similar to this? The Home Secretary had expressed a hope that the proprietors would do something. The right hon. and learned Gentleman also read a speech by Major Fraser, from which he could draw little hope that the remedy he was suggesting would be realized; but when did landlords in the history of this country or any other country do anything to ameliorate the condition of the poor connected with the land except in the face of a revolution or in fear of it? These troops were despatched at the instance of a self-elected body—of a non-resident Sheriff, and of a Procurator Fiscal, who was the agent of the landlords. They found in Skye the same old story they found in Ireland—namely, the manufacture of outrages by the class who called on the Central Government for troops. The Commissioners in their Report pointed out that the crofters had in many cases been confined within narrow limits on inferior and exhausted soil, and that they had been sujected to arbitrary augmentations of rent. They also complained that the land had been used to too great a degree for sporting purposes, and that the crofters had been compelled to pay for the peat, heather, and grass which they required for thatching their dwellings. Another of the crofters' grievances was that they were refused the right of pasture on the hills. In his opinion it was intolerable that while a certain section of the people who derived their incomes from the agricultural industry lived in palaces, the tillers of the soil, who were the real farmers, should lead a miserable existence, doing a maximum of labour, and securing in return only a minimum of comfort. He held that the work of the labourer was as worthy of consideration as the capital of the employer; but he despaired of inducing the territorial classes to accept that view. The question must be fought out between the agricultural labourers, the urban workmen, and the moneyed classes.

DR. CAMERON said, the speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary had disappointed him. It was a distinct retrogression from the speech he made last Session. He then told the House that the Report of the Royal Commissioners was under the consideration of the Government, and that they had no time to deal with the chief matters in it, but that there were departmental and administrative changes that might at once take effect—going more or less in a jocose spirit into what might be done at once. Well, nothing was done. The Departments had been pressed to do something, and they did nothing. This Session the right hon. and learned Gentleman had not repeated what he said last Session. He had, however, again told them that the Report was under the consideration of Her Majesty's Government. He had made a very conciliatory speech on the subject of land tenure in general, had made a long quotation from *Coke*, and had told the House that the only thing definite that he could say was—that if the landlords would consent to give up a hill here and there, all things would go well. Was there ever a better illustration of the Eastern story of the fruit seller who went about crying out—"In the name of the Prophet—figs!" The mountain had been in labour and the result was this ridiculous mouse. The first portion of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's speech referred to the present state of things in Skye, and the second, so far as it went, to the Report of the Royal Commission. As to Skye, they were told that there was no law in Skye, and it was necessary to send police and military there. Talking about no law in Skye was an old story. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had quoted from the statement of the Rev. Mr. Davidson, of Stenscholl, who sent a paper to the Commission, in which it was said, on behalf of the crofters, that there was no law in Skye. As to the Government action in the present state of things, they had been told about some outrages. The Home Secretary had been pressed by an hon. Member opposite to say what these outrages were, and the reply was "all kinds of outrages." He (Dr. Cameron) had inquired minutely, and he could not hear of any outrage worth mentioning. There had been a threat to bring certain persons before a meeting; but the fact of the matter was that no action was taken on that threat, and even the threat was denied. He was told that some windows had been broken and some spades hidden; but these things had been taking place for a long period of time. The reports were to the effect that there had been half-a-dozen of these trifling affairs over a considerable period. They were denied by the crofters themselves, and those who were said to have been threatened had also denied that there was any truth in the statements. The most serious affair that was alleged to have taken place was the burning down of a peat stack, with the object of coercing the owner to join the Land League. The agitating crofters were credited with this. It appeared, however, that the owner of the stack was a member of the Land League long before the destruction of his property, and he openly declared his belief that the stack was burned accidentally. He (Dr. Cameron) did not question the right of the local authorities of Invernss-shire to send 10 policemen to Skye at the time they did; but he questioned the judiciousness of their sending down such a small force if the state of matters were so bad as they were reported to be. He did not think there was violence used in getting the policemen out of the place. If there was, it was of the slightest description. He did not, however, defend that. Now that a greater police force and military were being sent at the expense of the nation, what he had to say was that if on every occasion of this sort the Government sent police and military in strong force on application, they would have pressure brought to bear on them on many occasions. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary said that it was his determination not to allow this military force to cover the serving of eviction notices. The serving of eviction notices was constantly a cause for resistance. It was a most unpopular thing; and if the military were not to give support in connection with it where support was needed, it was extremely injudicious to make such a declaration, for by making it the Home Secretary might be more responsible for resistance to eviction notices than all outside agitators. He trusted the present dispute would be settled with more discrimination than previous disputes—such, for instance, as the Braes and Glendale cases. Unless Government behaved in a more sensible manner than in those two cases, and distinguished between criminal and civil administration, any action on their part was likely to do a precious deal more harm than good. As to the second part of the Home Secretary's speech, the logical consequence of the Home Secretary's quotation from *Coke* on the advantages of permanence of tenure would have been the enunciation of a proposition for the greater security of tenure for the crofters of Scotland. That was what had been demanded by every authority on the subject, what had been recommended by everyone who had reported on the subject for years. Seeing that he had these authorities to support him, and the extract which he had quoted to back him up, why did not the right hon. Gentleman give some promise to give some little effect to the logical conclusion of what he said? Instead of doing so, all he told them was that the landlords were much concerned in the matter, and that probably, if they put their heads together, they might agree as to what ought to be done. The whole thing arose out of the close monopoly of land that existed in Scotland. All the mischiefs that were complained of arose out of this very close monopoly. That monopoly was closer than any in England or Ireland. Under 100 persons owned one-third of Scotland, and under 300 owned one-half of it. It was in the Highlands that the largest estates were. This monopoly in the possession and management of the land of the country was the source of all sorts of tyrannies—that was not too strong a word. In the evidence given before the Royal Commission examples were given of certain proprietors or their agents who would not let fish taken by the crofters be sold to anyone but themselves, and at their own price too, and where these poor people were not at liberty to sell their cattle unless they paid the whole price to the factor. It was proved that men were compelled to give so many days' labour; and that upon absenting themselves they were obliged to pay half-a-crown for every day absent, whereas the stipulated daily wages was only one shilling. Evidence was given as to extra rents having been put upon houses in order that a monopoly of shopkeeping might be kept up, and of a great number of other acts of oppression resulting from the same monopoly, and that monopoly was kept up in the case of Scotland by a law which was at variance with the law of the country. It compelled the subdivision of personal estate. Now, it appeared to him (Dr. Cameron) that if it was desirable to prevent the accumulation of any form of property in a few hands, the property that should be so dealt with was heritable property. They were told that there was no plan before the House. There was a most distinct plan before the House—that embodied in the recommendation of the Royal Commission. The right hon. Gentleman dismissed as with a wave of the hand the proposal as to townships as a suggestion that no one cared for. Why, the township proposals appeared to the Commission, and Lord Napier, the Chairman, in particular, as the most valuable feature in the Report. It was proposed by Lord Napier as the only means of giving security of tenure to the smaller classes of occupiers. What he proposed was that in communities enjoying the pasture of certain land in common, it should not be in the power of the landlord to reduce it; but, on the contrary, power should be provided for the increase of the area where possible. Such communities were also to have the right of gathering peat and seaweed for the manure of the land, and they were to have the power of compelling the landlord to make fences and roads at their joint expense; and it was further provided that when those townships became overcrowded there should be a legal machinery for securing their extension. It was proposed that new townships should be made with Government assistance. The Commission proposed to establish judicial rents, with a 30 years' improving lease and compensation for improvements, and the right of new leases. In his speech last year, the hon. Member for Hertford (Mr. A. J. Balfour) said it was a great pity that the Commission had gone only to places where the crofters were badly off, and had not gone to where they were well off. Well, the Commission did go to where the crofters were well off. They went to Orkney, where they found a class of men known as the "Lairds of Harray," a colony of peasant proprietors who occupied Harray and an adjacent Island. There, even on such small holdings as four and five acres, they discovered an improved husbandry, as good farming, in fact, as was to be found in Mid Lothian, and that when such land came into the market it fetched sometimes as high a price as 40 years' purchase. Now, contrasting them with the poor crofters of the Western Isles, the difference was seen to consist in the security of tenure in the one case, and its absence in the other. The recommendations of the Commission also provided that ejectment for arrears should not take place unless the arrears reached a certain amount, and that arrears over a certain number of years should be irrecoverable. Now, those were very thorough-going recommendations, and taken together, would doubtless go very far to effect what was wanted. The right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary did not say anything about security of tenure. The Commissioners also made recommendations on the subject of education which were most important, for in many of those Highland parishes the education rate amounted to a second rent. Again, on the question of deer forests, which was a crying evil, the Commissioners made a specific proposal, and also in reference to commons; but nothing had been done, or was proposed to be done, by the right hon. Gentleman to give effect to those recommendations. The right hon. Gentleman himself had acknowledged that the commons were being taken from the people by the landlords. In past times the most flagrant injustice had been done to the poor of Scotland by the lawyers carrying out the doctrines of feudalism with regard to common lands, and where the process was still going on it should be checked. The Commissioners made recommendations for the saving of commons which had not yet been occupied. Surely the Home Secretary might take that work in hand, and deal with it right off. The Commissioners further recommended increased postal and telegraphic facilities. He (Dr. Cameron) should do the Post Office the justice to say that that was the only Department that had done anything in following out those recommendations of the Commissioners. The Commissioners recommended the erection of a light at Stromeferry; but even that had not been done. But the greatest injustice of all had not been dealt with, and that was the administration of justice. According to evidence given before the Commission, on a certain estate in Skye the factor undertook to settle all disputes, and anyone who appealed against him to the Sheriff got a notice to quit. The Procurators Fiscal were either practising solicitors, dependent for their practice on the gentry or the larger farmers, or the land agents of the gentry. The result was that the poor did not believe that they got fair play; in fact, it was notorious that justice was not evenly administered. Members of the present Government had, when in Opposition, voted against Procurators Fiscal engaging in private practice; but in Office they had not found a remedy. [The hon. Member then proceeded to instance cases in which sheep belonging to crofters, upon straying on tacksmen's land, had been cruelly mutilated, and contrasted the impunity with which such outrages had been practised with the outcry raised over the mutilation of animals during the Irish Land League agitation. And he pointedly asked what would not have been the outcry raised if those mutilations had been done by the crofters on the landlord's or tackmen's sheep, instead of by the big men upon the crofters' sheep?] There was one thing at least which might be done by the Government, and that was the administration of justice on an even keel. But that was not done. A gross violation of public law was committed even in the streets of Glasgow in the case of the man Harrison who had escaped from a lunatic asylum, about whose case he

(Dr. Cameron) had asked a Question in the earlier part of that Sitting. Contrast the apathy of that case with that wild zeal for the vindication of the law that sent a Sheriff and Fiscal and Chief Constable to the Island of Rousay, in one of Her Majesty's gunboats, to hunt up a schoolboy suspected of penning a threatening letter to a landlord. If some of the money spent in sending those troops to Skye were applied to even a partial removal of the grievances of the people, it would do much good, at least as giving the people an earnest of the desire and the intention of the Government to do something for them. He himself would undertake, with a fraction of the money squandered on Bechuanaland and such other objects, to successfully carry into effect those recommendatioas of the Royal Commission, which would give comfort and satisfaction to the people. Thc speech of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary would go down to Scotland either as a message of peace or of war—of peace, if it was speedily followed by acts; but as a message of war, if nothing was done, and it was allowed to end, like too many Ministerial promises affecting Scotland—in mere empty wind.

Mr. ARTHUR ARNOLD said, that the Resolution could not be disconnected from the general land system of the country. There were villages in England that enjoyed common rights over common pastorage, and it might be asked —"Why should they be excluded?" The recommendations made by Lord Napier would amount to the establishment in this country of a land system corresponding to that of Russia in its leading features. If the Resolution had simply proposed the adoption of the recommendations of the Commissioners, he could not have supported it; but his difficulty was removed by the fact that the Resolution asked the Government to consider the grievances of the crofters. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) would ask whether it was the intention of those who supported those recommendations that there should be different Land Laws for different parts of Great Britain? [An hon. Member: Ireland.] Ireland was not a part of Great Britain, and the circumstances of that country were wholly different; and the passing of the Irish Land Act, although, in his judgment, it was a wise and necessary step, had certainly tended to separate the two countries. But he should be asked what was to be done? His hon. Friend the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) had referred to the very small number of landowners in Scotland. He (Mr. Arthur Arnold) found that 12 owners owned nearly a quarter of the whole country; 70 owned nearly half; 330 owned two-thirds; and 1,700 nine-tenths. That showed the real difficulty of the question, and it was to that aspect of the case that attention should be directed. He should advocate to the crofters the application of the principle of compensation to sitting tenants for their improvements. He should also be glad to see an increase of the number of peasant proprietors, although that portion of the United Kingdom was not the most suitable for peasant proprietary. But he would not support any attempt to force such a system, which, to be satisfactory, must be a natural growth.

Mr. RAMSAY said, that having had some experience of the district where these disturbances had occurred, he felt bound to express his sympathy with the poor crofters; but his principal object in rising was to take exception to what had been said by the Home Secretary. The right hon. and learned Gentleman seemed to ignore the fact that there were parts of the Highlands where the population was so dense that it could not be supported by the land. Take the Island of Lewis, for example. The area of Lewis was about 400,000 acres, and there was a population of between 25,000 and 27,000, and the rental of the agricultural portion of the Island was not more than £10,000 or £12,000—the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) said £20,000; but he (Mr. Ramsay) was of opinion that must include the rental of Stornoway, which had no more to do with the agricultural parts of Lewis than London had to do with the agriculture of Middlesex—therefore, taking five as the average number of a family, and dividing the Island among them, each would have an area equal to £2 or £2 10*s.* each. It was absurd to suppose that any family could subsist upon such a plot of ground. He agreed with the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary in thinking that migration would be preferable to emigration if it were possible; but the formation of the townships at the expense of the State could not be seriously considered. No sensible man would say that the crofters should be removed by the Government from Skye, and settled in the fertile fields of East Lothian. It was easy to indulge in vague declamation against all landlords; but what would be thought if the same rule were applied to the owner of a factory who dismissed 300 or 400 of his workmen, as manufacturers often did, without thinking any more of them? There were, no doubt, bad landlords, as there were bad employers; but if it had not been for men who had no interest in land going to Skye to agitate, he did not think there would have been any occasion to use force.

LORD COLIN CAMPBELL said, that he must congratulate the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) on having brought this question a second time—and this time not inopportunely—before the House. When hon. Members holding the views of the hon. Member, and actuated by the spirit which stirred him in an uncommon degree, and with a force which he was not always able to subordinate to the rules of civilized argument, confined themselves to vague declamation on public platforms, from which they breathed threatenings of slaughter against the whole landlord class without exception and without discrimination, and when, by their inflammatory harangues, they incited the people to a dangerous agrarian revolt, he thought it became a question how far the forms of Constitutional Government were adequate to bring them to task. It was desirable that they should be made to substantiate the allegations which they spread recklessly abroad; and therefore it was satisfactory when they had the courage to bring their charges and their accusations to the test of argument and discussion in that House. But he had been very much disappointed with the speech of the hon. Member for Carlow. He found one great difficulty in dealing with the hon. Member, and that was his singular character of duplicity. [*Cries of* "Order!" *and interruption.*]

MR. SPEAKER: That is not a term which should be used in this House by one hon. Member to another hon. Member. I hope the noble Lord will withdraw that expression.

LORD COLIN CAMPBELL said, he was sorry he had used any expression which was out of Order. He could only assure the House that it was not his intention to make use of any expression which was unseemly; and he certainly, therefore, would withdraw it. Hon. Members might remember to have seen a picture of the Great Napoleon, which, if looked at from a certain angle, showed a common animal, a certain domestic quadruped, a harmless and innocent creature. If the picture was looked at from another angle they saw the "scourge of Europe." The hon. Member for Carlow had used language in the House which certainly could not be described as immoderate. When he heard the softness of the hon. Gentleman's tones, and observed the suavity of his manners, he had some difficulty in recognizing the wolf swathed in so much sheep's clothing. He would begin by making one admission, for which he hoped the hon. Member would duly credit him. He was not one of those who, falling back on the hard lines of political economy, could see in this question all morality, all respect for property, all love of law and order on one side only, and that the side of the landlords, and on the other only an incorrigible and lawless peasantry. He thought there had been much in the system pursued towards the Highland peasantry since the Rebellion of 1745 which had been hard and harsh, of doubtful policy and of dubious right, and which, if they took a narrower and lower ground, had been unwise from a merely commercial and pecuniary point of view. But he confessed that he had not attained that degree of discipline—or perhaps he should say of strength of mind—as not to feel tempted, at least, to swerve so far as to disguise his opinions when he found the war of controversy carried on with a reckless and implacable hostility towards the whole landowning class in Scotland. It was scarcely in one's power not to be swayed, to a certain extent, when one found the class to which one might happen to belong being attacked in a manner which must be regarded as dangerous to the public peace and unjust to the individuals, and when one saw the whole controversy fought with weapons which he, for one, would be ashamed to use. There was one feature of this agitation in connection with the grievances of the crofters, which he thought separated at once the Land Question, as it appeared now in Scotland, very broadly from the Irish Land Question. He thought it was true to say that it was an agitation not directed against excessive rents—that there was not in the Highlands of Scotland rack-renting at this moment. He knew that there were exceptions to this rule; but the verdict of the Commissioners in their Report was a distinct acquittal of the landlords on the score of rack-renting. [Mr. MACFARLANE: Except in Kilmuir.] Very well, except in Kilmuir. But did those exceptions justify the condemnation of a whole class? The hon. Member for Carlow and his friends had, however, accused the landlords of greed, rapacity, selfishness, and cruelty. [Mr. MACFARLANE: Where did I use those words?] In your public speeches. Indeed, the hon. Member had revelled in the language of the professional demagogue. But, putting him aside, it was true to say that the contention of moderate men was, not that the landlords had been wanting in humanity, not that they had been rapacious and cruel, but that they had acted upon mistaken doctrines of political economy with respect to their Highland estates and the conversion of the land into large sheep-farms. Now, they were bound to remember that this was not a new controversy, but the revival of a very old one. He did not know of any facts or circumstances which had occurred to bring that question forward except the advent in the Highlands of Scotland of a very opulent man of the name of Wynans and the passing of the Irish Land Act of 1881. If they needed to be reminded of that, let them notice that this question was not brought up by one of the Scotch Members who were presumably the most interested in it, but by an Irish Member of Scottish extraction. But it was an old controversy indeed; and he would ask the House to bear in mind that round it had gathered a great mass of literature. The hon. Member for Carlow had not been able to cite a single fact, or found a single argument, that added strength to the position taken up by a host of writers and thinkers, beside whom, if the hon. Member would pardon the remark, his own efforts and effusions appeared Liliputian indeed. But it was not a controversy which had been fought out by the people on the one side and the landlords on the other. There had been no hard line of severance between the two sides which had taken part in this matter; and it should be remembered that it was a Highland landowner who wrote by far the ablest work extant on the Highlands and the management of Highland estates — namely, Colonel Stewart, of Garth—a work which he believed none could read without admiration, and which had brought the conviction to very many minds that the system of management of Highland estates, as pursued at the beginning of the century, was wrong in principle and pernicious in its effects. Neither should the work of Lord Selkirk, also a Scotch landlord, be forgotten in connection with that subject. It was a work which had a powerful effect in directing public attention to the condition of the Highlands, and to the subject of emigration. But, far as these writers went in support of popular contentions, could even their authority be cited in support of the proposition that the Highlands had undergone changes with respect to the agricultural population, such as no other country had experienced? He had heard with some surprise the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Home Secretary indirectly compare the case of the Highland crofters with that of the English copyholders, who were treated in the manner described in the passage quoted by the right hon. and learned Gentleman from Lord Coke. But he remembered very distinctly a passage in the work of Colonel Stewart, of Garth, in which that writer quoted from the writings of Sir Thomas More, and urged the view that to find a parallel for what was going on in the Highlands, they must go back to what had occurred amongst the agricultural population in England two centuries ago, in the Reign of Henry VIII. The system of engrossing farms in England had led to results which were almost identical in the two countries. Then, again, what had occurred in the Highlands had not occurred solely through the influence or the bad direction of the landlords. There had been changes resulting from economic causes which occasioned great hardship, and it was often not in the power of the landlords either to arrest the one or to alleviate the other. The hon. Member for Carlow had often referred to great fluctuations of population; but had he ever shown those whom he addressed some of the causes for these fluctuations? Now, there was no more extraordinary fluctuation of the population of the Islands than in the period from 1755 to 1795. During that time the population increased by 23,000. There were four causes of that increase — first, the flourishing kelp trade; secondly, the cultivation of the potato; thirdly, the spread of inoculation; fourthly, the non-existence of large sheep farms. But what happened afterwards? The kelp trade declined, and in the middle of this century the potato disease appeared. That had been a great calamity, which it was impossible to exaggerate. It marked the turning point in the economic history of the Highlands; and no one who had not studied the history of that time could gauge adequately the temptations under which the landowners lay to convert their lands into large grazing farms. The hon. Member for Carlow seemed to have persuaded himself that the whole land in the Island of Tyree was in the hands of large farmers. The real state of things was that the crofters possessed double the amount of land held by large farmers, and ten times more than the arable land. As regarded the population of Tyree, in 1750 it had been 1,600; in 1798, 2,416; in 1846, 3,706; and in 1884 it was 2,700. This decrease in the population had been deplored in a previous speech of the hon. Member for Carlow; but he (Lord Colin Campbell) would ask the House to listen to what had been said by a deputation of 900 of the people to Sir John M'Neill, who had been sent as a Commissioner. These people had themselves said that since the making of kelp had ceased, and since the failure of the potato crop, they had been in a state of great destitution; and if it had not been for the benevolence of the proprietor and the assistance which they received from the Relief Boards they would inevitably have starved, and that they had neglected to take advantage of opportunities of emigration, trusting to the potato crop. They went on to say that those who advocated the possibility of employing the people on the waste lands were not influenced by motives of philanthropy, and earnestly requested the Commissioner not to credit the statements of those who were inimical to the best interest of the people. That state of things was one which was periodically recurring. He would not deny that the introduction of sheep-farming had been far too hurriedly carried out, and had so brought many and great hardships on the people. But who was to blame for that state of things? The hon. Member for Carlow asked the House to intervene between the landlords and their tenants. But were they to forget what had been the attitude of Parliament after 1745—that it was the one aim of Parliament to abolish what was called the patriarchal system, and to sever all those ties of clanship and of mutual attachment that had held the Chiefs and the people together? Parliament had abolished the hereditary jurisdictions; and only a century had elapsed since Parliament repealed those disrobing and disarming Acts, by which even the wearing of the Highland dress was proscribed, and which Dr. Johnson described as "an ignorant wantonness of power." That was all that Parliament had done for the agricultural population of Scotland; and he thought he might fairly ask the House to bear this in mind, although he did not intend to allege it as a reason why Parliament should not intervene if legislation was justly called for. It was, however, a reason why Parliament should share the blame, if blame was due. There was one fallacy in what had been said in previous speeches—and which had, much to his astonishment, been repeated to-night, even with the Report of the Royal Commission before them—to which he wished to allude—namely, that the condition of the people was infinitely worse than it had ever been before. The hon. Member for Carlow had quoted the evidence of a reverend gentleman before the Land Commission to prove that the people of Lewis were worse off than in former times; but if he would take the pains to study the question and read the work of John Buchanan he would see that the condition of the people in Lewis and in North and South Uist was far worse in 1782 than it was now. The land was now held directly from the landlord, whereas formerly it had been in the hands of a class of middlemen; under whom the people had been in a condition of the most grinding servitude, but who had now happily disappeared. Now, was the House aware of the true objects of this agitation? It was said that the crofters, in the course they were adopting, were merely trying to get back their own; but no statement could be more inaccurate than that. No claim on the part of the crofters to security of tenure could be founded on the ancient usages of the country. The Commissioners said that the average amount of moral and material welfare was as great now as at any previous period, and the poorer classes never were so well protected against the extremities of human suffering. It was of vast importance that the Executive should not lose sight of the fact that they had to deal with an agitation which, he said, with all deference, was more purely Socialistic than anything that had appeared in this country since 1798. It was an agitation which was founded on the doctrines of Michael Davitt and Henry George; and they all knew what those doctrines were. It was an agitation the fundamental principles of which were the redistribution and the nationalization of land. Scarcely a day passed without some of the crofters threatening to drive their cattle upon the land of neighbouring farmers, and language had been used inciting the people to outrage. It was a most significant fact that what had been demanded for these people at the beginning of the century no longer satisfied the agitators. In many respects the condition of the crofters had improved. For example, in 1808 Dr. Walker declared that the chief cause of the misery of the crofters was the sub-letting of holdings. He says—

> "All the sub-tenants, who are the great body of the people in the Highlands, are tenants at the will of the tacksman or farmer, and are, therefore, placed in a state of subjection that is not only unreasonable, but unprofitable, both to themselves and their superiors."

Now, in almost every case at the present day, the crofters held direct from the landowners. So much is this the case that the Commissioners say that a crofter, in common acceptation, is an occupier paying rent directly to the proprietor. With regard to leases, there had been a great change; and not only so, but he thought there might be a still greater change; but the truth was that the knowledge that leaseholders were exempted from the benefit of the Irish Act had done very much to discourage the crofters of Scotland from coming forward to demand leases. It was idle to disguise the fact that the main recommendation of the Commissioners was with reference to the creation and extension of townships. He regretted to hear the Home Secretary say that that proposal did not meet with the full assent of those who agitated on this question. The proposals were complicated; but he should not despair of finding a solution in the proposals of the Commissioners, modified to a certain extent. They had been warned by the Royal Commissioners that a period of an economic crisis had arrived, and in the judgment of the Commission the time was favourable for legislation. He certainly thought that it was an economic crisis which justified, to a large extent, the prediction of those who, 40 or 50 years ago, said that if the landlords of the Highlands were led away by the prospect of temporary gain to convert their holdings into pasture lands, their successors would wish to undo that which they had done. He should deprecate hasty legislation. They should take the greatest care that the proposals which the Commissioners made received the full assent of those on behalf of whom they were made; and to that extent it was desirable to take note of the words of the Home Secretary. The time had certainly come when it was for the interest of the proprietors themselves to consult together; and he hoped that consultation would not be long delayed, and that they would give their earnest co-operation to the Government.

Mr. PRESTON BRUCE said, he did not wish to occupy the time of the House at any great length at that late hour (11.50 P.M.), as he did not claim to possess any special local knowledge of the subject under discussion. Having listened carefully to the debate, he could not help thinking that a good deal of misapprehension, or difference of opinion, existed as to the meaning of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Home Secretary. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron), the hon. Gentleman the Member for Ipswich (Mr. Jesse Collings), and others, had described the speech as amounting to nothing more than an appeal to the charity of the landlords, and as containing no promise whatever of legislation. That was not his (Mr. Bruce's) understanding of the right hon. Gentleman's observations. No, doubt a very marked appeal had been made to the landlords of the district chiefly concerned, and it had appeared to him that the appeal had reference to a particular part of the subject—namely, the necessity which existed in some places for finding more land for the crofters. Everyone must see that there were immense difficulties in the way of providing that additional land, not now occupied by the crofters, through the medium of compulsory legislation. As he had understood the right hon. Gentleman, he had appealed to the landlords to come forward and assist the Government especially in reference to this matter. He had not by any means understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that the Government did not intend to deal, and to deal speedily, with other parts of the question—such parts, for instance, as the conferring of additional security of tenure upon the crofters in regard to their existing holdings, and also in regard to preventing further encroachment on the lands which they held for the purpose of common pasturage. There were many other parts of the question referred to in the Report of the Commission which he hoped the Government would see their way to deal with, and to deal with speedily. It certainly was his understanding of the right hon. and learned Gentleman's speech that these subjects would be dealt with next year; and he by no means desired the impression to go abroad that the Government meant to do nothing but merely appeal to the landlords.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: By the indulgence of the House I may say a word. I think I may entirely accept the interpretation put upon my words by the hon. Member who has just sat down, and I had no idea that any other interpretation could have been placed upon them. I certainly did appeal to the landlords of Scotland for two purposes. I thought they might be of great service immediately by removing some of the causes of grievance that exist. I appealed to them, also, that by concert they might be able very much to assist the Government with reference to future legislation; but I added that the Government accepted themselves, independently altogether of any action of the landlords, the responsibility of dealing with this question. These were the words with which I concluded my speech; and I also stated, as I thought quite distinctly, that the Government do accept the responsibility of dealing with legislation upon the subject at the earliest possible time when they are able to do so.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he had not intended to address the House, because he was in hopes they would have heard from some Member of the Government that they were prepared to accept the Resolution. He had been led to believe that that would be the case, and he still hoped that it would be so. After the words which had fallen from the Government he did not see how they could resist the Motion.

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT: We have no desire to oppose the Motion.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL said, he rejoiced that the Motion was about to be accepted; and he would not detain the House longer than to say that, though it did not pledge the Government to particular action, it did pledge them to take action of some kind. That was all they thought the Report of the Royal Commission demanded; it was all that the supporters of the Motion sought. He would only, further, say this. Yesterday the House voted a large sum of money for carrying on two small wars; and he understood that in a day or two they would be called upon to vote another large sum for the building of ships and increasing the efficiency of the Navy. A very small portion of that money would be sufficient to put the administration of justice in Scotland on a proper footing, and get over the difficulty of want of capital on the part of the crofters in Scotland. He hoped the Government would not grudge a small sum to assist the voluntary action of the landlords and tenants in this matter.

MR. J. W. BARCLAY said, he did not wish to detain the House for more than a few minutes; but he thought it ought to be clearly understood what the Government undertook to do. He wished to congratulate the hon. Member for Carlow (Mr. Macfarlane) on the result of the debate. There was a great deal in the speech of the Home Secretary with which they ought to be satisfied. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had expressed strong and generous sympathy with the crofters. The right hon. and learned Gentleman had undertaken that the force now on its way to Skye, if not already there, should not be employed for the purpose of serving notices of eviction against the crofters in Skye; and he (Mr. Barclay) understood that measures had been taken on behalf of the Government to introduce a Bill dealing with the subject if the landlords in the Island did not take some step for the purpose of coming to some accommodation with the crofters. That, he thought, was all that could be expected of Her Majesty's Government; and, for his own part, he was perfectly satisfied with the pledges which had been given. There was one other point on which he should have expected some declaration on the part of the Government, if not from the Home Secretary, at least on the part of the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate, with whom the matter more particularly rested, and that was the question of some reform in the administration of justice in these Islands. There was no doubt that the people of the Western Islands had great reason to be dissatisfied with the administration of justice. The Procurator Fiscal, and every public officer, with the sole exception of the Sheriff, were more or less in the pay of the landlords. How, then, was it possible, under these circumstances, for the people to be convinced that they were getting justice, and that their interests were attended to with the same certainty as those of the landlords? The hon. Member for Glasgow had referred especially to certain cases where the outrages committed were upon the crofters; and he (Mr. Barclay) had expected to see the right hon. and learned Gentleman the Lord Advocate get up and declare that he, for his part, would take care that the Crown officials should make due inquiry into the alleged cases, and see that equal justice was meted out to the crofters and the landlords. It was to be hoped that the question of the administration of justice would not be neglected. There was one further matter. No doubt the present excitement was due to the expected service of notices for removal on Whit Monday; and he thought that if steps were taken to enforce these notices of ejectment the agitation would enormously increase. It seemed to him that it would be the duty of the Government, early next Session, to bring in some suspensory Bill to allow matters to remain, as far as possible, in their present position until Parliament had time to consider a more general measure for effecting the desired changes in the law.

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): I did not intend to intervene in this debate, because I thought it unnecessary to repeat what I have had occasion to say more than once in the course of the last Session, and incidentally, in answer to Questions this Session on this matter. With regard to Procurators Fiscal, I should have thought it was understood by everyone taking an interest in the question, and that it would have been unnecessary for me to repeat that since the present Government came into Office they have, in every case where they have had the power, by weight of salary and in other ways, done what they could to obtain the exclusive services of a gentleman for this office; but that is not in their power in every case. I also pointed out before that in very distant localities, where you cannot put one man over an indefinitely large territory, there are questions of efficiency which make it difficult—at least, which make it a very grave question whether you would get the very best services from a man who did nothing else except that one thing. But I am not again going to enter upon a discussion which was so fully gone into before. I thought I had conveyed on previous occasions that the matter was fully in view of the Government, and that, as far as they thought the object in view could be obtained with regard to other considerations of efficiency, they were doing, and would continue to do, their best.

Mr. J. W. BARCLAY: Is nothing to be done?

The LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. Balfour): By legislation? I have already shown what the Government are doing by way of administration. It is another question whether the Government should undertake to present to the House a Bill to revolutionize the system of appointment. I am not in a position at present to promise that. It involves considerations of efficiency, and many other considerations. In regard to the only other matter that I was invited to say a word upon, I should have hardly thought it necessary to say anything, inasmuch as one point was raised in a Question I answered to-day. It would be a total misapprehension to suppose that there was any difference in the justice meted out to one person and another. The hon. Gentleman the Member for Glasgow (Dr. Cameron) used the expression "mutilation" in regard to something that was done to certain animals. The subject is one it is not very fit to discuss in this House; but the expression used might convey a wholly erroneous impression. I think what was done in this case was something very cruel and very unnecessary; but it avowedly was put forward as a defensive act done to certain animals which got astray. I do not think it is an act that was justifiable; but it is one thing to say it was a crime where animals were straying and had no right to be, and a totally different thing for a man to say it was a defensive measure to guard his flocks. I can quite understand that a very great change in the circumstances under which it was done might have made it so that if the act were repeated it would indicate an element of malice, and take away the element of what may have been precaution—injudicious precaution—and thus bring the act within the range of the Criminal Law, though it would be a peculiar case. I shall certainly take care that the case the hon. Member for Ross-shire (Mr. Munro-Ferguson), whom we are glad to hear to-day, mentions, shall be inquired into. I shall take care to have it carefully examined into in the fullest way; and if it is shown that there is any element of malice in it something shall be done.

DR. CAMERON said, he should like to know whether the right hon. and learned Gentleman would inquire into the allegation of branding sheep in Skye?

THE LORD ADVOCATE (Mr. J. B. BALFOUR): Yes; I will do so if the hon. Member will have the goodness to give me some indication as to the place, so that I may know where to send an order.

Question put, and *negatived.*

Words *added.*

Main Question, as amended, put, and *agreed to.*

*Resolved,* That, in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or to apply such other remedies as they deem advisable; and that this House concurs in the opinion expressed by the Royal Commission at page 110 of its Report, that "The mere vindication of authority and repression of resistance would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the Country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain."

## *MOTION.*

### TRAMWAYS AND PUBLIC COMPANIES (IRELAND) ACT AMENDMENT BILL.

On Motion of Mr. PARNELL, Bill to amend Part II. of "The Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act, 1883," *ordered* to be brought in by Mr. PARNELL, Sir BALDWYN LEIGHTON, Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, Mr. GRAY, and Mr. O'SHEA.

Bill *presented,* and read the first time. [Bill 37.]

House adjourned at five minutes after Twelve o'clock till Monday next.

## HOUSE OF LORDS,

*Monday,* 17*th November,* 1884.

MINUTES.]—PUBLIC BILL—*First Reading*—Poor Law Guardians (Ireland)* (6).

### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL — REDISTRIBUTION.

### MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I beg leave to make a short statement on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. I presume that we are all agreed that the action to be taken this week by your Lordships' House is of vast importance, affecting not merely Party issues, but interests of a national character. There is no question as to the principle of the Franchise Bill. It is understood, and, I believe, not without reason, that your Lordships intend to give a second reading to that Bill. But I am not entitled to assume that this step will terminate the difference between your Lordships and Her Majesty's Government. I do not propose to enter into the merits of this difference. It is sufficient for my present purpose to remind your Lordships that while the procedure adopted by Her Majesty's Government has been supported last Summer, and again this Autumn, by unusually large majorities in the House of Commons, it has been condemned by a majority of your Lordships in this House. I will not now refer to offers which at different times have been made by Her Majesty's Government, and which are generally known as having been rejected. I am not aware of any intimation having come from the Opposition, apart from an intention to reverse in some shape or other the procedure adopted by Her Majesty's Government, and supported by the House of Commons, in order to adopt that which has been favoured by your Lordships. The result is a state of things which, although it may be far from disagreeable to extreme politicians on both sides, is deplored by all moderate men, and, I sincerely believe, by a majority of your Lordships. Under these critical circumstances, I am authorized by my Colleagues to state how we would propose to meet the objections which have been raised by some of your Lordships. To those, if there are such, who may desire to force on an immediate Dissolution I have little to offer. But the case is different with those who desire a settlement—a desire which we claim ourselves, and with which we are quite willing to credit noble Lords opposite, whose objections we honestly desire to meet. I understand that the objections are principally these. Your Lordships think that, although you are ready to support a Franchise Bill, it is dangerous to do so unless you are acquainted with the character of the Redistribution Bill which is promised, and which will affect its working. You are afraid that it may be of a revolutionary character, or, as some have put it, dangerous to the prospects of the Conservative Party. You also fear that there may be no Bill at all, or, at all events, that there may be none till the 2,000,000 new voters have acquired the right of voting. My Lords, I will now proceed to state how, in my opinion and in the opinion of the Government, without sacrificing our own object, we may best meet these objections. Our object is to secure the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay. We cannot jeopardize it. Your Lordships must be aware that we could enter into no understanding or take any steps as to the immediate introduction or prosecution of a Redistribution Bill, or as to anything connected with it, unless we have a sufficient assurance that we should thus secure our principal object—namely, the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay—that is to say, during the Autumn Session. In that case, I may tell your Lordships that the Bill will come into effect on January the 1st, 1886. If we were sufficiently assured in the manner I have stated, I am not aware of any demand or suggestion that will be made with regard to the procedure affecting a Redistribution Bill to which Her Majesty's Government will not be ready to accede. If we get that sufficient assurance we should be ready to submit the main provisions of the Redistribution Bill — we should be ready to make even the draft Bill a subject of immediate friendly communication before its introduction, and to make every reasonable effort for the purpose of accommodation, and any difficulties in the way of accommodation I think I may say would not come from Her Majesty's Government. We should be ready, if it is possible, and I do not see any impossibility in it, to present a Bill framed in the spirit of that sketch given by Mr. Gladstone in the House of Commons, and which, on the 7th of November, seemed to be received as satisfactory by Sir Stafford Northcote. Her Majesty's Government will be prepared to push that Bill on with all legitimate speed. Mr. Gladstone has informed me that he will be willing to undertake to move the second reading of that Bill simultaneously with the Franchise Bill going into Committee of your Lordships' House. I am afraid that there may be a difficulty about this, because there is an understanding that if the second reading of this Bill is taken on Tuesday, the Committee is to stand for Thursday. Be that as it may, Mr. Gladstone would be ready to move the second reading of the Redistribution Bill in the House of Commons simultaneously with any future stage of the Franchise Bill in your Lordships' House. Her Majesty's Government are prepared to use their utmost efforts to pass their Bill through the House of Commons in the early period of next year. And I am further authorized by them to state that they would consider the passing of their Bill through the House of Commons a question vital to themselves. My Lords, I submit this proposal to the favourable consideration of both sides of the House. I trust that those who so cordially supported us last Session will not think we have retired too much from the exact course of procedure which we had drawn for ourselves. And I do with considerable confidence appeal to the noble Lords opposite to receive this proposition in the spirit in which we have made it. We have made it in a spirit of earnestness and of conciliation, and as tending to settle a difference which every dictate of statesmanship, and, indeed, I may say of common sense, makes it desirable, in the interest of all concerned, should be brought to a final and satisfactory close.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, it would not be in accordance with usage that I should express, at the present moment, any opinion upon the proposals made by the noble Earl. I shall confine myself to questions designed to elucidate his statement. I wish to know whether I am to understand that the passing of the Franchise Bill during the Autumn Session is a condition precedent to the proceedings with respect to the Redistribution Bill of which the noble Earl has spoken; and, further, I wish to know whether the agreement between the two sides of the House on the question of Redistribution is a condition precedent to the introduction of the Redistribution Bill in the other House, and within what time he contemplates it possible for such procedure to take place?

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, my answer to the first Question is in the affirmative; my answer to the second is in the negative.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: My Lords, I hope I shall be excused if I add a word for the purpose of endeavouring to supplement the answer of the noble Earl. As I understand it, if in any satisfactory way we have the assurance which we think indispensable, the Redistribution Bill may be laid on the Table of the House of Commons and read a first time as early as anyone can desire. If those communications which we invite, desire, and are willing to enter into, in order to arrive, if possible, at a common understanding as to the material substance of the Redistribution Bill, take place, of course, a reasonable time must be allowed for those communications. If it is thought inexpedient that such communications should take place, and if those who have determined that matter desire us to produce on our own responsibility the Bill which, without assistance, we should produce, that can be done at the earliest possible moment after we have that assurance which is the necessary condition of our proposals.

## REPRESENTATIVE PEERS.

### MOTION FOR AN ADDRESS.

LORD WAVENEY, in rising to move—

"That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that the Prerogative be not interposed to prevent the substitution by Statute of a more suitable form for securing the presence of Irish and Scottish Peers in the House of Lords than is afforded by the existing modes of election,"

said, that this question dealt with the somewhat anomalous manner in which the ranks of their Lordships' House were recruited from the Scotch and Irish Peerages. He believed that it never could have been intended that one-half, or even more than one-half, of the Members of the Scotch and Irish Peerages should be incapable of entering into the service of the country to which they belonged because they might profess particular political opinions; but though there was a vast and considerable distinction between the two Peerages in many respects, they both had the special defect of representing one Party only, and not the genuine force of national thought. It never should be necessary, as frequently happened under the present system, that the Government of the day should find themselves called upon to summon Peers of undoubted position and merit to their Lordships' House. In his opinion, if an Irishman were worthy of a Peerage at all, he was worthy of being made a Peer of the United Kingdom. The circumstances of the present time, he thought, lent point and force to the consideration of the matter; and, looking at what had taken place in the country during the last three months, he thought something should be done. There had been a vast amount of exaggeration as to popular opinion against their Lordships' House; but he considered that such a moderate change should be made in its constitution as would seem calculated to bring it more into consonance with the present state of public sentiment. There could be no doubt that the elections under the present system resulted in favour of one particular Party; and, therefore, he would propose to substitute for the present system the system of summoning Irish and Scotch Peers as British Peers. He begged to move the Motion that stood in his name.

*Moved*, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that the Prerogative be not interposed to prevent the substitution by Statute of a more suitable form for securing the presence of Irish and Scottish Peers in the House of Lords than is afforded by the existing modes of election."—(*The Lord Waveney.*)

EARL CAIRNS said, that the Motion of the noble Lord was not required, for in connection with Scotch Peerages no such Prerogative existed as the Motion implied. If the House should think fit to alter by Statute the existing law in regard to the election of Scottish Peers, the Prerogative could not be interposed. With regard to Irish Peers the case was rather different; for at the time of the Union a power was reserved to the Crown to fill up, in certain circumstances, vacancies among the Irish Peers in their Lordships' House. It would not, therefore, speaking generally, be regular to interfere by Statute with that power, without presenting an Address to the Crown praying for leave to do so. In 1875, however, an Address was presented to the Crown praying that the statutory power reserved to the Crown in connection with Irish Peers might not be allowed to stand in the way of any legislation on the subject of the election of such Peers to the House of Lords, and the prayer of that Address was granted.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR said, he agreed with what had fallen from his noble and learned Friend (Earl Cairns). The subject was a very important one; and whenever a proposition was made to the House, submitting any convenient way of dealing either with the subject of the Scottish or Irish Representative Peers, it would, he had no doubt, receive that consideration and attention from their Lordships, which were justly its due. But to proceed by this method of Address was, it humbly appeared to him, for the reasons stated by the noble and learned Earl, quite unnecessary in the case of either the Scottish or Irish Peers.

LORD WAVENEY thought the objections ought not to weigh against his Motion. However, he was willing to have the Motion negatived.

EARL CAIRNS said, he considered that, instead of negativing the Motion, the House ought to adopt the Previous Question.

Previous Question *moved.*—(*The Earl Cairns.*)

Previous Question put, whether the said Question shall be now put.

*Resolved* in the *negative.*

## EDUCATION DEPARTMENT—HIGHER EDUCATION IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

### OBSERVATIONS.

LORD NORTON said, he rose to call the attention of Her Majesty's Government to a reply made by Mr. Mundella to two deputations from Harborne, one from the School Board asking for the establishment of a higher school, the other from 2,373 ratepayers, deprecating such a charge on their rates—namely, that—

> "He assented to the principle that if a majority of ratepayers were against the introduction of higher education it should not be forced upon them."

He wished to ask whether such a principle had been adopted, and under the authority of what Act of Parliament the provision of higher education in any locality depended on a majority of ratepayers being willing to undertake it? He had two reasons for asking this question. First, because the Vice President's answer implied that, wherever a majority of ratepayers agreed to it, a School Board might depart from their authorized work of supplying elementary education to those who wanted it to undertake higher education in a Government groove for the middle class, who would get it more wholesomely by private enterprize, and without robbing the poor of their elementary provision; and, secondly, because such an unauthorized dictum must discourage, by Government and rate-paid competition, the corporate or private undertaking of middle-class schools now largely and more usefully going on. The Government were, apparently, stealing this march upon Parliament, and even technical instruction was lately proposed to be added to their province.

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, that if his noble Friend's premisses had been correct he should have had to adopt his conclusion. But his noble Friend was entirely misinformed as to the nature of the case. This was no question of middle-class education. What his right hon. Friend (Mr. Mundella) said referred to higher elementary education, which meant simply education in the higher Standards of the Code—that was, in Standards above Standard IV. His right hon. Friend received two deputations, one from the School Board of the district, and the other from a large number of ratepayers who did not like the proposal of the School Board. It was not a case in which the Education Department could interfere. It was strictly a question for the decision of the School Board itself. The case was this. There was a very considerable deficiency of education in the district; and the School Board proposed to supply it, not in a novel way, but by a course which had been taken by a good many other more important places. They proposed, instead of building a large new school of the ordinary kind teaching children in all the Standards, to erect a school which should be confined to children above Standard IV. They believed that that would be a very great improvement in the education of the district. That district was in the neighbourhood of Birmingham, and there were in it a considerable number of boys who were in Standards above Standard IV. They proposed to collect those boys in a single school, so as to provide a better education for them, and to enable the teachers in the ordinary schools to give their undivided attention to boys below Standard V. It was a mere question of organization. The school district lent itself very easily and conveniently to such an arrangement, because, as he was informed, there would be no child further than a mile and a-half from the new school, and most of them would be within a mile. It was a mistake to suppose that the plan would lead to increased charge on the rates. On the contrary, by drawing the higher standard children together into one school and giving them a teacher qualified to give them instruction in those Standards, the result would be economical. There was, as he had said, nothing novel in the matter—nothing in which the Education Department could be said to have sprung a mine on Parliament. It was a question for the School Board, and he believed they had come to a wise decision. With reference to a Question which a noble Lord (Lord Stanley of Alderley) had put to him some days ago, he might read the following letter—

"Fulshaw House, Wilmslow, November 10.

"Dear Sir, — With reference to Harriet Straker, whose death is said to have been due to over-pressure at school, I have to state that she attended the above school, but had no home lessons given her this year. If she worked at lessons at home she did it voluntarily, and the work was not shown at school. She was rather dull, and failed in two subjects in Standard I. at the examination in January, 1883, so was again presented in Standard I. at the examination in January, 1884, when she passed in the three subjects, being nine years of age. The mistress was not told that the child was delicate, but the child was kept away from school occasionally for a week. She made 219 attendances during the present year, her last attendance being on Monday morning, August 25. I visited the child several times during her illness, and she was usually more or less unconscious. I do not remember having heard her muttering about her lessons, but once she repeated when I was present a portion of her daily prayers. I believe the child was delicate, at times she was somewhat deaf, and at times had delicate eyes; but as she was, I believe, 10 years old and was only being instructed in the subjects of Standard II. and had no home lessons given to her, it can hardly be considered that her case was one of over-pressure at school, unless, of course, her health was in such a state that she ought not to have been sent to school at all.

"Yours faithfully (Signed)
"W. S. BARNES-SLACKE, M.A., Correspondent of Lindow School.
"P. Cumin, Esq., Education Department."

He thought the noble Lord would see that it was not a case of over-pressure at all.

LORD NORTON asked whether he understood that it was the intention to make the higher schools entirely separate from the elementary?

LORD CARLINGFORD (LORD PRESIDENT of the COUNCIL) said, the school was entirely and absolutely within the Code, and therefore elementary.

## TREATY OF BERLIN—OUTRAGES IN MACEDONIA.

### QUESTION. OBSERVATIONS.

THE DUKE OF ARGYLL asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he had any recent information to lay on the Table of the House respecting the fulfilment by the Government of Turkey of those provisions of the Treaty of Berlin which were directed to secure the good administration of the European Provinces of the Turkish Empire; and, whether, in particular, Her Majesty's Government had any information as to alleged outrages by the Turkish authorities on the people of Macedonia? He was very sorry to have to call the attention of the House, for a few moments, to a very painful subject. He hoped their Lordships would not think that he was in too much haste, or eager to ask the House to plunge again into their old friend the Eastern Question. They had enough on their hands at present in Colonial and foreign affairs and in other directions. But there were certain duties incumbent upon them as a nation and as Members of both Houses of Parliament in respect to obligations into which this country had entered. Whatever had been the differences of opinion which had existed in their Lordships' House as to the circumstances which led up to the Treaty of Berlin, he had been disposed to rest on that Treaty, which he held to be not an unsatisfactory settlement of a very difficult question. At all events, the Treaty supplied certain securities, or professed to do so, for the good government of the European Provinces of Turkey, and also of the Asiatic Provinces. He had always been of opinion that, irrespective of that Treaty altogether, this country and the other nations of Europe had heavy obligations with regard to the people of those Provinces. The Treaty of Berlin put its seal on those obligations, and by a considerable number of Articles it provided, or professed to provide, certain securities for the people of the Provinces. The safety of Bulgaria was provided for by the creation of an autonomous State, while Eastern Roumelia had an administrative autonomy and a Christian Governor General given to it. Then, with respect to the Asiatic Provinces, the provisions were very specific; and he believed that repeated remonstrances had been addressed by Lord Dufferin to the Sultan as to the non-fulfilment of those parts of the Treaty relating to the country inhabited by the Armenians. With regard to the whole of the Provinces in the one matter of religion, the Treaty professed to secure complete religious toleration. But he now came to a clause which was less satisfactory. Eastern Roumelia, Roumania, Servia, and other places had been cut off, and there remained that Western portion of European Turkey, which comprised Macedonia and certain other portions of the country. Article 23 provided that a Constitution should be given to those countries analogous to that given to the Island of Crete. He had not heard anything until lately of the grievous abuses complained of with regard to Armenia and the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey. Many of their Lordships must have been horrified by statements which had appeared in an evening paper on this subject. He should not have brought those statements to the notice of their Lordships had they been anonymous; but they were avowedly the production of a very distinguished man whose name was known in literature all over the world—M. Emile Laveleye. Things really seemed to be almost as bad in the Turkish Provinces of Macedonia as they were before the last Russian War, when the horrors going on in Bulgaria roused the indignation of this country and the world. It appeared that, during the month of July, in one district of Macedonia alone there were 45 murders committed by Turks, and in other parts there were 60 murders. M. Emile Laveleye had given names of districts, names of victims, and names of murderers, and had stated that in some cases the victims had had their noses and ears cut off, the skin of their arms torn away, their eyes pecked out, and had then been cut to pieces. There were nine instances of the most horrible and atrocious murders given by M. Laveleye in the paper to which he had referred—*The Pall Mall Gazette.* What he wanted to know was, whether this country had Consuls in the district, and whether they had reported to the Foreign Office anything with regard to these alleged atrocities? The Province was near to Greece and to this country, and our sympathy must be more excited than if those outrages were committed in the Asiatic Provinces of Turkey. He hoped the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs would be able to assure their Lordships that the eyes of the Government were fixed upon the matter, and that they would take such steps as were necessary to put an end to the condition of things now existing. If these atrocities continued, the Government would have another Eastern Question on their hands, which would be intolerable to the people of this country and to the other European Powers. The Turkish Government rested solely on the guarantee of the European Powers; and it would be high time to put an end to that Government and make the whole of the Provinces autonomous if atrocities were not put down.

EARL GRANVILLE: My Lords, I quite agree with the policy laid down by the noble Duke with regard to the Treaty of Berlin. There may be things in that Treaty which may be approved or disapproved, yet it is a great Treaty, agreed in by all Europe; and we have acted as much as possible, and shown we have a wish to act, consistently with the provisions of that Treaty. We have been successful with regard to some of the provisions; but we have been quite unsuccessful as to others. I am quite certain that your Lordships will feel that we could not have had a better Representative for the purpose than Lord Dufferin. He had instructions, which will be continued to his successor, to press, in the manner the most likely to attain the end, for the faithful carrying out of the provisions of the Treaty of Berlin. With regard to the Question of the noble Duke, this country has Consuls in European Turkey, and Reports have been received from them, and I do not think there will be any objection to lay them before your Lordships. With regard to the particular atrocities in Macedonia to which the noble Duke has referred, they are not fully confirmed by the Consuls. On the contrary, Macedonia was reported to be in a better condition than it has been for some time, owing to the present Governor, though the borders of Bulgaria and Roumelia are disturbed. Her Majesty's Government wished to do everything in their power, and they desire that the other Powers will act in concert with them—to carry out all the obligations imposed upon them. I am also bound to state that only five minutes before entering the House I received a communication from the Turkish Ambassador, repudiating very warmly the attacks made upon the Turkish Government who, he said, were extremely desirous to carry out the reforms stipulated by the Treaty.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: My Lords, I have no doubt the noble Earl the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs is taking all the measures that can be taken for executing the Treaty of Berlin and securing the happiness of these Provinces. I entirely concur with him that probably no one could have been chosen better fitted and more anxious to see the Treaty carried out than Lord Dufferin; and I think we may rest perfectly assured that, so far as diplomatic action could have the effect of securing the good government of these Provinces, Lord Dufferin would take every measure possible. I rose mainly to point out to the noble Duke that the case of Eastern Roumelia and the case of Macedonia are not so different, in the eyes of the Treaty of Berlin, as he seems to think. For both provision is made for a certain amount of autonomous government. Eastern Roumelia, no doubt the most elaborate, was first taken in hand; an International Commission was issued; and I think Sir H. Drummond Wolff was the Representative of this country; and the provisions that were drawn up with regard to Eastern Roumelia have proved eminently successful. I do not know so much of the provisions that were drawn up for the government of Macedonia; they were drawn up after I left Office; but the noble Earl opposite sent out as the Representative of this country the noble Lord who is now the very able Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. I believe that every precaution was taken to provide for Macedonia an adequate and stable government. What are the causes which prevented the same success following in Macedonia as in Eastern Roumelia? I do not know. Perhaps the country is more mountainous, more difficult to manage, and the bulk of it further from the centre. There is less revenue, perhaps, for carrying out the government. There are one or two remarks I would make upon the horrible details which the noble Duke has brought before us. I think the experience of everybody who has looked into these matters is that, with the lamentable substratum of truth, there is almost in the very horror of these recitals something which leads to exaggeration; and unless these recitals are confirmed by the official authorities at the Foreign Office I should hesitate to give full credit to them in all their details. The other remark I would make is that I am afraid Macedonia is not the only place in the world over which we have influence where terrible cruelties are inflicted. There is, for instance, the Empire of Burmah, which lies on our Indian Frontier, and, as it were, in the hollow of our hand, which by a letter from Whitehall could be brought into order at any moment, and in which there is constant perpetration of horrors on a scale and characterized by an atrocity before which anything which can be related with regard to Macedonia would pale. We cannot accept the doctrine that we are responsible for all these things, because by certain extreme measures it might be possible to prevent them. I would not do or say anything to weaken the appeal of the noble Duke to the Foreign Office, that they would do their utmost to prevent these cruelties and atrocities, and to promote the good government of Macedonia; but I cannot accept the doctrine, which in one sentence the noble Duke seemed to lay down, that we are to shrink from no political measures by which the object he has in view would be attained.

**The Duke of ARGYLL** said, that the noble Marquess could not have understood the distinction he made as between Eastern Roumelia and Macedonia. The noble Marquess could not have remembered the exact terms of the Treaty of Berlin, otherwise he would not have said that the same provision applied to both. There was this enormous difference between them. As regards Eastern Roumelia, there was an administrative autonomy and a Christian Governor General. That made the whole difference between it and Macedonia, where there was no such provision. As regarded horrors all round the world, he repudiated the doctrine that they were the same to us as those in Macedonia. His view was that there was no parallel between the horrors of Burmah and those of Macedonia, because we had not guaranteed the safety of the Burmese Government, and were not responsible for its existence.

House adjourned at a quarter before
Six o'clock, till To-morrow, a
quarter past Ten o'clock.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS,

*Monday, 17th November,* 1884.

MINUTES.] — New Writs Issued — *For* Greenock, *v.* James Stewart, esquire, Manor of Northstead; *for* Down, *v.* Honble. Charles Stewart Vane Tempest, commonly called Viscount Castlereagh, called up to the House of Peers.

Ways and Means—*considered in Committee*—Income Tax.

Public Bill—*Second Reading*—Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act Amendment* [37].

*Withdrawn*—Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women)* [32].

### REPRESENTATION OF THE PEOPLE BILL — REDISTRIBUTION.

### MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

**Mr. GLADSTONE**: I wish, Sir, by the permission and indulgence of the House, to make a brief intimation which I think it desirable the Members of the House should have in their possession. A great deal, Sir, has been said with regard to the present political circumstances, or, as it has sometimes been called, "the crisis," about an interchange of views between different Parties, and about the question whether Government ought to introduce a Bill relating to the redistribution of seats before the Franchise Bill can have passed the other House of the Legislature, or even before that House may go into Committee on that measure. Sir, for my own part, with respect to those communications between Parties, I think there is no conclusive objection of a universal character to such communications. Indeed, an interchange of views on certain occasions may, in my opinion—and it is shared by my Colleagues—afford the readiest means of averting serious public evils. A noble Lord (Lord John Manners) has recently stated, in respect to the present political circumstances, that no private or public communications could be held with Her Majesty's Government. I do not wish to hold anyone to an expression which may have been one of inadvertence, and I have nothing to say now in respect of private communications in particular; but, of course, as regards public communications, no one has the power to proscribe or prevent a declaration being made openly in this

House. Sir, with respect to the Bill that has recently been before us, and with respect to the settlement of the question of the representation of the people, our object — the object of the Government—is to secure the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay. We could not, consistently with our sense of duty, enter into any understanding, and we could not take any step as to the immediate introduction or prosecution of a Bill relating to the redistribution of seats, or relating to any other particulars connected therewith, unless it were such as to afford us an adequate assurance that we should thereby secure the attainment of our main purpose—namely, the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay, that is to say—that there may be no difficulty as to the sense we attach to the phrase—that is to say, during the present Autumnal Sitting. If that object were gained the Franchise Bill would then come into operation, and take effect for voting purposes on the 1st of January, 1886, and not before. Now, Sir, if we are adequately assured —and I have spoken of adequate measure—if we are adequately assured of the attainment of that object—namely, the passing of the Franchise Bill without delay, in the sense in which I have explained it, then I am not aware of any demand likely to be made in relation to proceedings upon the other measure to which we should not be able to accede. In illustration of this remark—that Gentlemen may understand that it is not used without a meaning—I will specify the three following points, which I particularize because I think they are obvious and of the greatest importance. In the first place, we should be ready either to make the main provisions of our redistribution scheme or the draft of the Bill itself the subject of friendly communication at once and before its introduction, and to make every effort—every reasonable effort—for accommodation in regard to these particulars, or we should be ready, apart from what I have just said, to present a Bill at once to the House conceived in the spirit of that sketch which I made in the House, and which, perhaps, I may best describe by saying that it was one very much noticed by my right hon. Friend the Member for Ripon (Mr. Goschen), and one which, as we thought, was favourably received by the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) on Friday evening, I think the 7th of November. That is the first of the three points. The second point is that we should be ready to prosecute the measure with all possible speed, even to the point of moving the second reading simultaneously with the passing of the Franchise Bill into Committee in the House of Lords; or, if any matter of procedure there rendered that impracticable, then simultaneously with any subsequent stage. I do not refer to any proceedings simultaneously with the second reading in the House of Lords; because, first of all, the time is too short to introduce that practically into the question; and, secondly, because we have understood—and the world generally appears to understand as we understand—that the second reading of the Bill is not a contested stage on the present occasion. Thirdly, we are quite willing to make the passing of our Bill for the Redistribution of Seats a vital question for ourselves, and also to use our best efforts to bring it to an issue in the House of Commons early in the coming year. That, Sir, is the substance of the communication I have to make; and I have been authorized by my Colleagues, in a matter of such deep interest, to convey it to the House at the present moment.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, the proceeding of the right hon. Gentleman is an unusual one, and I do not know whether I have any right to make any remark upon it. I will only venture to say this—that I entirely agree with him that questions of this kind ought to be made a subject of public arrangement in the presence of the House of Commons and Parliament. But I am perfectly unable to make any remark upon the suggestions he has made at the present time. They come to me as a surprise, in the form in which they are presented, and I am unable myself to say what is the view which may be taken on the subject. I hardly think that the right hon. Gentleman can expect an answer at the present moment.

MR. GLADSTONE: I have not the slightest intention of making an appeal either to the right hon. Gentleman or to anyone upon the subject. I consider the observations I made, if I may say so, to be in the nature of a prolonged Notice, but not calling upon anyone for reply; and I am sorry if by my manner, or in any way, I have conveyed the idea that I could have expected anything so obviously impossible.

MR. JOHN MORLEY: I want to know, Sir, whether I am in Order? [*Cries of* "Order!"] I merely rise, Sir, for the purpose of putting a Question to the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, and not for the purpose of making any remarks upon the statement he has made to the House. We, sitting here, did not understand from the right hon. Gentleman what was the nature of the guarantee which he expected to have from hon. Gentlemen opposite or from the House of Lords in return for which he is prepared to act upon the three courses which he has pointed out. If the right hon. Gentleman will enlighten us on that point, it would give great satisfaction to many of us here.

MR. GLADSTONE: I cannot say that I think my hon. Friend is not quite justified in putting that Question. The phrase I used was "an adequate assurance." After all, I am not now speaking of what is to guide the conduct of the Government; and necessarily, from the nature of the case, they must be the judges, under great responsibility—they must be the judges ultimately of the meaning that they would give, for practical purposes, to any phrase of that kind. Such assurances are sometimes conveyed in a form extremely definite, sometimes they are conveyed in a form less definite. Either the acceptance or the rejection of such an assurance would be an act of high responsibility on the part of the Government. My hon. Friend may be perfectly confident that we shall be very desirous not to arrive lightly at any decision upon that question.

Afterwards,

SIR WILFRID LAWSON said: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the statement he has made as to the existence of the Government being at stake on the passing of the Redistribution Bill has reference to the passing of the measure through this House, or through both Houses of Parliament?

MR. GLADSTONE: When I spoke, Sir, I had in view especially the passing of the Redistribution Bill through this House; but I can conceive that a pledge of that kind applies equally to the other House of Parliament.

## *QUESTIONS.*

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### PUBLIC MEETINGS (IRELAND)—THE RIOT AT PORTADOWN.

MR. T. A. DICKSON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What decision the Government have arrived at regarding the continuance of Captain Whelan in the position of a Resident Magistrate; and, if the services of District Inspector Smith are to be continued at Portadown?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The riot which occurred at Portadown on the 22nd ultimo has been the subject of the careful consideration of the Government. I very much regret that my hon. Friend and others should have suffered from the extreme violence of the mob. I further very much regret that the Local Authorities did not come to the determination of having a larger force of police upon the ground on the occasion. The Resident Magistrate, Captain Whelan, is now, and has been for some time previous to this disturbance, in a state of health which quite incapacitated him from discharging the duties of his office, at all events for the time being. He is seriously to blame for not having acquainted the Government with the fact, and having some arrangement made to have a properly qualified magistrate placed in charge of the police. A medical examination will be made of his case, and if it is found that he is not capacitated for further duty he will be retired on pension. As regards District Inspector Smith, he has been censured for not sending for reinforcements of police upon the second occasion, as His Excellency is not satisfied that so small a force should have been provided for the protection of the persons present. On the other hand, Mr. Smith is to be commended for having taken the control of the police in hand himself while he was temporarily upon a sick bed. Under all the circumstances, the Government does not see any necessity for removing him from Portadown.

MR. T. A. DICKSON: I beg to give Notice that I shall, upon this day week, ask, Whether Captain Whelan has not sent in his resignation?

## THE MAGISTRACY (IRELAND)—BAILIEBOROUGH PETTY SESSIONS.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If the attention of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland has been drawn to certain proceedings of Justices at Bailieborough (county Cavan) Petty Sessions on the 16th September and the 21st October last; whether, on the former date, two Justices, Robert Gibson and Thomas Chambers, both Protestants, heard a case in which a Protestant named James Jones charged four Catholics named Caffrey, Finegan, Halfpenny, and Ward with waylaying and beating him; and, although it was proved by a witness for the prosecution that Jones had first challenged Caffrey, struck him, and knocked him down, and that a fight had ensued between Caffrey and Jones, the others merely looking on, the Justices sentenced Caffrey to a month's imprisonment with hard labour, and the three spectators to a fortnight each; whether, on the same occasion, the Justices fined the Catholics brought before them for drunkenness ten shillings each, and the Protestants only half-a-crown, even in a case where it was proved the defendant had kicked the police; whether, on the 21st ultimo, Messrs. Chambers and Gibson, Justices, both Protestants, a young man named Keating, a Catholic, charged five men—one of them, James Hunter, a Protestant—with beating him; and, after the complainant had testified against the five men, Mr. Gibson, J.P. suggested to the accused man, Hunter, that he might have held Keating "only to save him," and this suggestion being adopted by Hunter, the evidence of the complainant was rejected, and, on the evidence of Hunter, one of the other men named Gogarty was committed and sent to prison for a month; and, whether the Lord Chancellor will cause inquiry to be had into these proceedings, and will examine the condition of the magistracy in the county Cavan, and particularly in the petty sessions districts of Bailieborough, Shercock, Kingscourt, Mullagh, and Virginia, in which there is not one Catholic Justice of the Peace?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I have received from the police authorities a full account of the proceedings at Bailieborough Petty Sessions on the occasion of the hearing of the cases referred to. I am unwilling to trespass upon the time of the House by entering into details of the cases; but I can assure the hon. Member that the result shows no ground for imputing sectarian partiality to the Bench, or for any reference to the Lord Chancellor as to the conduct of the magistrates. As to the composition of the Magistracy of the county of Cavan, it is engaging the attention of the Lord Chancellor; and I may mention that of nine magistrates appointed by his Lordship five are Roman Catholic gentlemen.

## THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SEIZURE OF ARMS.

Mr. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, With regard to a seizure of arms some time since in a blacksmith's forge at Tubbercurry, county Sligo, whether a person passing under the name of Bartley, who was at that time tenant of the forge, and professed to earn his living as a blacksmith, was in reality a member of the Constabulary Force named Woods; whether Constable Woods had been sent to Tubberycurry by County Inspector James Ellis French, and provided with money, for the purpose of renting the forge, and of assuming a character in which he could provoke offences against the Law by inducing the young men of the district to engage in illegal enterprises; whether Woods is still serving in the Constabulary Force in a certain part of the north of Ireland; and, whether the Executive sanction such a use of the police as that described?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I must not be understood as admitting any of the allegations involved in this Question regarding an individual case when, in the interests of justice and the Public Service, I decline to answer the hon. Member's inquiry. I must, however, distinctly assert that the Irish Executive do not sanction any action on the part of the police intended to induce persons to engage in illegal enterprizes.

## ENDOWED SCHOOLS — MILTON ABBAS GRAMMAR SCHOOL—THE NEW SCHEME.

Mr. MONTAGUE GUEST asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether, having regard to the fact that the scheme proposed by the Charity Commissioners in relation to the Milton Abbas Grammar School at Blandford has been strongly objected to by the inhabitants as well as by the corporation of that town, and moreover that petitions have already been presented to both Houses of Parliament, and that more are in course of preparation against the proposed scheme, it is the intention of the Charity Commissioners to direct an Assistant Commissioner to hold an inquiry respecting the subject matter of the scheme; and, whether they have ignored the objections made by the locality interested in the school, and have submitted the scheme as settled by them to the Education Department?

Mr. MUNDELLA, in reply, said, that the scheme relating to Milton Abbas Grammar School at Blandford had not yet reached the Education Department, and the Commissioners informed him that they were now considering the representations made to them by the local authorities. They added that no application had been made to them for any further inquiry.

### IRELAND — THE NEW MUSEUM OF SCIENCE AND ART, DUBLIN.

Mr. FINDLATER asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, Whether, having regard to the fact that the plans for the Science and Art Museum have, with certain modifications, been approved of by the Science and Art Department, as well as by the Board of Works in Ireland, there is any reason why the Treasury should delay their sanction to the working drawings being prepared, and the contracts entered into?

Mr. COURTNEY said, that steps would be taken to commence the foundations that day week.

### REGISTRY OF DEEDS OFFICE (IRELAND).

Mr. SEXTON asked, If the attention of the Government had been called to the state of the public searching room of the Registry of Deeds Office?

Mr. FINDLATER said, that he had upon this Question to call attention to the state of the public searching and reading room; and he would ask the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he is aware that serious complaints have been made by those who are compelled to use the present Public Reading Room at the Registry of Deeds Office, Ireland, of the want of space, and of the offensive and unhealthy character of the atmosphere when the room is crowded; and, can he state why, up to the present, nothing has been done to carry out the recommendations of the Royal Commissioners in respect of the improvement and enlargement of this apartment made in their Report on the Office issued so long ago as the year 1880; and, will steps be taken immediately to remedy the existing state of things?

Mr. COURTNEY was understood to state that complaints had been received upon this subject, and inquiry was made some time ago as to whether the public search-room could be enlarged; but it appeared this could not be done until the Probate Registry had been removed. This, it was hoped, would soon be done, and plans for the enlargement of the Deeds Office would then be at once considered.

### LAND LAW (IRELAND) ACT, 1881 — LOANS TO TENANTS — STATUTORY ADVERTISEMENTS.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Financial Secretary to the Treasury, If he can state why the statutory advertisement published by the Commissioners of Public Works in Ireland relating to loans to tenants was inserted in *The Leinster Express* of Saturday the 8th instant, and not in *The Leinster Leader*, the Nationalist organ of much more general circulation?

Mr. COURTNEY was understood to state that he had been informed that the paper referred to was the only one published in Queen's County, and had as large a circulation as any there. Many similar advertisements for Kildare were published in *The Leinster Leader*.

### COUNTY LUNATIC ASYLUMS—MIDDLESEX COUNTY ASYLUMS—INSUFFICIENCY OF ACCOMMODATION.

Mr. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether his attention has been directed to the case of a poor man, whose wife, having been placed four times previously in a public asylum, was on the fifth occasion, in August last, sent by the Paddington Guardians to a private asylum, at an additional cost to him of nine shillings a week, because in the three county asylums of Hanwell, Colney Hatch, and Banstead there was no accommodation; and, whether it is in the power of the Government to take any steps to cause sufficient accommodation to be provided for the afflicted poor?

SIR WILLIAM HARCOURT, in reply, said, that his attention had been called to the case referred to in the Question. The inadequate accommodation in the county asylums had been several times brought to the attention of the Justices by the Lunacy Commissioners, and he would do everything in his power to secure proper accommodation being provided. In the particular case in question, the husband of the lunatic would pay no more than if his wife had been placed in a public asylum.

## PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882 (WARRANTS)—EXTRA POLICE, TIMAHOE, QUEEN'S COUNTY.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it is the intention of the Government to impose any tax in respect of additional police upon the district of Timahoe, in the Queen's County, in the absence of any actual offences, and the mere misgivings of the resident magistrate or the local inspector of police?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: As I informed the hon. Member a few days ago, intimidation and "Boycotting" have been largely practised in this district, which cannot, therefore, be said to be free from actual offences. The "Boycotted" persons require extra protection to prevent outrage and further intimidation. It was on these grounds, and not upon mere misgivings, that the district was proclaimed as requiring additional police.

MR. ARTHUR O'CONNOR: I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether the intimidation and "Boycotting" could be specified, or whether the Report which the right hon. Gentleman quoted from was merely couched in general terms?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I think it is merely in general terms.

## CIVIL SERVICE (IRELAND)—PENSIONS, &c., TO MESSRS. CORNWALL AND FRENCH.

MR. GRAY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether he is in a position to give an assurance that any moneys which the Government may give, either by way of gratuity, allowance, or pension, to Messrs. Cornwall and French, will be placed upon the Estimates and submitted to the Vote of this House, and not paid out of any secret fund?

MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Member must, I think, be aware that in no case could the Irish Government be in any way concerned in, or responsible for, the grant of a pension to an official of the Post Office Department. So far as I am concerned, I am quite willing to state that no money will be paid out of any secret fund to Mr. French.

## INDIA—BURMAH—THE MANDALAY MASSACRES.

MR. RITCHIE asked the Under Secretary of State for India, Whether the Government are aware that, during the massacres ordered by the Burmese Government at Mandalay last month, two British subjects, natives of Chittagong and seamen belonging to a steamer owned by an English Company, were amongst the victims, and that these men were at the time being detained in one of the gaols for some petty act of smuggling; whether, if it is proved that British subjects were amongst those murdered, the Government will take any steps to bring King Theebaw and his Government to account; and, whether the Government are aware that a memorial, embodying resolutions passed at a meeting of over 8,000 citizens of Rangoon, has been forwarded to Lord Ripon, Governor General of India, and that this memorial demands from the Government some immediate interference in Upper Burmah that will for the future insure protection to British life and property?

MR. J. K. CROSS: The Government of India telegraphs that they have received no precise information as to the report that two British subjects were among the victims of the Mandalay massacres; but they are making inquires on this point. I learn from the newspapers that a Memorial of the nature alluded to by the hon. Member for the Tower Hamlets has been addressed to the Government of India; but the Secretary of State has not, as yet, received any communication from that Government on the subject.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. P. N. FITZGERALD AND THE TUBBERCURRY PRISONERS—COMPENSATION FOR IMPRISONMENT.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, in the cases of Mr. P. N. Fitzgerald and the Tubbercurry prisoners, the Government propose to offer any compensation, considering that several of the men accused have been held for seven months in prison, and all of them for the greater part of that time, and that the families of all of them were, and are, dependent on their exertions for the maintenance of their position in life; and, whether, in the case of Mr. P. N. Fitzgerald, the Government will particularly consider that the charge of conspiring to murder was left hanging over him until his trial for treason-felony had closed in an acquittal, and was then abandoned without any attempt being made to prove it, and that the principal witnesses produced by the Crown to establish the charge for treason-felony were declared, by a special jury of the city and county of Dublin, to be "unworthy of credence?"

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): It is wholly contrary to precedent to compensate persons who have been tried for serious crimes by a jury and acquitted, or as regards whom a *nolle prosequi* has been entered after a jury had declined to convict others on similar evidence; and there is no reason in the present case for departing from that rule. The bill for conspiracy to murder against Fitzgerald was found by the Grand Jury, as well as that for treason-felony. The Crown could only put him on his trial for one charge. His acquittal on one involved in this case, in the opinion of the Attorney General, the abandonment of the other charge.

MR. SEXTON: I shall endeavour to show cause in the case hereafter.

### CRIMINAL LAW (IRELAND)—THE CORNWALL TRIAL.

MR. SEXTON asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether lately a special jury of the city and county of Dublin, empanelled under the provisions of the Crime Prevention Act, returned a verdict of "not guilty" in the case of The Queen v. Cornwall, and appended a rider to the effect that they had been obliged to return the verdict in question because the Crown had not brought forward sufficient evidence to justify a conviction; whether the Crown had available evidence against Cornwall which they did not bring forward; if so, why they withheld it from the jury; whether, further, a special jury of the city and county of Dublin, empanelled under the provisions of the Crime Prevention Act, returned a verdict of "not guilty" in the case of The Queen v. Fitzgerald, and appended a declaration that the principal witnesses brought forward by the Crown were unworthy of credence, and that the corroborating evidence was of a complicated and doubtful character; whether the principal witnesses so denounced by the jury were the informers Moran and Delany; whether Moran will be longer retained in the pay of the Government, and whether the Government have resolved not to make use of him or Delany in any future prosecution; and, whether the cases of any persons convicted on their evidence will now be reconsidered?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): The rider that the verdict referred to in the case of "The Queen *v.* Cornwall" was not in the terms or to the effect mentioned in the first part of the Question. It conveyed no reflection on the prosecution. All available evidence was produced, and no evidence whatever was withheld from the jury. In the case of "The Queen *v.* Fitzgerald" a verdict of "Not guilty" was returned, the jury in the case considering the corroboration of Moran and Delany insufficient, and declining without more corroboration to act on their testimony. Moran is not in the pay of the Government. No undertaking can be given as to cases that have not arisen. The recent trial furnishes no reason for reconsidering former cases if they existed; but the only case in which Moran was examined was at the trial of Daly at the Warwick Assizes, and any Question as regards that trial should be addressed to the Home Secretary.

Mr. SEXTON: I would ask the hon. and learned Gentleman whether he has not passed over the portion of the rider which stated that the principal witnesses were "unworthy of credence?"

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): I dealt with that in stating that the jury declined to act on their testimony.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Can the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland say whether the Crown had any arrangement with Delany as to his liberty, or as to any reward, and, if so, whether that arrangement will now be carried out, in face of the verdict of the jury?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): No, Sir; they had no such arrangement.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. D. BODKIN—FEES FOR DEFENDING A PRISONER UNDER THE PREVENTION OF CRIME ACT.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether his attention has been directed to a correspondence between Mr. D. Bodkin and the Under Secretary, with reference to the fees payable to Mr. Bodkin as junior counsel assigned by the Crown, under the Crimes Act, for the defence of a man named Killeen, charged with the murder of Henry East; whether the fees found due to Mr. Bodkin, in reference to proceedings in the case extending from 29th July 1882, to 14th February 1883, amounting to £32 11*s.*, as per solicitor's schedule of costs, were reduced to £13 13*s.*; by whom, and on what principle, was the reduction made; is it the fact, as stated in Mr. Bodkin's letter, that counsel assigned for the defence of the Maamtrasna prisoners and others, who were convicted, were paid on a far more liberal scale by the Crown than that laid down in the only case in which there was an acquittal; is it a fact that additional labour was thrown on counsel for Killeen's defence, by the procedure adopted by the Crown solicitor in obtaining a list of the prisoner's witnesses, on pretence of paying their expenses, and then secretly examining them, in the absence of any representative of the prisoner, and using their statements against the prisoner on his trial; and, is it a fact that any difference is made in the scale of fees paid to counsel in cases of conviction and of acquittal?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): The bill of costs furnished by the solicitor for the prisoner in respect of the defence was referred, according to the usual practice, to the Crown and Treasury Solicitor for taxation. The bill, as taxed, amounted to £85 5*s.*, and that sum was paid. No exceptional principle was applied in this case. No difference whatever is made whether there be a conviction or acquittal. The fees measured in the present case were according to the usual scale applied in estimating fees. If the fees allowed in the Maamtrasna case were larger, that fact was not before the Crown and Treasury Solicitor, who judge of each case on its own merits, without regard to the result of the trial. There is no foundation whatever for the suggestion that the Crown Solicitor adopted the procedure suggested in the 5th paragraph of the Question.

Mr. O'BRIEN: Will the hon. and learned Gentleman have any objection to give a Return of the correspondence between Mr. Bodkin and the Under Secretary for Ireland upon this subject?

The SOLICITOR GENERAL for IRELAND (Mr. Walker): Perhaps the hon. Member will give Notice of that.

### PUBLIC MEETINGS—THE RIOT AT ASTON HALL, BIRMINGHAM.

Mr. ONSLOW asked Mr. Attorney General, If he will cause inquiries to be made as to the allegation that certain persons, stated to have signed statutory declarations regarding the recent riot at Aston, cannot now be found; and, whether he would advise the Public Prosecutor, in the interests of justice, to use his best endeavours to discover the whereabouts of these individuals, inasmuch as the documents in question are now the property of the House, having been communicated on the responsibility of a Minister of the Crown?

The ATTORNEY GENERAL (Sir Henry James), in reply, said, he had already given the opinion that it was very objectionable for the Government to interfere in any proceedings arising out of electioneering contests. If that rule were a good one to apply, he knew of no place where an exception to it was less required than at Birmingham. He might mention that the two persons who could not be discovered had now been found, and he understood that process had not only been issued but executed.

### CIVIL SERVICE (PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATURE) — SIR WILLIAM BRAMPTON GURDON.

Mr. HICKS asked Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, Whether he can now state when the notice was sent to Sir W. B. Gurdon, informing him that his candidature for West Norfolk was not compatible with his position as a senior clerk in the Treasury?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, that he saw Sir Brampton Gurdon on the 12th November, and he then communicated to Sir Brampton what he subsequently communicated to the House—namely, that his candidature was incompatible with his official position.

Mr. HICKS inquired when the right hon. Gentleman received the first information of his candidature?

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers) said, he could not mention the exact date; but he first knew of it some time before he spoke to Sir Brampton Gurdon.

Mr. HICKS gave Notice that he would ask the Secretary to the Treasury when he first become acquainted with the candidature.

### PUBLIC HEALTH—IMPORTATION OF BUTTERINE AND OLEOMARGARINE—REPORTS FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

Mr. MOORE asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, What steps have been taken to obtain information with respect to the action of Foreign Governments with regard to oleomargarine and other butter substitutes?

Lord EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Reports have been called for on the subject from Her Majesty's Representatives in the principal countries of Europe. They are in course of preparation, and I hope shortly to be able to lay them before the House.

*The Attorney General*

### IRELAND—THE CORK BUTTER MARKET—THE BYE-LAWS.

Mr. MOORE asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Trustees of the Cork Butter Market have yet framed the bye-laws for the government of that Market under the Act of last Session; and, whether the Government will see that ample notice is given to all parties concerned before these bye-laws receive the sanction of the Privy Council?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: The hon. Member is aware that the Act of Parliament prescribes a limit of six months time within which the Trustees of the Butter Market shall draw up a code of bye-laws. Of that period two months have yet to run. The Trustees have not yet submitted their bye-laws to the Privy Council; but I understand that they have nearly completed a draft code for the purpose. Care will be taken that all proper publicity is given to the matter before the bye-laws are finally sanctioned. The provisions of the Statute on this point seem very explicit, and they shall be duly complied with.

### PUBLIC HEALTH — PRECAUTIONS AGAINST CHOLERA.

Mr. MOORE asked the President of the Local Government Board, Whether any and what precautions have been taken in view of the approach of cholera; whether any instructions have been issued to the local authorities regarding the use and distribution of disinfectants; and, whether it is intended to appoint any medical Commission of Inquiry to assist the Local Government Board if necessary?

Sir CHARLES W. DILKE: Cholera Regulations which define the duties and powers of officers of Customs and Port sanitary authorities in view of cholera being brought by shipping were issued in July, 1883, and are still in force. The Regulations were accompanied by an Explanatory Circular, and by a Memorandum as to "precautions against the infection of cholera" prepared by the Board's medical officer. This Memorandum was reissued in July last. Regulations have also from time to time been issued relating to rags from infected countries. Orders respecting rags from France and Italy are at present in force.

The Board have caused inspection to be made by Dr. Blaxall and Dr. De Chaumont of the sanitary condition of the principal English ports, particularly with reference to their preparedness against cholera. This inspection is to be repeated. Each rumoured case of cholera on board ships coming to English ports has been the subject of inquiry by the Board; and the local sanitary authorities have in each instance, been found to be taking proper precautions against the importation of the disease. The Royal College of Physicians of London, after consulting the Board, have issued a Paper of Advice to the public, dated July, 1884. As regards London, Sir F. Bolton has made special reports to the Board of the state of the water supplies. The Metropolitan Asylums Board have been taking numerous preliminary steps with reference to the provision of hospital accommodation in the event of an outbreak of cholera; and the Metropolitan medical officers of health have been advising the Vestries and District Boards, and taking much counsel with each other as to the most efficient preparations and the best course of action if cases of cholera should appear. The Board are prepared, if occasion should require, to put into force in England the provisions of the Diseases Prevention Act, 1855, and the Diseases Prevention Clauses of the Public Health Act, 1875. If Regulations were issued under those Acts, they would contemplate a serious epidemic and be of a stringent character. It was not deemed requisite to exercise powers under similar enactments when cholera was seriously prevalent in Paris in 1873. As regards the use and distribution of disinfectants, the sanitary authorities have their official medical advisers, and at present there would appear to the Board to be no necessity for their intervention; but they will, of course, be desirous of rendering the local authorities every assistance in their power. The medical officer of the Board, Dr. Buchanan, has had considerable experience of cholera in England, especially during the outbreaks of 1854 and 1865-6; and the Board have the greatest confidence in him and his staff. I may, however, mention that a Committee was formed in 1883 for the purpose of conferring as to cholera. This Committee included, with our own medical officer, Sir William Jenner, Sir Joseph Fayrer, who has had long experience of cholera in India, Sir Lyon Playfair, and representatives of the Foreign Office, the Home Office, the Customs, the Metropolitan Asylums Board, and the Local Government Board. It has not been considered necessary to call the Committee together during the present year; but not long since a conference took place between representatives of the Metropolitan Asylums managers and members of our medical staff and myself to consider the question of arrangements in the event of an outbreak in London. I may add that there is no truth in the rumour prevalent in Paris that there has been any cholera in London, or, indeed, in England.

**MR. MOORE**: May I ask in what form the Paper of Advice issued by the Royal College of Physicians is published, and where it can be obtained?

**SIR CHARLES W. DILKE**: I have seen a copy of it, and will cause a copy to be sent to the hon. Member; but I cannot speak as to the manner in which it has been circulated. I imagine it has been sent to the various sanitary officers.

## IRELAND—CORPORATION OF LIMERICK—EXTRA POLICE TAX.

**MR. DAWSON** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether, considering the many local and other questions of detail involved in the Limerick extra Police Tax, the Lord Lieutenant will comply with the request of the Corporation to appoint a Commission to inquire into the merits of the case in Limerick?

**MR. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: I fear I can only refer the hon. Member to my reply to his former Question on this subject, when I stated that it would be impossible for the Government to comply with such an application.

## ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY—SHOOTING WITHOUT INLAND REVENUE LICENCE.

**MR. DEASY** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Constables M'Carry and Brady, of the Whitegate Police Station, county Cork, frequently shoot rabbits, sea-fowls, &c. without an Inland Revenue Licence; whether the fowling-piece used by them is one which has been given to a resident in the neighbourhood for his protection; whether the constables have for many days together kept possession of the gun; will they be prosecuted for a violation of the Inland Revenue Act; and, what notice will be taken by the Constabulary Authorities of their conduct?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: I am informed that on one or two occasions the constables named have accidentally met a gamekeeper or another person—a retired Coastguard officer—who allowed them to fire a few shots at rabbits or sea-fowl. There is no other foundation for the statements in the Question. The men bear a high character, and they transgressed thoughtlessly in this matter. The Inspector General does not intend to take further notice of the proceeding, except to caution them to be very careful not to give any opportunity for accusing them of breaking the law.

**Mr. DEASY** said, the right hon. Gentleman had not answered the last paragraph of his Question.

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN** said, that contraventions of the Inland Revenue Act were matters for the action of the Inland Revenue authorities.

## NAVY—TRAINING SHIPS.

**Mr. MACFARLANE** asked the Civil Lord to the Admiralty, If he would take into consideration the urgent desire of the people of the Island of Lewis that a training ship should be stationed in the Harbour of Stornoway, where it is said there are 1,000 boys anxious to avail themselves of the opportunity which would be thus afforded to them of learning a valuable profession?

**Sir THOMAS BRASSEY**, in reply, said, the Admiralty could not undertake to increase the number of their training ships. Any person who desired it would receive full information as to joining the Service from the officer of the Coastguard at Stornoway, and if the candidates were properly qualified they would be gladly received.

**Mr. MACFARLANE** asked whether he was to understand from the hon. Gentleman that the Government were not prepared to carry out one of the strongest recommendations on this subject of the Royal Commission? Had they finally decided not to give effect to that recommendation?

**Sir THOMAS BRASSEY** said, he had already stated that the Admiralty could not undertake to increase the number of their training ships. Training ships for the Mercantile Marine were not under the administration of the Admiralty.

## CIVIL SERVICE — INLAND REVENUE APPOINTMENTS—ALLOWANCES FOR AGE.

**Mr. SEXTON** asked the Secretary to the Treasury, Whether the rule of the Civil Service Commissioners regarding allowances, in point of age, to candidates for appointments in the Inland Revenue is intended to exclude Irish National teachers while favouring clerks in Government offices and members of the Constabulary Force who desire to compete for such appointments; and, if so, will any steps be taken to place the National teachers on the same footing in this matter with other Civil servants of the Crown, by enabling them to qualify for competition for places in the Inland Revenue service by deducting from their actual age any time not exceeding five years which they have spent as National teachers, instead of, as now, debarring them from entering to compete after they have reached their twenty-second year?

**Mr. COURTNEY** said, that National teachers were not allowed the extension of age referred to, because, in the first place, they were not Civil servants; in the next place, their special training did not qualify them for clerical work; and, thirdly, it was not for the public advantage that they should be encouraged to abandon their profession.

## ARMY—QUARTERMASTERS—PROMOTION.

**Mr. BIGGAR** asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether the seven young serjeants who were promoted by favour to lieutenancies on the 2nd July 1884 can all reach the Pay Department over the heads of 449 meritorious quartermasters; whether quartermasters were eligible for the post of regimental paymaster until the Pay Department was formed; whether 449 out of the 455 quartermasters shown in the Official Army List, dated 17th January 1884, are debarred from entering the Pay Department, and from all substantive promotion; and, whether quartermasters are combatant officers, as stated in the Royal Warrant of 1st April 1884, or non-combatant, as implied by recent statements by the Government?

SIR ARTHUR HAYTER, in reply, said, that omitting the words, "by favour," the Question might be answered in the affirmative. This was the fifth Question which the hon. Member for Cavan had addressed to Ministers on the subject, and he had uniformly had the same answer. There was another Question on the Paper relating to the same matter for Thursday next. If it were put, he should appeal to the Speaker as to whether the time of the House was to be wasted by the repetition of Questions which had practically been answered.

### NAVY—ARMOUR-CLAD CRUISERS.

MR. GOURLEY asked the Secretary to the Admiralty, To be good enough to inform the House how many ocean armour-clad cruisers are at present in commission, stating number, calibre, and description of guns, also coal endurance of each ship; how many vessels of this type are being built; when they are likely to be finished; how intended to be armed; coal endurence; and ocean-going speed; if he can state how many coast and ocean-going torpedo craft are in commission, and how many are in course of construction; and, whether it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to appoint a Select Committee to inquire into the condition of the Navy?

SIR THOMAS BRASSEY: The information asked for cannot be conveniently given in reply to a Question. It has already been partially supplied in the Return presented in the last Session of Parliament by my hon. Friend the present Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant, and I cannot anticipate the statement which is to be made on Monday next on behalf of the Government with regard to the Navy.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—THE CROWN SOLICITOR FOR DUBLIN.

MR. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, What are the arrangements with the new Crown Solicitor for Dublin, by reason of which Mr. George Bolton's special services in connection with the administration of the Crimes Act are to be dispensed with; is it part of the functions of the Crown Solicitor for Dublin to undertake investigations in distant parts of the country, as in the cases of the Maamtrasna, Clonbar, and Ballyforan murders; if it be, why did not Mr. Anderson perform that duty; if it be not, why is Mr. Coll asked to undertake it; for what reasons was Mr. Bolton selected from the county Tipperary for these special duties; did he receive an autograph letter of thanks from Earl Spencer for his services; and, why have his services in this special department been discontinued?

THE SOLICITOR GENERAL FOR IRELAND (Mr. WALKER): Mr. Anderson was appointed in 1859. His duties were confined to criminal business arising in the County and City of Dublin. He resigned his office last month, and Mr. Coll was appointed in his place. A Commission appointed last year to report on the existing system of Crown Solicitors reported that it was desirable that the Crown Solicitor for Dublin should be required to devote his entire time to the duties of his office, and be bound on the direction of the Attorney General to take up the conduct of any special case or special legal business. Mr. Coll was appointed on those terms, and the conduct of any special case will henceforth devolve upon him. Mr. Bolton was selected for the special cases referred to on account of the ability and efficiency with which he had always discharged his duties in the County Tipperary. After the close of the Maamtrasna case Lord Spencer sent to several of the officials engaged, including Mr. Bolton, a letter expressing his sense of the services they had rendered in the unravelling of a great crime and bringing its perpetrators to justice.

### ARMY—DEFICIENCY OF MILITIA OFFICERS.

MR. TOTTENHAM asked the Secretary of State for War, If his attention has been called to the Confidental Reports of Officers commanding Militia Battalions and Brigades, with reference to the large and increasing deficiency of Militia Officers, called for by the Adjutant General in August last; whether this deficiency now amounts to upwards of 700; and, what steps it is proposed to take to remedy this state of things?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON said, the confidential Reports referred to were now under consideration. The deficiency amongst Militia officers at the present time amounted to 857, including

70 vacancies which had been lately caused by appointments to the Line. He thought it would be better not to give a digest of the Reports until some decision had been come to as to the steps to be taken in the matter.

### CIVIL SERVICE (IRELAND)—MR. CLIFFORD LLOYD.

Mr. KENNY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether Mr. Clifford Lloyd is at present in the service of the Irish Government; and, if so, in what capacity; and, whether he is receiving pay or pension of any sort from the Irish Government; and, if he is not in their service at present, at what time was his pay stopped?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Mr. Lloyd is at present on the list of Resident Magistrates of the first class, and receives the pay and allowances of that rank. He is at present on leave of absence with pay. This is practically the only case, I am told, in which leave has been granted other than for private purposes since 1880.

Mr. O'KELLY: Will the right hon. Gentleman say whether, during his presence in Egypt, he was in receipt of pay?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Not from the British Government.

Mr. O'KELLY: During his present absence from Egypt is he in receipt of Egyptian pay?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: No, Sir.

Mr. O'KELLY: I beg to give Notice that to-morrow I shall ask the Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs when the Egyptian pay of Mr. Clifford Lloyd ceased.

Mr. KENNY: Can the right hon. Gentleman say how long the Government proposed to continue Mr. Clifford Lloyd in the enjoyment of pay without any duties?

[No reply.]

### POOR LAW (IRELAND)—RATING—BALTINGLASS UNION, CO. WICKLOW.

Mr. W. J. CORBET asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If, as President of the Local Government Board in Ireland, the subject of an investigation granted by his predecessor in office into charges brought on behalf of the ratepayers of Baltinglass Union, county Wicklow, against Mr. Dagg, clerk of the Union, and George Driver, rate collector, has been brought under his notice; whether it is the fact that the following persons have been excluded from the Register by their action: Edward Byrne, Denis Halpin, Garret Byrne, Edward Cusack, Peter Reilly, James Brophy, and Patrick Byrne; whether he has observed, with reference to Edward Byrne's case, the following statement in the Report of the Poor Law Inspector, who presided at the inquiry—

> "The clerk of the Union admits . . . . complaint is well founded. He erroneously placed the word 'objected' opposite the voter's name, although the rates were duly paid on the 29th, June, 1883;"

whether he has noted that Denis Halpin's complaint is that he objected for insufficient rating, but the clerk alleges he objected to insufficient rating, the amount being £13 5*s.* £11 15*s.* separate, and £1 10*s.* his share of mountain pasture; whether he has observed, in the case of Garret Byrne, that he was duly rated and voted on a former occasion, but that the name was altered on the rate-book by erasing his name, and writing "reps Martin Byrne" over it; whether the inspector reports—

> "The rate-book contains an entry 'Reps Martin Byrne,' and that entry appeared to me to have been written over an erasure of more than a blot;"

whether he has noted, with regard to Conservative voters, that the name of William Vavasour was improperly retained on the rate-book after he had ceased to be a ratepayer, and had been struck off by the Valuation Office; whether he has noted that Rate Collector George Driver had his own name down twice in 1882 and three times in 1883; whether many previous complaints have been made from various quarters alleging partizan action on the part of Poor Law officials, in which "mistakes" and "errors of judgment" were pleaded in excuse; and, whether he approves the decision of his subordinates who do not think that there are grounds for deeming the Clerk of the Union and Mr. Driver to be unworthy of further confidence by reason of wilful dereliction of duty on their part?

Mr. M'COAN: Before the right hon. Gentleman answers I would like to ask whether substantially identical complaints were not addressed to the late Chief Secretary for Ireland last Session; whether he in reply did not state that the charges against Mr. Dagg were fully investigated by an Inspector of the Local Government Board, and disproved; and whether the present repetition of these complaints is not a vexatious attempt to reopen a question already settled?

MR. O'BRIEN: Might I ask the right hon. Gentleman at the same time whether the junior Member for Wicklow has recently visited his constituents?

MR. CAMPBELL BANNERMAN: In reply to my hon. Friend I can only say that the Question which stands on the Paper does appear to relate to a matter which has already been disposed of by competent authority. An inquiry has recently been held, as promised, by an Inspector of the Local Government Board into certain complaints made against officers of Baltinglass Union in connection with the election of Guardians, and in regard to the discharge of duties under the Parliamentary Voters' Act. The hon. Member will hardly exme within the limits of an answer to a Question to enter into details as to the several cases he refers to. He is, I believe, in communication with the Local Government Board on the subject. The Board has communicated to the Guardians the result of the Inspector's inquiry, and stated that, having carefully considered the facts elicited at the inquiry, they do not think that there are grounds for deeming the officers complained of to be unworthy of confidence, by reason of wilful dereliction of duty—although, no doubt, some mistakes had been made. I see no sufficient reason to dissent from that view. With regard to the complaints in respect of the proceedings under the Parliamentary Voters' Act, the hon. Member is no doubt aware that it is open to any person who may consider himself aggrieved to institute proceedings.

MR. W. J. CORBET: With regard to the Question put by my hon. Colleague, I would ask the right hon. Gentleman whether he is not aware that the investigation to which my Question refers was held on the 17th September last, long after the one held last year?

[No reply.]

## EGYPT—EXPEDITION UP THE NILE —NUMBER AND COST OF BOATS.

MR. MARRIOTT asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can give the number of the boats already sent from this Country for the Nile Expedition, the cost of each boat, and the several amounts paid for transporting such boats from the places where they were made to the port of embarkation from this Country to Alexandria, and from Alexandria to their ultimate destination?

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: Eight hundred boats were obtained at an average price delivered at the port of embarkation of £85. They were sent from this country to Alexandria at a cost of £20 each, and their transmission from Alexandria to Halfa cost £40 each.

## EGYPT—THE ALEXANDRIAN INDEMNITIES—MESSRS. LINADINO, RALLI, & CO.

MR. MARRIOTT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether it is true that the Egyptian Government have agreed to pay Messrs. Linadino, Ralli, and Co. eighty per cent. or any per-centage of their indemnity claim; and, if so, if he can give any reason why this firm should be treated differently to the rest of those entitled to indemnities?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government have received no information to this effect.

## EGYPT—CRIME AND OUTRAGE.

MR. MARRIOTT asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Whether he can lay upon the Table of the House a Return specifying the number of murders, robberies, and other outrages committed in Lower Egypt during the months of September and October; and, whether numbers of people who have hitherto lived in their country houses (àbâdiêhs) have not during the past two weeks been sending their families to reside in Cairo for safety?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: Her Majesty's Government are not in a position to lay such a Return as is mentioned by the hon. Member, nor have they received any information to the effect that families are being sent from the country to Cairo for safety. A Special Commission has been instituted in Lower Egypt to put an end to the frequent acts of brigandage which have been committed.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—MR. R. W. GAMBLE, Q.C., COUNTY COURT JUDGE OF ARMAGH.

**Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether it has come to the knowledge of the Lord Chancellor of Ireland that Mr. R. W. Gamble, Q.C., County Court Judge of Armagh, has detained in his hands, for upwards of two weeks, a number of decrees sent to him during the Armagh Sessions for signature, to the great inconvenience, and possible loss, of suitors; whether Mr. Gamble will be admonished; and, whether the Government will bring in a Bill to render the Judge's signature to decrees unnecessary, and to substitute a court seal therefor, so as to obviate the embarrassment constantly caused by County Court Judges detaining decrees for an unnecessary period?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: Beyond the suggestion in the Question, the Lord Chancellor has no knowledge that any decrees sent to the County Court Judge of Armagh for signature were detained by him. There is some necessary delay caused by comparison with the records. The County Court Judges are not responsible to the Government. It will be remembered that last Session a Bill was introduced by my hon. Friend the senior Member for Monaghan for the purpose, amongst others, of substituting a seal for signature. That Bill was, in this respect, supported by the Government; but it met with such opposition that the hon. Member was obliged to withdraw it.

### LAW AND JUSTICE (IRELAND)—JAMES B. M'CONNELL, PETTY SESSIONS CLERK, DROMORE.

**Mr. WILLIAM REDMOND** asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Whether the Irish Government is aware that James B. M'Connell, Petty Sessions Clerk of Dromore, county Down, was adjudicated a bankrupt; and, whether, under these circumstances, it is in accordance with the rules of the Civil Service to retain him in his position?

**Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN**: Mr. M'Connell became a bankrupt between eight and nine years ago. The fact of his bankruptcy came at the time under the notice of the Government of the day. Petty Sessions clerks, who are not, strictly speaking, Civil servants, and are not paid out of Imperial funds, were not then treated as within the spirit of the Civil Service Rule as to bankruptcy. The bankruptcy proceedings ended in the appropriation of £40 a-year from salary to the creditors, and the clerk's dismissal now would deprive them of the instalments which continue to be paid by this appropriation. This would make a retrospective application of the Civil Service Rule in this case very unjust.

### ARMY—THE LATE PAYMASTERS ELLIOTT AND HARRIS.

**Mr. BIGGAR** asked the Financial Secretary for War, Whether the public accounts of Paymaster Elliott, attached to the 2nd Battalion Yorkshire Regiment, and of Paymaster Harris, attached to to the 3rd Dragoon Guards, were found in a satisfactory state when those officers died?

**Sir ARTHUR HAYTER**: I am glad, Sir, to be able to say that the accounts of these deceased officers were found to be completely satisfactory by the Boards which reported upon them immediately after their death. I protest, however, against such a Question being put, unless some strong ground existed for anticipating a contrary answer. The officers are dead, and, however innocent, such Questions suggest a slur on their memory which, unjustifiable though it be, tends to cause pain to their relatives?

### EDUCATION DEPARTMENT — OVERPRESSURE IN BOARD SCHOOLS.

**Mr. STANLEY LEIGHTON** asked the Vice President of the Committee of Council, Whether the strongly-marked difference of opinion in the London School Board as to the expediency of the Board, rather than the Education Department, undertaking an inquiry into the alleged overpressure in elementary schools, and the fact that the National Union of Elementary Teachers, representing 13,000 teachers, have endorsed the conclusions of Dr. Crichton Browne and condemned the Report of Mr. Fitch, will induce him to reconsider his refusal to institute an inquiry by impartial medical men into the grievances complained of?

MR. MUNDELLA: I cannot admit the accuracy of the latter part of the hon. Member's statement. The letter from the Secretary of the National Union of Elementary Teachers distinctly states that—

> "Into the medical part of Dr. Browne's Report the Executive are not prepared to enter."

I am daily in receipt of evidence from teachers, many of whom are members of the National Union, entirely dissenting from the views set forth in Mr. Heller's letter. I may also remind the hon. Member that there are 50,000 teachers in England and Wales—not including pupil teachers—and 6,000 certificated teachers in Scotland. The London School Board having the whole matter under their consideration, I must decline to take any step which would practically take it out of their hands.

## AFRICA (WEST COAST)—THE LOWER CONGO—THE INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN ASSOCIATION.

MR. DODDS asked the Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, If the Government are aware that the Congo traders of all Nationalities are opposed to the protection of the Lower Congo by the so-called International Association; if the Government are aware that this Association is believed, on trustworthy evidence, to be either a trading concern or interested in trading projects; and, if, therefore, the Government will use their influence at the Berlin Conference to protect the traders by the establishment of an International European protectorate over the territories of the Lower Congo?

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE: The *status* and proceedings of the International African Association do not come within the scope of the Conference. I have already explained what the objects of the Conference are, and the Papers which I have laid to-day will explain this more fully.

## NAVY—H.M.S. "ACTIVE"—BURSTING OF A GUN.

MR. FRENCH-BREWSTER asked the Surveyor General of Ordnance, Whether it is true, as stated in the public Press, that a six-inch breech-loading gun has burst during practice on board H.M.S. *Active*; and, if so, whether the gun in question was of steel or iron, and of the latest pattern?

MR. BRAND: It is true that a gun burst during practice on board Her Majesty's ship *Active*. It was a mark II. 6-inch breech-loading gun, having a steel tube and a wrought-iron jacket. The latest pattern of the 6-inch gun is built entirely of steel.

MR. W. H. SMITH asked whether the Government could give any information as to the cause of the accident, and whether the gun itself exhibited any sign of weakness?

LORD EUSTACE CECIL: And where the gun was made—at Woolwich Arsenal or not?

MR. BRAND, in reply, said, that he had not received a final Report; but there was no reason to believe that the accident was due to any fault in construction. The gun was made at Elswick, but was of Woolwich design. It was fully proved, and successfully stood the test. He might also say that the burst occurred at a point not subject to great pressure. It was intended to appoint a Committee to inquire into the cause of the accident.

## ARMY—MEDICAL DEPARTMENT—SURGEONS MAJOR.

COLONEL WALROND asked the Secretary of State for War, Whether there is any reason why a communication should not be made to a Surgeon Major that he is not to be promoted to the rank of Brigade Surgeon as soon as it is decided that he is to be passed over, instead of allowing him only to become acquainted with the fact by seeing it in *The Gazette*.

THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON: It is distinctly laid down in the Royal Warrant that Surgeons Major are to be selected for promotion to the higher ranks of the Medical Staff. Under such a system, therefore, promotion is not necessarily the rejection of an incompetent officer, but the selection of the most competent officer; and I am not prepared to admit that that officer is passed over who does not happen to be selected for advancement, nor do I see that he is entitled to have notification made to him of his non-selection.

## PREVENTION OF CRIME (IRELAND) ACT, 1882, SECTION 14—SEIZURE OF PAPERS.

Mr. O'BRIEN asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, For what reason some of the papers of Mr. Matthew Harris of Ballinasloe, seized by the police, have not been returned; and, whether orders will be given that they shall be at once restored to their owner?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Nearly all the papers seized were returned to Mr. Harris's solicitor a few days ago. The few still retained will be the subject of further consideration, and a final conclusion will be come to in regard to them without delay.

Mr. PARNELL: I wish to ask the right hon. Gentleman under what Act these papers belonging to Mr. Harris were seized, and under what Act they were detained so long?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: I presume under the Prevention of Crime Act, though that is a point on which I cannot express a legal opinion; but I presume under the 14th section.

Mr. PARNELL: Perhaps the hon. and learned Solicitor General for Ireland, who is present, would kindly state under what section of that Act these papers were seized? As I understand it, the 14th section only authorized the seizure of papers in reference to which there was a suspicion of an illegal act being committed.

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: That would probably be the case in this instance. Perhaps the hon. Member would kindly give Notice of the Question.

## LAW AND POLICE (IRELAND)—COLONEL THACKWELL, WHITEGATE, COUNTY CAVAN.

Mr. DEASY asked the Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, If it is true that about a year ago the Constabulary at Whitegate, county of Cork, received information that Colonel Thackwell, a resident in that district, had attempted the life of one of his servants with a revolver; and, whether any entry of the information was made in the barrack journal; and, if so, why Colonel Thackwell was not prosecuted?

Mr. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN: Two and a-half years ago—not one year as has been represented to the hon. Member—some disturbance occurred at Colonel Thackwell's residence. He sent a message to the police barrack that he had been assaulted by one of his servants, and he asked that some of the police might be sent up. On their arrival they found that matters had quieted down. It appeared that Colonel Thackwell had fired a shot in the air; but it is not a fact that he had attempted the life of one of his servants. The matter was closely investigated by the District Inspector at the time. There was an entry in the barrack journal; but there was no ground for prosecution.

## POLICE ACTS (IRELAND)—EXTRA POLICE TAX IN GALWAY AND SOUTH MAYO.

Colonel NOLAN asked the First Lord of the Treasury, If he would take into consideration the low price of stock and produce in the West of Ireland, and also the peaceable state of the Country; and if Her Majesty's Government would mark their appreciation of these facts by remitting the present and future payments of Extra Police Taxes in Galway and South Mayo?

Mr. GLADSTONE: I am not perfectly certain whether the hon. and gallant Member intends in the latter part of his Question to refer to the remission of the payment or to the removal of the extra police in the districts he has named. Any question as to the removal or the diminution of the extra police in any particular district must depend upon the state of that district. During the last three years there has been a reduction in the number of the extra police of 205 in Galway and of 135 in Mayo; but the question as to the remission of the payment of the extra police taxes hardly comes within the discretion of Her Majesty's Government. I think that the subject is one that may shortly be brought under the consideration of Parliament in connection with another subject.

### SCOTLAND—ADMINISTRATION OF SCOTCH AFFAIRS.

Sir **GEORGE CAMPBELL** asked the First Lord of the Treasury, Whether, since one Irish Bill has already passed this House, and since he has suggested the possibility of passing a Bill to settle the relations to one another of the Australian Colonies, Her Majesty's Government will immediately reintroduce the Bill to settle the relations between the two parts of this island by the appointment of a Scotch Secretary, upon which both parties were substantially agreed at the end of last Session, and by which a Minister may be forthwith provided to look after the Crofter question, and other urgent Scotch affairs? The hon. Member added that on reference to the Notice Paper, it would be seen that after the statement of the Chancellor of the Exchequer there was no more serious business than a Bill for Women's Suffrage.

Mr. **GLADSTONE**: We do not propose to bring in this important Bill at the present time. It may be quite true that the House will have its labours during this Sitting occasionally considerably shortened, or it may not be true that I should not reckon on our adjourning early to-night until we have actually adjourned. In that respect I should certainly not like to count my chickens before they are hatched. But we do not think that we could draw a distinction between the Scotch Bill to which the hon. Member refers and a number of other measures which are really both important and urgent. This measure is doubtless important, and I do not deny that it is urgent; but I do not think that it is a measure that could be, with satisfaction to the House or in conformity of the spirit of the pledges which we have given to the House, taken out of the mass of the Government measures hanging over and propose it at once to the House for adoption.

### EGYPT (EVENTS IN THE SOUDAN)—GENERAL GORDON.

Colonel **STANLEY**: I wish to ask the noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War, Whether he can, without inconvenience to the Public Service, give to the House further details with regard to the letter which has been received from General Gordon?

The Marquess of **HARTINGTON**: We have received an abstract of the letter of General Gordon which was received by Major Kitchener, dated, I think, the 4th of November. The contents of that letter have been stated with tolerable accuracy in the newspapers, so far at least as it is expedient to make their contents public at present. It appears that General Gordon himself mentions that the Mahdi knows everything, so that care must be taken as to what is published. In these circumstances, the House will, I am sure, support Her Majesty's Government in declining to communicate any information which might be of use to General Gordon's enemies; and I trust that I may also be allowed to take this opportunity of expressing the hope that the Press—who, no doubt, will receive from their numerous Correspondents information sent to them without any bad intention, but which it would be undesirable to publish—will exercise some discretion in the face of that statement by General Gordon, that the Mahdi knows all about the military operations. I am not certain whether two items in the abstract have yet been published in the newspapers. One is that the Greek and Austrian Consuls are all right, and the other is that General Gordon wishes the newspapers to say that he has received letters through Major Kitchener from Sir Samuel Baker, his sister, and Mr. Stanley from the Congo; but he does not want to have more private letters sent, as it is too great a risk. That, I think, is all the information in addition to what has been stated in the newspapers. I should add that news has been received from another source that the friendly tribes have captured a convoy of 3,000 camels which were on their way from the River Gash to join the enemy.

### NAVY ESTIMATES—DEFENCE OF COALING STATIONS.

Sir **MICHAEL HICKS-BEACH**: I understand, from the Correspondence which has recently been published on the defence of our coaling stations abroad, that a certain small expenditure has been sanctioned by the Treasury for the purpose, and I should hope that it may be incurred during the present year. I am anxious to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer when a

Vote will be submitted to the House for these works?

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): The right hon. Gentleman is quite right. A certain small expenditure has been sanctioned by the Treasury. The Vote will be submitted to the House early next Session.

## *ORDERS OF THE DAY.*

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### PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE (EXTENSION TO WOMEN) BILL.—[BILL 32.]

(*Mr. Woodall, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Mr. Stansfeld, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Yorke.*)

SECOND READING. BILL WITHDRAWN.

MR. WOODALL said, it might be for the convenience of the House if he stated that he did not find himself in a position to ask for a second reading of the Bill for extending the suffrage to women.

Order for Second Reading read, and *discharged.*

Bill *withdrawn.*

### WAYS AND MEANS.—COMMITTEE.

WAYS AND MEANS—*considered* in Committee.

(In the Committee.)

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS), in rising to move a Resolution increasing the Income Tax, said: Sir Arthur Otway, the figures in the Budget Estimate which I brought before the House in the month of April last were as follow:—We estimated that the Revenue, after deducting a small remission on account of the Carriage Duty, would amount to £85,533,000, and that the Expenditure—and here I include a small Supplementary Estimate for Civil Services, but I do not include the Vote of Credit for Egypt of £300,000—would amount to £85,427,000, leaving a surplus of £106,000. I have no remark to make, at the present time, as to the Expenditure. I think that it is proceeding pretty nearly on the lines of the Appropriation Act; and, so far as any further Supplementary Estimates for Civil Services are concerned, which may have to be proposed to Parliament in the early part of next Session, I think that they may be, as they have been generally of late years, expected to be met by the savings under other heads. As far as the Revenue is concerned, we have reason to anticipate a small increase upon the Estimate as I laid it before the Committee, though I should be sorry at the present time to give any precise figure for that increase. Well, that being the state of things as to the Budget and the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates of last Session, I will now proceed to the Supplimentary Estimates for the Army and Navy. During the last Session the House adopted as a Vote of Credit in connection with General Gordon, an appropriation of £300,000; and last week the Committee of Supply passed Resolutions voting, in connection with the Soudan, £1,000,000 for Army Service and £324,000 for Navy Service, making £1,324,000 in all; and in connection with the operations in Bechuanaland £675,000 for the Army and £50,000 for the Navy, or £725,000; and these three heads—namely, the Vote of Credit last Session, the Vote for the Soudan Expedition, and the Vote for the Bechuanaland Expedition, amount altogether to £2,349,000. I repeat, then, that on the corrected Budget Estimates of last Session there will be a surplus of £106,000; that in the Revenue we might expect some improvement; and, further, that any Supplementary Estimates to be proposed next Session will probaly be met by savings; so I think we should be safe, under the circumstances, in taking the present fiscal position as one which, if we do not add to the Revenue, will leave us a deficit on account of the year of about £2,000,000. Well, Sir, it has been my duty to consider from what sources of Revenue it would be proper, in the month of November, to propose to the Committee to make good that sum, and having carefully considered all the sources of taxation to which it has been reasonable to look, I am able to say that I could not recommend any change in our fiscal system with respect to indirect taxation for so temporary a purpose as the improvement of the Revenue in the remaining months of the year. Any such change would have a very disturbing effect upon our trade on whatever article the duty might be increased; and, besides, it would, if it only extended to the next four months, produce a small and unsatisfactory amount of Revenue, unless the increased rate of duty were very great indeed. Under these circumstances, then, I see no alternative but to propose to the House a small addition to the Income Tax. Now, Sir, it has more than once happened that such an addition to the Income Tax has been proposed, either early or late in the Autumn of the year; for instance, the last addition was in 1882, when the House voted an addition of 1½*d.* to the Income Tax for the operations in Egypt; and there is a case which resembles in some respects—but only in some respects—the present, and that was when the House voted an addition of 1*d.* to the Income Tax of 1867 on account of the Abyssinian War. The late Mr. Ward Hunt, who moved that Vote, proposed it in Parliament on the 28th of November, a little later in the year than I am proposing an addition now. That Vote was at that time adopted without practically any question in Parliament, and the Income Tax was raised from 4*d.* to 5*d.* in the pound. I propose to adopt a similar measure now, and to ask the Committee to approve an addition of 1*d.* to the Income Tax, raising it from 5*d.* to 6*d.* in the pound for this financial year. I will state to the House, as precisely as I can estimate it, the financial effect of that increase. If hon. Members will refer back to the statement I made in opening the Budget, or will refer to the weekly Returns of Revenue and Expenditure, in which there is a column stating the anticipated amount received from Income Tax, under the head of Revenue, they will see that a 5*d.* Income Tax is estimated to produce—and this year it will receive no assistance from a larger rate than in the previous year —£2,010,000 for each 1*d.*, or, in all, £10,050,000. If the rate is increased to 6*d.* in the pound, the amount for each penny will not be quite so large. We anticipate that it will be at the rate of £1,995,000 per 1*d.*, or that 6*d.* will produce £11,970,000. That gives an increase in the receipts from the 6*d.* Income Tax over the 5*d.* Income Tax of £1,920,000. Now, all this £1,920,000 it will not be possible to receive before April 1. We cannot estimate that we should receive during the financial year closing at the end of March next more than £1,200,000. So that £720,000 will be received on and after the 1st of April next, and that is a somewhat better proportion than that which Mr. Ward Hunt expected to get, and still better than what he actually got. It is quite unnecessary, on the present occasion, to go into details as to the system of collecting Income Tax, and how it will now be possible to receive a somewhat larger portion of the addition of 1*d.* than Mr. Ward Hunt received in 1867-8. But these are the figures we have arrived at after very careful consultation with the Revenue officers, showing that £1,200,000 is what we hope will be received during the present financial year, and that £720,000 will be received after the end of the financial year. Upon that the only remark I have to make is, that the balances, as we expect them to stand at the end of the financial year, will be quite sufficient to bear that charge of £720,000; these balances being recouped during the early part of the next financial year, as the remainder of the proceeds of the additional 1*d.* comes in. Sir Arthur Otway, that is the simple proposal I have to make to the Committee. As I said before, I do not think that, at this time of the financial year, we can have recourse to any tax other than the Income Tax. I, therefore, trust that the Committee will adopt the proposal to raise that tax for the present year from 5*d.* to 6*d.* I shall be happy, as I can address the Committee more than once, and as my hon. Friend the Secretary to the Treasury (Mr. Courtney) will also be able to do so, to give the Committee any information on questions of detail arising out of questions asked us in debate. But, at present, all that it is necessary for me to do is to move the formal Resolution, which I now put into your hands.

Motion made, and Question proposed,

"That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the Duties of Income Tax granted by 'the Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884,' there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year which commenced on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of One Penny;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act, the Duty of One Halfpenny; Provided always, That, with the view of securing the additional Duties and affording the proper rights of deduction in respect thereof in the case of Dividends, Interest, or other annual sums due or payable half-yearly or quarterly in the course of the said year, where one of the half-yearly payments or two of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other half-yearly payment or quarterly payments shall be charged with the additional Duty of Two Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof; and where three of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other quarterly payment shall be charged with the additional Duty of Four Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof.

"Provided also, That the charge under this Resolution shall be deemed to be satisfied by an addition of one-fifth of the amount of the Duties assessed under 'The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884,' to such amount, and payment of such addition therewith."—(*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer.*)

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: The statement made by the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer is very short; but it is of so startling a nature that I think it requires instant comment, because, taking the most favourable view of his own Estimates, we see here a Liberal Chancellor of the Exchequer, pledged to peace, economy, and retrenchment, coming down to the House, and admitting a deficiency of nearly £800,000. When the original Estimates of Revenue were before the Committee, in connection with the Budget of the present year, there was a unanimous opinion expressed on this side of the House, in which I certainly joined, that Her Majesty's Government had not made sufficient allowance for contingencies which were more or less certain to arise. It was a matter of almost absolute certainty that an Expedition of some kind or other would have to be sent to Egypt; but the Government made no provision for such an Expedition. We have the high authority of the Prime Minister for believing that nothing is more inconvenient to trade and commerce than to bring in a second Budget in the middle of the financial year; but now, when trade is most depressed, down comes the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, just when the trading communities have made their arrangements to meet the financial burdens of the year, with an addition of 2*d.* to the Income Tax for the last half-year. But, unsatisfactory as this is, it is not all. Meagre as the statement of the right hon. Gentleman is, and unsatisfactory as the main outlines of it are, I very much fear that a much more unsatisfactory statement will have to be made a few months hence. There is not a single man in the House who believes that the Estimates, large as they are, which have been presented by the Government, will in any way be sufficient. I cannot understand how any Government, with a knowledge of the magnitude of the Expedition they are sending out up the Nile, could present Estimates of so small a character as £1,000,000. It is perfectly clear that the object has been not to cover the actual expense, but to give the Government a plausible excuse for increasing the Income Tax by 1*d.* only during the present year. The one maxim which the Prime Minister is always insisting upon is, that on every occasion we ought to square our accounts for the year, and that there is no greater act of immorality in reference to finance than for a Government, deliberately, with their eyes open, to present a Budget with a deficiency. That was the one solitary remnant left of the financial policy laid down by the Prime Minister in Mid Lothian; and even that has now gone. I think, before we assent to this proposal, we ought to have a clear Estimate of what our liabilities for this year will probably be, and what our Expenditure will amount to. It is perfectly clear that, under the most favourable Estimates, there will be a deficiency of something like £1,000,000 for the present year. The Government are about to propose large additional Estimates for the Navy. Where is the money to come from? Then there is to be an addition to the fortifications used for the protection of our coaling stations. Where is the money to come from? On Tuesday next the House is to have a statement from the Prime Minister as to what charges are to be put on the English taxpayers for the finances of Egypt—a burden imposed upon the trade of this country in order to support the policy of Her Majesty's Ministers in Egypt, which has practically brought that country to a state of bankruptcy. Under those circumstances, I say that when the Chancellor of the Exchequer comes down to the House, and asks for power to impose additional taxation, he ought to give us some idea of the liabilities we have already incurred. We have heard a great deal of the extravagance of the late Government. Let me place before the Committee a statement of the Expenditure of the present Government. They commenced with an initial Expenditure of £85,500,000. To that we must add the extra receipts of the previous improvements in the Revenue, bringing it up to £86,300,000. A further addition must be made of the amount paid by India for Home Establishments, included in the Revenue of the previous year, which brings the total Expenditure of the present Government to £87,300,000. That is exclusive of the Supplementary Estimates. The Committee has sanctioned Votes to the amount of £2,300,000 more, so that the Expenditure of Her Majesty's Government, pledged as they are to peace, retrenchment, and economy, amounts this year to the enormous figure of £89,600,000. Now, Sir, these are startling figures; and if this were an exceptional year, one might pass them by without comment; but I have here a Statistical Abstract, published this year, showing the Expenditure during the past five years, and I find that this is not an abnormal year, but that every year Her Majesty's Government have been in Office the Expenditure of the country has increased at an unparalleled rate. If the Committee will allow me, I would ask their attention for a moment or two while I place before them the enormous dimensions which the Expenditure during the past five years has attained. I cannot estimate what the actual Expenditure of this year will be; but I assume that if the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer realizes the income which he has estimated that he will obtain, and adding the sums previously paid for extra receipts on behalf of the Army and Navy, and £1,000,000 paid for the Home Establishments in connection with India, the Estimate for this year's Revenue will amount to upwards of £89,000,000. In the preceding year, making the same calculations, and including the extra receipts, the Expenditure was £87,300,000; about £87,000,000 in the year before; about £85,000,000 in the year before that; and £82,000,000 in the year preceding. Adding the Expenditure in those five years together, I find that, since the present Government have been in Office, should the Estimates of the present year be confirmed, the Expenditure of the country has amounted to the enormous sum of nearly £436,000,000. Now, Sir, the late Government were turned out of Office chiefly because the nation was told by the Prime Minister that they had adopted a policy so expensive that it was beyond the capacity of the nation to bear. Well, I will take the income of the last five years the Conservatives were in power, and I find that it only amounted to £399,000,000, showing a balance against the present Government of £37,000,000. But there are two deductions to be made from that. I give the Government credit, at the present moment, for having more than paid their way. I make an allowance on that account of £1,500,000. I deduct that sum from their Expenditure, and I also admit that we failed by £6,500,000 to cover our Expenditure, and that will increase the actual income we received by £6,500,000, which represents a failure of income during the five years the Conservative Party were in power. Allowing, therefore, £1,500,000 for the Liberal surplus and £6,500,000 for Conservative deficiencies, it will still be found that the income which the Government have received during the last five years is £29,000,000 over and above that received by their Predecessors in their five years of Office. Their Expenditure, taking the most moderate estimate, has been more than £29,000,000 above that of the Conservative Party. It has been asserted on Liberal platforms, and by the Prime Minister in Mid Lothian, that the increased Expenditure has been owing to the Government having to pay the debts of their Predecessors.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I spoke of the engagements inherited from our Predecessors.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: It is quite possible for the late Government to assert that if the different and proper arrangements they had made in Afghanistan and in connection with Eastern affairs had been completely carried out by their Successors, things might possibly not have been placed in so unfavourable a position when they came into Office. Therefore, I think they can afford to leave out of the present discussion the engagements which they inherited from their Predecessors, but the present Government have spent during five years of Office, £29,000,000 more than was spent by the late Government during their five years' tenure of Office. It is asserted that this is due, to a very large extent, to their paying off the debts of their Predecessors, and that the increase arises from the annual increase of the charges in reference to the reduction of the National Debt. Now, my hon. Friend the Member for the University of London (Sir John Lubbock) has for some time past promulgated that theory; but he has moved for a Return which annihilates it. If he will take the trouble to look at that Return, which shows all the payments made on behalf of the National Debt during the last 10 years, he will find that we paid £135,000,000, and that Her Majesty's present Government have paid £140,000,000, making a difference of £5,000,000 only. Well, I give the Government the full credit and benefit of that difference of £5,000,000, and also of the £3,750,000 paid to India on account of the Afghan War, and, deducting those sums from the £29,000,000 I have alluded to as their excessive Expenditure, there still remains upwards of £20,000,000 to be accounted for; and I assert, and I challenge contradiction, that the whole of that £20,000,000 is entirely due to increased Expenditure connected with the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, or, in other words, that Her Majesty's Government, who came in power to practice economy and to reverse the extravagant measures of their Predecessors, in five years have expended an average of £4,000,000 per annum more than the late Ministry did. These are startling facts, and, unfortunately, there are symptoms which indicate at the present moment that the Revenue has lost much of its elasticity; and for the first time in the history of the Income Tax it is showing signs of going back, or, at any rate, of being deprived of that progress which has distinguished it in past years. Under these circumstances, it may be asked, What are we to do? I suppose we have no alternative but to assent to the proposal of Her Majesty's Government. When the Prime Minister was in Mid Lothian, he set up a defence on behalf of the Expenditure of his Government. I read that defence, which was a very ingenious one, with the care and attention which everything that falls from the right hon. Gentleman deserves to receive; but it most unquestionably involves heretical principles in regard to finance, and absolutely immoral arithmetic. Allow me to explain what I mean. The right hon. Gentleman, for the purpose of defending the Expenditure of Her Majesty's Government, laid down certain doctrines, which I contend that both sides of the House ought at once emphatically to repudiate. He deducted from his Expenditure the amount by which the National Debt has been reduced during the time the present Government have been in Office. He deducted that from the Expenditure, and because the amount by which the National Debt had been reduced was greater during his term of Office than during the term of the late Government, the right hon. Gentleman went on to argue, before his audience, that his Expenditure had been less than that of the late Government. I maintain that that is a most dangerous and immoral doctrine, because nearly the whole, if not the whole, of that reduction of Debt, took place under the automatic operation of the system of Terminable Annuities. When filling the Office of Chancellor of the Exchequer, my right hon. Friend beside me (Sir Stafford Northcote) pointed out more than once the effect of the operation, and showed that, while reducing the Debt, they began, at the same time, to incur fresh liabilities. The Prime Minister has set up his argument on a doctrine which I never heard advanced before by a Chancellor of the Exchequer—namely, that he got no benefit from the Terminable Annuities set up by his Predecessors.

Mr. GLADSTONE: What is the noble Lord quoting from?

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: I am speaking only from my memory, and I want to ask the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he endorses the doctrine set up by the Prime Minister, because the right hon. Gentleman has resuscitated the system of setting up Terminable Annuities, and the sole object of setting up Terminable Annuities is for the purpose of reducing Debt. The amount set apart for the purpose of the Debt, in order that an annual reduction may take place, is, no doubt, independent of the Expenditure in connection with the Army, Navy, and Civil Service; and no Chancellor of the Exchequer, or any

Member of the Government, has, I believe, attempted to justify any excessive Expenditure by the plea that, under the automatic process of Terminable Annuities, there was an increase in the amount of Debt paid off. If that principle is allowed to prevail, we should derive no advantage from the extinction of Terminable Annuities, because the Expenditure on the Army, Navy, and Civil Service would be increased to an equivalent amount. The Return which the hon. Member for the University of London obtained puts that point in the clearest possible manner. Take two periods—say, 1874 and 1884. The annual charge for the total service of the Debt in the first year was £26,100,000; but the amount which, under the automatic process of Terminable Annuities, was paid off yearly, was £3,100,000. Ten years later, in 1884, the total charge for the Debt, including the Sinking Fund, was £28,100,000, or an increase of £2,000,000; but, by the automatic process of Terminable Annuities, no less than £6,700,000 will be paid off, and the Prime Minister, in Mid Lothian, credited himself with the difference in charge, and with the increased amount of Terminable Annuities paid off, because they were approaching termination. What I contend is that he had no right whatever to do that, or to set up the doctrine that because, under the process of Terminable Annuities, they are still reducing Debt, that, therefore, they are entitled to the same amount to increase the National Expenditure on the Army, Navy, and Civil Service. [Mr. GLADSTONE dissented.] The right hon. Gentleman shakes his head. I see that he does not like the practical application of his own theory.

MR. GLADSTONE: I only want the noble Lord to be a little more accurate in the statement he makes. I distinctly declined to say that I was satisfied with the state of the Expenditure. So far from setting up any theory of the kind imputed to me, I never said anything of the sort.

LORD GEORGE HAMILTON: That has nothing to do with my point, or my argument. I do not suppose that the Prime Minister is alone in his dissatisfaction at the state of the Expenditure. I venture to say that there is not a single person in the country who does not agree with him. I have his speech here. He began by warning those he addressed to be on their guard against the Tories, and he concluded by saying that he had laid the figures before his audience, and that he challenged any man to shake them or deny their correctness. All I am doing now is to submit the figures of the right hon. Gentleman to a fair criticism. The argument the right hon. Gentleman used was that, deducting from the Expenditure the amount of Debt paid off during the time he has been in Office—because the Debt was less than during the time the late Ministry were in Office—he was entitled to contend that therefore his Expenditure was less. But the reason why he paid off more was because certain Terminable Annuities were approaching their termination, and they were handed over to him at the time the present Government came into Office. It did not involve any fresh charge; but the operation of those Annuities undoubtedly did diminish annually, to an increased amount, the principal of the National Debt. Then, I say, that if the Prime Minister is justified in setting up his theory, he might deduct from his annual Expenditure the amount by which, under Terminable Annuities, the Debt is annually reduced; and, in that case, there ought to be an end to the system of Terminable Annuities altogether, so as not to allow the Chancellor of the Exchequer or the Prime Minister to set up a doctrine so dangerous and detrimental to economy as that which the Prime Minister was pleased to present to his Mid Lothian constituents. I will deal with only one other point. The right hon. Gentleman deducted from the comparative Expenditure of the present and the late Governments the cost of collecting the Revenue. Why should he deduct the cost of collecting the Revenue? We keep up such large establishments of the Army and Navy, for the purpose of protecting the Revenue, and we maintain another establishment—the Civil Service—for the purpose of collecting it. If we deduct one, why should we not deduct the other? The cost of collection and of protection are both dead charge upon the Revenue; and the reason why the right hon. Gentleman deducted the cost of collecting the Revenue was because the cost was greater under the present Government than under the late Government, and if he had included it the figures would not have come out as he wished them. There was one sentiment which the Prime Minister gave utterance to in Mid Lothian which was a very admirable one—namely, that it was the policy of the Government that regulated the Expenditure. What I want to know is, what the policy of the Government has been in regulating this Expenditure, which is the largest Expenditure we have ever known? We are now asked to sanction the means of sending out two Expeditions, one to South Africa and the other to the North of Africa. I do not propose to trench upon the discussion which unquestionably will arise, both as regards the Expedition to South Africa, as well as that to the Soudan, and in regard to the arrangement of affairs by Her Majesty's Government. But I recollect that, two years ago, when Lord Derby was asked to put an end to certain outrages which had taken place in Bechuanaland, the noble Lord gave a characteristic reply. He said—"What will it cost? It will cost more than the fee simple of the whole country is worth." Has the fee simple of land in Bechuanaland increased so largely that Her Majesty's Government are now justified in sending out an Expedition? Again, they are sending out another Expedition to Egypt to bring home three distinguished officers of Her Majesty's Government at Khartoum, two of whom have, unfortunately, been murdered since the Expedition was decided upon. I cannot help recollecting that not more than two years ago, when General Hicks asked for assistance, a mocking reply was sent out to our Representative to this effect—"Report quickly the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, but take care to give no advice." Now, however, the Khedive is threatened with a plethora of advice, and one of the most important of Her Majesty's Ministers has been sent out in order that he may advise his Colleagues as to the best course to be followed. I think it would have been a better and a more simple process for Her Majesty's Government to have given their directions straight to their Representatives in Egypt. There was a remarkable statement published, not long ago, by those who were specially appointed by Her Majesty's Government to inquire into the condition of Egyptian finance, and I think the Government will do well to bear it mind. The statement was that there is a law in Egypt by which every Egyptian subject sent to the Soudan is entitled, if wounded, to a pension; and if killed, his family are entitled to remuneration. This report states that in consequence of the operations in the Soudan there are no less than 40,000 persons or families entitled to pensions from the Egyptian Government. I do not say that all these 40,000 persons lost their lives, or were wounded through the negligence of Her Majesty's Government; but, unquestionably, most of them have, and the result is, that not only has a serious amount of life been sacrificed, but that an enormous tax has been inflicted upon the Egyptian Government, which it is altogether unable to bear, and it will have to be, in some shape or other, transferred to the shoulders of the English taxpayers. [*Cries of* "No!"] Well, we shall see. My impression is that some such proposal will have to be made to Parliament. I have stated the reason why I rose to take part in this discussion; and I hope we shall have, on the part of the Prime Minister, if not a repudiation of the words he is reported to have used in Mid Lothian, at any rate an emphatic repudiation of the doctrine which they conveyed.

Mr. GLADSTONE: My point was, that the sums paid for the reduction of Debt might be deducted from the ultimate Expenditure.

Lord GEORGE HAMILTON: That is not exactly the point. What I maintain is, that if you set up Terminable Annuities, annually increasing in amount, you have no right to deduct the principal so reduced from your annual Expenditure. I say that if you do deduct it—and I understand the Prime Minister to say it may be deducted from the Expenditure—any Minister, by adopting such a process, could make his figures less than another Minister who had been in Office under less favourable circumstances. That is what the Prime Minister stated at Mid Lothian, and I am convinced that on no other occasion except upon the hustings would the Prime Minister have repeated that doctrine. Although I sympathize very much with the unfortunate taxpayers who will have to pay this extra 2*d.* in the pound Income Tax in one sense, I trust that this extra imposition of taxation will bear good fruit. It will bring home to everyone what is the post and the price of a policy of perpetual vacillation. Her Majesty's Government have had great advantages. They have had the largest majority ever known; they are led by the ablest Parliamentary tactician it is possible for the House to possess. Yet what have they done? They have succeeded, by their foreign and Colonial policy, in lowering the reputation and in endangering the interests of the country in every direction. [*Cries of* "No!"] I say "Yes;" and, in accomplishing this unlucky result, they have succeeded in wasting more money and in sacrificing more lives than the most aggressive of their Predecessors. I hope the sharpness and unpleasantness of the lesson will not be forgotten by the country, and that it will bring home to the country this fact—that, in the administration of an Empire like that of England, there is no policy so ruinous and expensive as that which is dictated not by natural exigencies, but by the internal discords of the political Party which happens for the time being to be Office.

MR. RYLANDS said, that when he had the honour of bringing under the notice of the House a Resolution in favour of a reduction of National Expenditure, he was anxious to avoid, as far as he could, any comparison between Conservative and Liberal finance; and he had urged then, as he ventured to urge now, that what the Committee had to consider in regard to the Expenditure of the country was, not how it could promote Party interests or throw responsibility on one Party or the other, but whether the position in which the country was placed was such as to be advantageous to the public or satisfactory to the taxpayer. He did not propose to follow the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) into the remarks he had made, and especially into those in which, in adverting to the statement of the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the noble Lord had attempted to show that the present Government had been much more extravagant than their Predecessors; nor would he venture to enter into the wider field the noble Lord had opened up, as to the conduct of the Government in reference to high matters of policy in Egypt and South Africa. He (Mr. Rylands) took it for granted that all those matters would come before the House in a legitimate manner, when they could be discussed, as no doubt they ought to be discussed, in reference to all their bearings on the administration of the country, and in the interests of the taxpayers at large. He had not been surprised at the nature of the proposal made to the Committee that evening by his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer. No hon. Member could feel surprised, after having seen the Government following so closely in the footsteps of their Predecessors, that now, in the month of November, in utter disregard of the doctrine that there should only be one Budget in the course of the year, the House of Commons should be called upon to make provision for two Budgets. They were to have fresh taxation. What was it for? He fully admitted, with his right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that if they were to have fresh taxation, it would be intolerable to impose it in the way of indirect taxation. He believed the Committee would fully concur in that view; but was it not a fact, and was it not felt throughout the country to be a fact, that the owners of precarious incomes were unjustly treated by the imposition of the Income Tax? Could anybody contend that real property was fairly treated in regard to taxation? [*Cries of* "Yes!"] How about the probate duty? Was it not a fact that millions of taxation were imposed upon the earnings of the industrious portions of the community in taxes, while the most stable property of the community escaped? Had not the Prime Minister admitted, in Mid Lothian, the injustice—and they all believed it to be an injustice—inflicted upon those who had a precarious income by the imposition of the Income Tax, and yet things were allowed to drift on, and no effort was made to remedy that injustice. And now, at a time of grievous commercial depression—at a time when capital was receiving a very miserable return—often no return at all; when every trade and every industry was suffering, the Government proposed to make the burden still heavier. [An hon. MEMBER: Free Trade.] He declined to be any party to the raising of that question. But he must say that at such a time as this, for the Government to come down to give another turn of the screw, at a period of great depression, and at a time when gretting that the Government had not endeavoured to solve the present difficulty in some other way. He regretted extremely that, at that time of the year, the Government had not seen their way to throw this additional tax upon property, rather than upon industrial incomes. He should, however, have felt still more gratified to find that the Government, by economical administration, had not been driven, at that late period of the year, to ask the House of Commons to sanction a further increase of taxation.

Mr. GORST said, he wished to ask a question, because he thought the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been purposely vague in one part of his statement, and that the right hon. Gentleman had not put before the Committee the exact financial result of this operation. If he rightly understood the Chancellor of the Exchequer, his previous Budget, above any provision made for any new source of expenditure, left him with a surplus of £106,000, including certain Supplementary Estimates, passed in the previous year. Apart from the new War Expenditure they were now called upon to incur, there was a small surplus of £106,000. He understood the right hon. Gentleman to say that, although there might be a small increase of income above the Estimate before them, the whole of that increase would be swallowed up by some Civil Service Supplementary Estimates in the coming Session.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER (Mr. Childers): No. What I said was that the Civil Service Supplementary Estimates to be proposed in February would probably be met by savings on other Votes.

Mr. GORST asked if he was to understand the right hon. Gentleman to say that there would be a small estimated increase of income available for meeting the present War Expenditure? If that were the case, would the right hon. Gentleman tell the Committee what the amount of that increase would be, because otherwise there would be no means of dealing with it? So far as the right hon. Gentleman had condescended to actual figures, he had not met, by a good deal, the increased expenditure the House had voted. The House had voted increased expenditure to the amount of £2,349,000, and the right hon. Gentleman only proposed an increased taxation that would yield £1,930,000, leaving a deficit of £419,000. If from that was deducted the surplus of £106,000, which existed upon the former Estimates, the net result of the proposals of the right hon. Gentleman would be a deficit of £313,000. The question he wished to ask was, whether the net result of the various Budget proposals was that the country was left, at the end of the financial year, with a deficit of £313,000. If that were not so, he thought the right hon. Gentleman ought to tell the House from what other source he expected to make up the deficiency, and what the amount of such increased income would be upon which he estimated an increase of ordinary taxation equivalent to £313,000. The Committee ought to receive that information, or otherwise the Estimates of the right hon. Gentleman would remain in a hazy form, even if they did not result in a positive deficit. What he wished to have an explanation upon was, whether it was possible, under the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer as they stood, to meet the Expenditure of the year out of the income of the year?

Mr. H. H. FOWLER said, he sympathized a great deal with the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) in reference to the reduction of the Expenditure of the country, and also as to the desirability of the economical question being, as far as possible, removed from the disputed arena of Party politics. But, unfortunately, the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), who opened the discussion, had made a purely Party speech. The noble Lord had made a Party attack upon the Government; and, not content with that, he had supplemented an attack on the finance of the Government with another attack upon their foreign and Egyptian policy. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) found no fault with the noble Lord for doing that; but he proposed, for a moment or two, to answer what he might call the fighting portion of the noble Lord's speech, totally irrespective of the question raised by the hon. and learned Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst). The noble Lord credited Her Majesty's Government and their followers with the total increase of the National Expenditure, and had tried, with great effect, to trace the large increase in the total Expenditure, of the country, which had taken place during the present Administration, to the results of their foreign policy. But he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had observed in the speech of the noble Lord, what he had often noticed in the speeches of Conservative orators, a singular silence with regard to a comparison of the Expenditure of the last Conservative Government and of the Liberal Administration which preceded it. The figures which prevailed between 1870 and 1874 were many millions less than the figures which prevailed between 1874 and 1879; and he thought the noble Lord would find that one of the charges against Conservative finance which was made in 1880, was that the effect of that finance had been steadily, and he was afraid permanently, to raise the general Expenditure of the country. The late Government, when they acceded to Office, found a low rate of Expenditure, which they steadily increased, partly by their financial policy and partly by their foreign policy. The present Government, when they succeeded the Conservative Government, found a very high rate of Expenditure. The noble Lord tried to convince the Committee that that Expenditure had been very largely increased by the present Administration. In dealing with the increase, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) submitted that there was nothing more delusive and nothing more absurd than to say that the Expenditure of this country was the total sum which appeared in the Financial Abstract, whether it was £89,000,000, £87,000,000, or £82,000,000, as the case might be. The Government of this country, in addition to the ordinary Expenditure required for the Army, Navy, and Civil Services, carried on a large trading concern; it acted as a banking concern, and it also performed certain services for the public for which it received fees. The more trade it did the larger the Expenditure; the more banking it did the larger the Expenditure; the more service it rendered to the country in respect to the item for which the fees were received, the larger the gross Expenditure. Nothing could be more misleading than an Abstract annually presented to show the Expenditure of the country, which, as a matter of fact, might be twisted to any purpose whatever. The right hon. Gentleman the Member for the City of London (Mr. J. G. Hubbard) had for some years past—since 1867—annually moved for Returns in which the Income and Expenditure of the nation were analyzed. That Return gave, for instance, the gross expenditure of the Post Office on the one side, and the cost of working the Post Office on the other, and then credited the income of the country with the net balance; and, in the same way, all the other branches of the Public Service were dealt with. The figures taken from that sheet were signed by the Secretary to the Treasury in the last and the present Administrations, and might be taken to be strictly accurate. Indeed, he (Mr. H. H. Fowler) knew they were accurate from having checked them with the Financial Account of the Public Income and Expenditure, from which the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) had taken his figures. The noble Lord took the Expenditure of the late Government for four years and the Expenditure of the present Administration during the last four years. [Lord George Hamilton: No; for five years.] He proposed to take the Expenditure for four years. He found that the Expenditure of the late Administration was £288,000,000 during the four years; while the net Expenditure of the present Administration during the last four years had been £299,000,000. He was not going to argue that that did not, on the face of it, show that the Expenditure had been increased under the present Administration during the past four years by £11,000,000. How had that increase arisen? The noble Lord gave them some figures showing a very large increase in reference to the sums paid by the two Governments for the reduction of the Public Debt; but the gross entries as to the cost of the Public Debt were again misleading. The net amount paid during the last four years of the last Administration for Debt charge was £109,600,000. The present Government had had to pay, and it had paid, £113,401,000, or an increase of more than £4,000,000. Of course, the explanation of that was self-evident. The permanent Debt charge of the country for the five years which had lapsed since the present Government came into power had increased. The last act of the right hon. Baronet the Member for North

Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) was to add Terminable Annuities for five years, in order to repay the deficit of the Administration. That sum had, therefore, to be found by the present Government, and the increased charge paid by them for interest and repayment of Debt during the time they had been in Office had been upwards of £4,000,000. Then there were £2,500,000 for the Afghan War. He did not pretend to say whether that contribution was wrong or not; but, as a matter of fact, the present Government had paid £2,500,000 in aid of the Indian Revenue in respect of the charge for the Afghan War. In addition, they had had a very large extra Expenditure occasioned by the state of things in Ireland. Further, there had been a considerable increase of Expenditure in consequence of the principle established in 1874—that most vicious and disastrous principle of subventions in aid of local taxation, which, if not speedily dealt with, would land the country in most serious difficulties. That item was steadily increasing. Then there had been a large increase, and it was one in which he rejoiced—a large increase on account of education. He took it for granted that, although there had been a good many things predicted as to what the coming Democracy would do when the Franchise Bill was passed, there was one thing it would not do—it would not economize the Education Act; and, whatever Votes might be cut down, there would be no attempt to effect economy in that Department of the Public Expenditure. Then, in addition, they had had the Egyptian Expenditure, which already amounted to something like £4,000,000, and would probably amount to a good many millions more. But hon. Members opposite should be the last persons to cry out against the Egyptian Expenditure; for they had—and certainly nobody more eloquently than the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex—all along called upon the Government to put down its foot firmly, and proceed to decisive measures. [*Cheers from the Opposition.*] He had anticipated those cheers. And if the Government were to proceed to measures of annexation, protection, or something more, the present Expenditure would be a mere bagatelle compared with what the country would be involved in when these disastrous steps were undertaken. Under these circumstances, he thought the explanation of the increase in the present Expenditure was clear. The causes could be traced, and if the House chose to arrest the cause it knew exactly the springs it ought to touch. He was not disposed to argue with his hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) as to the best mode of meeting the Expenditure. He did not know what else the Government could do, except to put the additional Expenditure upon the Income Tax. After all, he rather agreed with the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex that those who called for and advocated a policy of warlike expeditions should pay the piper. As a Representative of a large constituency, who had to earn its daily bread by its daily toil, he should have felt strongly inclined to oppose any attempt to increase the duty on tea, or on any other article of daily consumption. The House of Commons and the country had sanctioned this Expenditure in Egypt on behalf of General Gordon, and would have held any Ministry to blame who had refused to send out an Expedition, however much they might differ as to the policy of sending General Gordon out in the first instance. When the great question as to economy came before the House again, he should only be too happy to do what little there was in his power to support the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex, or hon. Gentlemen who sat around him, in proposing a reduction of the National Expenditure. He was sorry to see that the right hon. Gentleman the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote), in one of the addresses he had made during the Recess, had indulged in some somewhat satirical remarks at the expense of the hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) and himself (Mr. H. H. Fowler), accusing them of being ready to run away whenever any proposition was made for a real Committee to inquire into this question of the National Expenditure. He (Mr. H. H. Fowler) could assure the right hon. Baronet that he was labouring entirely under a mistake. He was deeply disappointed that the Government had not appointed a Committee. He had understood that a Committee was promised by the Prime Minister 12 months ago; and if nothing was done in that direction at the commencement of next Session, he should endeavour to take the sense of the House upon the question. He held that they would never get any effective system of control ever the National Expenditure until they adopted the principle of devolution. He believed that if three Standing Committees were appointed—one to deal with the Army Estimates, another with the Navy Estimates, and a third with the Civil Service Estimates—and that if those Committees had the Estimates before them at the commencement of the Session in the same way that Bills were now referred to Grand Committees, the House would be saved a great waste of time in Committee of Supply, and a considerable amount of labour which, as a rule, produced very trifling and unsatisfactory results.

MR. W. H. SMITH: I have listened, as the Committee always does, with great interest to the speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler); and he may be certain that this side of the House would receive, in a cordial spirit, any proposals he may make that would tend to the simplification of the Business of the House, or the promotion of economy in the Public Service. I own that, for my own part, I am most anxious that there should be a most careful investigation into the Expenditure of the country; but, on the other hand, I should deprecate, in the strongest manner, any devolution of the responsibility of the Treasury, with whom it rests, to propose to Parliament economical Estimates, for which the Government alone are responsible. If the House were to take into its own hands the supervision of the Estimates of every Public Department, there might be a tendency on the part of the Department to go behind the Treasury to the Committee, and to set the Treasury, in some respects, at defiance in regard to its proposals and recommendations, throwing on the Committee, with the comparatively insufficient information in its possession, the responsibility of deciding what the Expenditure shall be. Therefore, while I concur with the hon. Gentleman that something should be done on the responsibility of the Government, with a view of checking the vast growth of Expenditure which has taken place during the past few years, still I trust the House will take no steps whatever to relieve the Treasury of its proper and Constitutional responsibility. My hon. and learned Friend the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) drew attention to the fact that the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated his surplus this year at £106,000; and he then went on to show that there had been Supplementary Estimates for the Expeditions to the Soudan and Bechuanaland amounting to £2,349,000, leaving an apparent deficit of £2,243,000, which requires to be provided for. The Chancellor of the Exchequer says that he anticipates that there will be some growth of the Public Revenue to meet a portion of this Expenditure; but the right hon. Gentleman did not indicate how much. Assuming it to be £250,000, I am sure we shall be extremely glad to get a growth of public income to the extent of £250,000. But he then provides, by imposing an additional Income Tax of 1*d.* in the pound, for a gross receipt of £1,920,000; but from that tax of 1*d.* only £1,200,000 will be received during the financial year. The result, in the face of the account, will be a deficiency of £1,000,000, unless there is that growth of income which the Chancellor of the Exchequer expects. But, even if there is that growth of £250,000, there will still remain a sum of £750,000 which will have to be paid out of the balances, and which will not be contributed by the 1*d.* of Income Tax received during the present year; and £750,000 will go to the help of next year's Revenue, and not towards this year's Expenditure or this year's Debts. The result will be that the £750,000, or £1,000,000—whichever you may please to call it—will be expended out of the sum which would otherwise go towards the reduction of the National Debt. Therefore, the Chancellor of the Exchequer departs from the understanding entered into by the Prime Minister, to pay the Expenditure of the year out of the taxation of the year, and he reduces the amount which would otherwise be applied to the reduction of the National Debt by £750,000. I think I am correct in my assumption that he suggests the amount will be made good from the surplus of the Income Tax which will come into next year's account. The right hon. Gentleman knows very well that every year is dealt with by itself, and it can hardly be expected that he will estimate for a surplus of £750,000 to pay off the National Debt which may be accumulated in the course of the present year. There is one other point to which I wish to refer. There is an expectation that some proposals may be made to Parliament in regard to the condition of the Navy, and no provision is made in this Estimate for those proposals. I am not one of those who desire that a large or a panic Expenditure should be made in respect of any part of the Public Service; but I think it necessary, in the interests of the country, that some expenditure upon the Navy should be provided for now, and that such provision should not be postponed until next year, the provision including the acceleration of the construction of ships, the supply of torpedo vessels, and other important matters. I have no desire to anticipate the discussion which we are promised next Monday; but I wish to point out that we are not making financial provision for all the deficiencies which are in sight during the Session, but that we are ignoring a subject upon which I feel convinced the country feels very warmly and very deeply, and for which there is an absolute necessity to make some provision. I honestly feel that, as completely as there is a necessity for making a provision for fire-engines or fire-escapes, there is this necessity for further provision at this moment; and I think it would be most insane on the part of any Government to postpone making that provision for another three or four months, in the hope that the danger which may be apprehended may be put off for an equal period of which we have no knowledge and no forecast. I hope the right hon. Gentleman will make it quite clear whether I am right or wrong in the assumption that there is a deficiency of £750,000 on the face of the account, which will have to be paid out of the balances.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I only propose to detain the Committee for a few minutes. I have no intention of interfering with the functions of my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer upon this occasion; but I left the House just now, and on my return I found the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) engaged, as is his manner, in a lively and vigorous attack upon myself. As upon this occasion it is not desirable to enter into these questions at any length; and as I wish to take upon myself the whole responsibility of some doctrines which the noble Lord has charged upon me, and which he considers formidable, but which I regard in the contrary light, I feel bound to make a few observations in reply to his speech. There is a slight difference between us—a difference which I am afraid is not likely to be reconciled. Still, there is one point with regard to which I should like to make a modification, which I will explain in a few moments. I am not quite sure whether the noble Lord intends to say that whenever an Act of Parliament has been passed which provides that certain sums shall be paid out of the Consolidated Fund for the year for the reduction of the National Debt, the payment of that money for the purpose for which it is required by law ought to be set down to the credit of those who passed the Act requiring it to be made. [Lord George Hamilton: No.] Very good. I am quite right in that. In my opinion it is those who find the money for paying the National Debt who ought to have the credit of paying it, and not those who merely write upon paper, in an Act of Parliament, an enactment stating that such things shall be done. But then the noble Lord contended that I had committed an error in taking credit for the entire reduction of the capital of the Debt in the four years of the present Government, because he said that of the sum which was paid on account of Terminable Annuities, a small amount went to interest in the four years of the late Government, and a larger amount to the capital of the Debt. Upon that subject I differ in principle from the noble Lord; and I hold, and I am prepared to argue at length, if it should become necessary for me to do so, that every Government is entitled to take credit for the amount of the reduction of the capital of the Debt which is effected during the time of their tenure of Office. I hold that to be quite indisputable. I believe that I should gain by the adoption of the opposite doctrine, for this reason—that the proportion of capital Debt paid off under the form of Terminable Annuities is smallest at the commencement of the operation. Now, Sir, I have myself been a great founder of Terminable Annuities; and that being so, if I were to adopt the rule of the noble

Lord, and to go back to all the time when I have been most directly responsible for the finance of the country, and to bring the account down to the present time, I should profit considerably by the adoption of it. But I do not admit that rule. I hold that the operations of a Government on the reduction of Debt are not to be measured by the amount it pays for interest, which merely satisfies the claim of the stockholder, but are to be measured exclusively by the reduction effected upon the capital. There is another question upon which the noble Lord touched. The noble Lord appeared to think that I was quite wrong to proceed as I did—that is, having, first of all, set up the gross Expenditure of the country, then to proceed to deduct the cost of collection. I will tell the noble Lord what I think upon that matter. Had I been dealing with the Budget in the House of Commons, when it would either have been expedient, proper, or practicable to enter into a great multitude of minute details, I should not have denied that by looking to the cost of collection you may trace, to a certain extent, the result of economical or lax administration, and, therefore, to some limited extent, I am prepared to admit that that observation of the noble Lord is just. It may be said that one Government would have saved £200,000 in cost of collection which the other Government had not saved. That is a very small matter, and a thing which is quite right to be set out in a minute and careful exposition, such as may be made in this House when the question at large is under discussion; but it is absurd to introduce such matters, and perfectly impossible to make them intelligible in a statement which must be given summarily and in a few figures to an audience in the country. It is quite true the noble Lord may say that you would have realized a larger profit from the Post Office if no great changes had been introduced into the administration of that Department under the present Government. I think that is true, and some small sums might be put down to the credit of the Government, when I come to a comparison of Expenditure; but then I am bound to say that, if I am to do that, I must look to many other matters for which I have not taken credit. I must look at the automatic growth of these Votes, and especially those charged upon us by our Predecessors; and I have not the slightest hesitation in saying that if I give the late Government credit for not having spent that money, I must also say that they would not have given the public that accommodation which they now enjoy—such as the Parcel Post, and divers other changes which the present Government have effected. If I should give the late Government credit for £200,000 on that account, and then take to ourselves credit for the automatic growth of certain Votes, all of which we owe to the late Government, we should be very considerably the gainers by the transaction. I think it is quite clear that, in point of principle, for purposes of just comparison of Expenditure, the cost of collection ought to be deducted. Speaking generally, we divide the cost of collection in this way. The Customs Department and the Inland Revenue Department incur a certain amount of the cost of collection, which does not vary very greatly; and I believe that both of those Departments—particularly the Inland Revenue—have been conducted with special regard to economy. The cost, however, does not vary very largely from year to year. But when you look at the combined business of the Post Office, the Telegraph, and the Parcel Post, that is a vast undertaking, the business of which is constantly augmenting, and in which the working Expenditure forms a very large proportion of the whole cost; and to leave all that out in calculating the gross Expenditure of the Department, and then to make your comparison, would be nothing less than absolutely ridiculous. What I have said elsewhere upon this subject is perfectly just, and I am prepared to abide by the consequences of it. I am prepared to abide by what I said, which was this—I admitted that, at first sight, on the gross Expenditure, there was an apparent balance of, I believe, £13,000,000 against us on the four years; and I ended by showing that, upon the real Expenditure, there was a balance to our credit of between £4,000,000 and £5,000,000. But I did not stop at that point—I stopped there for a moment because I had said all that was matter of fact. But then I went on to say that, with regard to our Expenditure, we must take into view questions in which we had had to meet charges entailed upon us, as we conceived, by the policy of our Predecessors. First, I took the payment of £4,750,000 which we had made on account of the Afghan War; and that, added to the other £4,750,000 already brought up, will make £9,500,000. But I went a great deal beyond that, and I did not scruple to go a great deal beyond that; and in every place, here and elsewhere, as long as I have the faculty of speech, and the duty of speech, I shall contend that the whole of our War Charges are due entirely to the policy of the late Government. The whole of the War Charges connected with the Transvaal, and the whole of the War Charges connected with Egypt, are due to our Predecessors. [*Laughter.*] The hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow) is a profound student of these matters. I do not dispute his right to laugh in my face at the most serious conclusion I pronounce. That method of argument he is perfectly welcome to continue, as far as I am concerned; but, at the same time, do not let him think it too great a presumption on my part if I place my opinion against his; or if, honestly, I tell him, as I think I may, that on the whole, if not quite, I am nearly as capable of forming an opinion upon this subject as he is. I am aware that the hon. Gentleman has explained what his opinion was; but still I cannot withdraw altogether the opinion which I expressed last year, and which I express now. I was glad to hear the speech of the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler), which I thought was a perfectly consistent speech. One point he referred to was of a practical nature—that which concerned the appointment of Financial Committees—respecting which I believe he said he intended to make a Motion, which I admit he will be quite right in making. He will understand that the pledge we gave was a prospective pledge, relating to the commencement of next Session. My hon. Friend the Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) laid down certain doctrines; in the first place, about the National Debt. Does he consider the scope of those doctrines? They are utterly opposed to any paying off of the National Debt whatever. What he says is, that we are paying 3 per cent for our money, and that many men who are engaged in commercial transactions are paying 10 per cent. Does my hon. Friend consider how far this doctrine goes? If it is cruel to take money to pay off the Debt, because we take the money from men who are paying 10 per cent, and are only relieving the State of 3 per cent, he ought to go farther still. If there is anything in the argument of my hon. Friend, it is an argument to show that the making of the National Debt is the most economical arrangement possible. Does he mean that the Debt ought to be increased, or does he mean that it ought to remain stationary? If he means that it ought to remain stationary, how does he stop the application of his own argument? How does he answer those who think that it ought to be increased? If, instead of voting £10,000,000 for the Navy, we borrowed it, we should raise it at 3 per cent; whereas, if we raised it by taxation, we should be taking the money from men who are paying for it 10 per cent. Well, then, my hon. Friend argued strongly for economy, and said that he felt he had no part of the responsibility for these increased charges. I thought he used a phrase which is not altogether gracious when he spoke of "financial hypocrisy." God forbid that I should apply it to anybody. If applied at all, it should be applied to people whose language and actions are in contradiction, and I am not sure that my hon. Friend was quite clear on that point. My right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer has had a very heavy charge to meet for Egypt and the Soudan, which will come near to £7,000,000. I think I remember a speech of the hon. Member for Burnley, which, instead of being conceived in the spirit of the hon. Baronet the Member for Carlisle (Sir Wilfrid Lawson)—who I perfectly admit has a right to come down upon us, and to say what he thinks on this matter—recommended and advised a war policy. My hon. Friend must really take his choice; he cannot have the luxury of making speeches of that class, and at the same time the luxury of protesting against the increased Expenditure.

MR. RYLANDS: Allow me to remind the right hon. Gentleman that from this place in the House I denounced as strongly as possible the bombardment of Alexandria; but I subsequently stated that, the Government having committed themselves to that act, I thought it necessary that they should take such a decided policy as would allow everyone to understand what that policy was.

MR. GLADSTONE: I am perfectly ready to argue with my hon. Friend with reference to the bombardment of Alexandria, and to ask him what he would have done at that time; but that does not help my hon. Friend to the slightest extent, because it is since then that he said that a decided policy should be adopted; and, if so, why does he now make objection to the cost of it? He says now, I confess, that a decided policy ought to be adopted; but we all know what is the effect of language like that. Surely he cannot, with consistency, complain of an addition to the Income Tax, for the cost which is the necessary result of that policy. Well, Sir, my hon. Friend is strongly in favour of economy in the Dockyards. I hope he will be able to effect it. We entirely agree with him. My hon. Friend, however, slipped in a very awkward phrase, from his point of view, when he said we wanted more ships. Will my hon. Friend undertake to build us more ships out of the economies which he is to effect in the Dockyards? If he will undertake to say that, then he is perfectly right in protesting against this increased Income Tax, in casting blame upon the Government, and even in talking of financial hypocrisy. Well, Sir, the noble Lord (Lord George Hamilton) also finds fault with the increased Expenditure, and yet he and his Party on every occasion when increase of Expenditure is in question urge on that increase of Expenditure. There has been no increase of Establishments which has taken place that has not been strongly supported by those who sit about the noble Lord, and which I expect will be further strongly supported before a week or a fortnight is over. Now the noble Lord asks, "What is the policy which entails this vast Expenditure?" I will tell the noble Lord. It consists mainly of two propositions. One of them is, that of creating no new cause of quarrel except in deference to some imperative claim of interest or honour. That proposition, Sir, is the rule upon which we have acted without deviation from the time of our assuming the reins of Government, and we have created no new cause of quarrel whatever with any Power or person. We have not had the grand conception with which those who preceded us were either blessed or plagued. We have been content to be as abstinent and as quiet as we could, and we have constantly been censured by opponents for having adopted a policy of non-interference, and for having caused the influence of this country no longer to be felt in war, and for disclaiming all the grand and high-sounding sentences as to ascendancy in the Councils of Europe. The other principle on which we have acted is this, to keep the strictest faith in the execution of obligations from the policy of which obligations we entirely dissent. That is the history of our proceedings in South Africa and in Egypt. Those are the two countries in which the great and most unhappy military charges of the present Government have been incurred. But everything that we have had to lay out with regard to Zululand, Bechuanalaud, and the Transvaal grew unhappily out of that ill-omened and most dishonourable annexation of the Transvaal by the late Government—an annexation effected in spite of the protest of more, I think, than nine-tenths of the people, when the pledge had been given that the country should not be annexed, except in conformity with their view. What are we doing in Bechuanaland now? We gave certain pledges to certain Chiefs, and how came those pledges to be given? Simply, in connection with the hostile relations established in the Transvaal. Of course, it is competent to hon. Gentlemen oppposite to say—"It is not our proceedings, it is your mismanagement." [*Laughter.*] I do not complain of that language, and I say it is a matter of opinion between us, and our contention is not to be met by scornful laughter, a weapon which, I must say, is too much growing into use, and with respect to which those who are specially responsible set the worst example. Sir, on this question, I should speak for myself, for probably no man's conscience can be lighter on the Question of Egypt than my own, because I told hon. Gentlemen opposite in 1876—eight years ago—what would come of their first intervention, of the first attempt to bring the Government into the management of Egyptian affairs. They listened for two years, and they soon afterwards went out of Office. Then came the double engagement to keep the Khedive on the Throne, and to work in exclusive connection with France. Then began an inextricable entanglement of events, one linked with the other by chains which cannot be broken. There is not a step that we have taken which has not been the necessary consequence of that—I do not say guilty, for I believe it was well-intended—but that most unhappy and unfortunate proceeding. Although I have heard plenty of objection taken to the policy of the Government, no hon. Gentleman opposite has shown us an alternative policy. How were we to escape from the position in which we were bound to support, so long as he did not misbehave himself, a particular person on a Foreign Throne, and to support that person in conjunction with another country, and to do nothing without the assent of that country? That was the condition which we inherited, and out of which every item of Expenditure one by one arose; and we are told now, forsooth, that we are responsible for the tens of thousands of lives which have been lost; that we are responsible for the war in the Soudan! Why, when you had control, did you not settle the question of the Soudan? ["It was not alive."] Not alive! Why, the Soudan had been in revolt almost continuously; it had only been kept down by foreign arms from the time of the first and most unhappy effort to occupy it. Well, Sir, the noble Lord, who thinks he makes a strong point of it, says—"You are responsible for the 40,000 or 50,000 lives lost." Why, it would be far more rational if I were to tell him that his Government were responsible for the hundreds of thousands of lives lost in the Russo-Turkish War. [*Laughter.*] The noble Lord laughs now. I did not laugh when the noble Lord made the statement I have just referred to. I received it with an amount of respect which I think was far greater than it deserved. I never attempted to make the late Government responsible for the hundreds of thousands of lives which were lost in the Russo-Turkish War. But I say, without the slightest hesitation, that, in my opinion, a rational policy—and I have pointed to that policy long ago—would have prevented the loss of every one of those lives. That, Sir, is the state of the case as regards the Russo-Turkish War. We have had terrible engagements entailed upon us. We shall leave behind us, if we retire from Office, sad engagements. We have had frightful difficulties to contend with, from which in several quarters we have extricated the country. We found, in the Treaty of Berlin, alive and burning, two questions relating to Greece and Montenegro, either of which might have involved Europe in another mighty conflagration. Both those questions were settled without the shedding of one drop of blood. We found 50,000 or 70,000 men necessary in Afghanistan to oppose a gallant people, although imperfectly civilized, trodden down by the iron heel of military power. That war was perhaps as remarkable for guilt and folly as is recorded in any part of history. Afghanistan became free. Afghanistan is again friendly, so far as the memory of recent wrongs can be effaced by efforts to do right; and the 40,000 men whom India had to find for the performance of that odious task have returned from that country to the North-West Frontier. I admit that from South Africa we have not been able to extricate ourselves. South Africa, in my recollection, has always been a standing difficulty. I am sorry that I have been obliged to make this statement. The noble Lord has compelled me to do so; I could not sit here and receive his charge with respect to the 50,000 lives, for which he said, in his mild and moderate language, we are responsible in consequence of our perpetual vacillation, by which these lives have been sacrificed and our honour lowered. ["Hear, hear!"] Yes; our honour has been lowered since you annexed the Transvaal against its will. Our honour is lowered since you drove the friendly Ruler of Afghanistan into the grave, and went into that country without cause and without justification, and inflicted upon the country all those miseries of war of which we read the harrowing details. Why, if you had been treated with that severity with which you treated us, what would you have said? We never took the dreadful case of the murder of Cavagnari in that spirit; I am not aware that any Gentleman in this House charged that upon the late Government. What would have been said to us, if such a treacherous thing had happened in our time? No, Sir, we have endeavoured to struggle with the difficulties with which we were confronted. I am now going to make an observation that will, I think, be admitted, so far as it goes, to be true on both sides of the House. My observation is, that during the last 10 years the foreign policy of this country has presented a much more disturbed aspect than the policy of the 10 years that preceded it. It is quite true that if we were to quit Office we should hand over difficult and complex questions of policy to our Successors; but I trust that we should receive a just and equitable consideration from them. But it is also true, in our judgment, that we had handed over to us a set of such questions as was never handed over by one Government to another. We may pass over to our Successors a painful inheritance. We received a painful inheritance. But has it always been the case that every outgoing Administration has given to its Successors a legacy of difficulty and despair, as now seems to be the case? No, Sir. In 1874, when the late Government came into Office, the Foreign Secretary of that Government declared that in every portion of the world the foreign relations of this country were thoroughly satisfactory. Not a single difficulty of any kind had been passed over by us to those who were our Successors. The present occasion only admits of broad and general statements in answer to the broad and general statements which have been made against the Government. I am ready to fortify and defend those statements at every point and on every fair occasion, and I am perfectly convinced that the nation will do justice to us under the difficulties with which we have had to contend and the efforts we have made to overcome them.

SIR STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: Sir, we have been, I must say, rather surprised with a considerable portion of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister. I do not deny that he is quite within his right in following up some observations of my noble Friend (Lord George Hamilton), and upon them hanging a general discussion on the whole foreign policy of the present Government and its Predecessors. But I am bound to say that I think the Committee has rather been led away from the immediate questions submitted to us, and from the points of my noble Friend's speech. At the same time, it is impossible for me entirely to pass over some observations of the right hon. Gentleman in the concluding portion of his speech. He has again, and in a very marked manner, repeated the charge which he has so often brought against his Predecessors, and the excuse that all that has gone wrong is to be attributed to some action on the part of the late Government. Now, it is a very remarkable thing that we have never had the benefit of that kind of argument applied to ourselves. I was reminded by my noble Friend near me of a possible parallel in the case of the Abyssinian Expedition. There is nothing on which the right hon. Gentleman is so fond of twitting the late Lord Derby's Administration with as the Abyssinian Expedition. It is all put down to us; and yet, according to the method of the right hon. Gentleman, every shilling expended in that Expedition—I was going to say every life that was lost, but there was no life lost—every shilling was due entirely, not to our action but to that of Lord John Russell, who never answered the letter of the King of Abyssinia, and thereby made the Expedition necessary. That is exactly as good an answer and as good a case as many of those which the right hon. Gentleman is so fond of putting forward. But there is something rather remarkable in the way in which the right hon. Gentleman deals with these questions, and goes back to the root of the evil. If he would go back to the very beginning of all things in every case, there would be something in it; but in this, as in all cases, he selects a convenient point from which to start. I entirely deny the propriety of his charging us with all the consequences of our relations with Egypt, and all the war and all the misery that has been occasioned within the last few years. Let us for a moment grant his method of argument. He says all the difficulty arose from our opening certain relations with Egypt; but he does not take his start from the beginning of our relations with Egypt, when he says he warned us as to the result of the connection which subsisted between us and some of the financial arrangements in that country. No; because Lord Derby was then in Office—but he chooses the period at which Lord Derby left Office, and takes an act when Lord Salisbury was at the Foreign Office, and founds upon it his accusations against us. I object to his taking these things in this way, and assuming that the whole of the conduct of the Government flows from the acts of their Predecessors. The acts of their Predecessors do not flow from the earlier acts which were those of Lord Derby, but come from the original sin and mischief of Lord Salisbury, and from that has come all the sins of Lord Beaconsfield's later years and all the misery and mismanagement af the present Government. That, I think, is one of the most extraordinary assumptions to make upon the credulity of the House of Commons that it is possible to conceive. He turns upon us, and he says—"You took a certain line with regard to the Dual Control, and in consequence of that it became necessary for us to go step by step into the bombardment of the Alexandrian forts, into the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, into all the putting down of Arabi and his men, and into the further proceedings we have had to take with regard to the troubles in the Soudan and so forth; all these things came from your misconduct in having signed a Paper in which there was a certain provision for what is called the Dual Control." Why really, Sir, that is mocking the common sense of the House. You ask what we would have done on this point or on that. There are many points on which we should have taken a line which would, as we believe, have entirely prevented and stopped all this mischief and trouble. I take the familiar case of the Soudan, and I think if you had taken a reasonable and common-sense line when Hicks Pasha was going into the Soudon, if you had then said you would either support or prohibit that Expedition, none of these difficulties with which we are now beset would have occurred. "But" says the right hon. Gentleman, "that has nothing to do with it; it was Lord Salisbury having agreed to the Dual Control that was the cause of Hicks Pasha being killed, and the cause of Gordon going out, and the cause of this Expedition up the Nile."

Mr. GLADSTONE: I never said it was the cause of Hicks Pasha being killed, or in any way made the late Government responsible for that disaster.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: I thought that was part of the right hon. Gentleman's speech—that it was intended to be immediately relevant to the question before us, which is the supply of funds for the Expedition up the Nile, and which is directly connected with the operations in the Soudan. But I do not desire to go at full length into all these questions; all I say is that, if we are to discuss them as questions of the foreign policy of the Government, the right hon. Gentleman will find that he cannot maintain, and that no one will support him in maintaining, the doctrine he so constantly endeavours to establish—that everything is due to the actions of his Predecessors. Now, with regard to the Transvaal. We may have been right, or we may not have been right, in the action we took in respect to the annexation of the Transvaal; but, certainly, many hon. Gentlemen on that side of the House, who are great authorities on this subject, found no fault with what was done by us, but, on the contrary, they approved of what was done by us. [An hon. Member: Lord Kimberley!] Yes; Lord Kimberley and others, Colleagues of the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone). But whether that was so or not, I maintain that the Government, when they had to deal with the question, had before them two courses, either of which they might have taken; they might have maintained the act of their Predecessors, or they might have reversed it. They did neither the one, nor the other. If they had at once reversed it, if they had said—"This thing is so shocking, so bad, that our consciences will not tolerate it," they could, without the slightest sullying of the British honour, have retired from the Transvaal; they could have made whatever terms they pleased with the Transvaal Government and have retired, with the conviction that they had done nothing to lower the honour and prestige of England. They might, on the other hand, have maintained the position; that they could have done—and they themselves have often told us—they could have put down the resistance of the Boers, by sending a very small amount of force. But they did neither the one, nor the other. They did not give back the Transvaal; they endeavoured to enforce the annexation; they brought about fighting and bloodshed, and then they gave way in a manner which lowered fatally our position in the country, and when we were obliged by the commonest feelings of honour to make stipulations for the protection of certain of the Native races and of our Native allies, the effect of those stipulations was destroyed by the manner in which the Government had previously acted. You have no right to come down here and say all this is due to our action. It was not to our action, but it was to your action it was due. [An hon. MEMBER: Inaction.] Well, action or inaction, whichever you please; it was due to a bit of both. It was due to action, not deliberately, or carefully, or well-prepared, but action which was taken up as it were from hand-to-mouth, and which turns out much more expensive and wretched in the end. That is a point to be borne in mind in reference to the matter for which we are now providing the funds. Are we really assured that sufficient provision has been made? Are we satisfied that the expenditure which we are called upon to incur, and much of which, I believe, might have been avoided even later in the proceedings by a more distinct military policy—that is a point I will not now go into—but are we assured that we are taking enough for this Expedition, or shall we not find that we have again and again to come to Parliament for fresh supplies in this matter? Sir, I have ventured to make these few remarks upon a point to which the right hon. Gentleman leads us in the course of his very eloquent but rather discursive speech. There are several other matters upon which I am tempted to say a few words, and I trust I may be allowed to say them, though they are of a less general character—they have reference to what fell from the right hon. Gentleman in answer to the observations of my noble Friend the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton), and I do not think the right hon. Gentleman understood the point which my noble Friend, as I comprehended him, was making. What my noble Friend said was this—"If you are to compare the Expenditure of one Government with the Expenditure of another Government, if you are to say this Government has spent more or less than its Predecessor, you must consider what method or course you ought to adopt in order to bring about a fair comparison." And my noble Friend added that the comparison which the Prime Minister drew, in a speech he made recently in Edinburgh, upon this subject was an unfair comparison, because in the course of that comparison he deducted what he had no right to deduct. The question is, that one Government had spent so much upon the Army, Navy, Civil Services, and other sources of Expenditure, and the other Government had spent so much more. "Then," says the right hon. Gentleman, "you must deduct from the Expenditure on the part of my Government what has gone in the way of reduction of Debt; you must not deduct what we have paid in the reduction of Debt, but you must debit the amount of Debt we have got rid of," very much as you might say, when you are comparing the Navy Estimates, you must not ask how many millions one Government spent on the Navy, and how many millions the other Government spent upon the same Service, but you may deduct from the Expenditure of one Government the greater value of the ships you have obtained than the other Government obtained. It may be very proper, if you are comparing the best method of paying off Debt, to say you will have it paid off by Terminable Annuities or by redeeming so much from year to year. That is a fair question to argue, and you may be in a position to say you make out a case for better finance by adopting one or the other system. But if you are to compare Expenditure, you may set aside what you have paid for expenditure upon the Debt, and you may very fairly compare the amounts which are applied to the redemption of Debt; but if you apply those amounts to one system it will answer your purpose for your comparison, but if you apply them to another system it will not. If you apply £2,000,000, let us say, in setting up Terminable Annuities and in reducing Debt, the interest in the first years becoming less and less, and the principal in the first years becoming more and more—if you apply £2,000,000 a-year in that way, that is an expenditure of £2,000,000 a-year. You produce a certain result by it. Suppose, on the other hand, we take the system of applying £2,000,000 out of the Exchequer, without setting up Terminable Annuities, for the redemption of Debt to the amount of £2,000,000 a-year, you expend precisely the same in each year upon the Debt. It may be a question whether the one system is better than the other; but you have no right to deduct from your Expenditure that which is not the money you have spent in paying Debt, but the money you have gained by paying Debt. This may be a very academical discussion; but my noble Friend points his moral in a very important and significant way—and here I invite the attention of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler). My noble Friend says that if it has to be placed to the credit of a Government that it has redeemed a certain quantity of Debt, and that that is to be an excuse and a reason for its increased Expenditure, then it will follow that a Government which spends more and more upon the Army, Navy, Civil Services, or anything else, may get off without any blame on that account, because, at the same time, it has been redeeming a large amount of Debt. Is it to be argued that a Government's Expenditure is not to be reckoned as large as it really is because this fictitious sum by which it has reduced Debt is to be deducted by it? The right hon. Gentleman has, to a certain extent, explained or more fully stated what he intended upon another question which I will advert to. I only wish he had done so in Mid Lothian, to the people whom he was addressing, because they, no doubt, went away impressed with the rough statement he made. He says it was not possible for him to go into detail.

Mr. GLADSTONE: I beg the right hon. Gentleman's pardon. With regard to the Debt, I might have added some explanation on the question of the collection of Revenue. I did not enter into that; but if I had, I should have put down some items to our credit on the other side.

Sir STAFFORD NORTHCOTE: With regard to the collection of Revenue, the right hon. Gentleman is perfectly at liberty to put down any items that he pleases, and to claim credit for them in a general view of his finance; but when he compares Expenditure with Expenditure, he ought to compare Expenditure with Expenditure; and we complain that that is not what he did do. There is no doubt it is monstrously unfair and unjust to shut out altogether the collection of the Revenue as an expenditure not belonging to the Expenditure of the Government. It may be that the expenses of collection are small sums when compared with the millions we are talking of; but there is no man knows better, or has preached more warmly, than the right hon. Gentleman himself that the small sums are the important ones to look to in the general administration of finance. It is exactly upon such matters as the collection of Revenue that you have an opportunity of making small economies, and of taking care that what you spend is spent properly and as economically as possible. The right hon. Gentleman knows quite well that, in many of these cases, it is not merely the expenditure on the Parcel Post or anything of that sort, but it is the expenditure on the Services—the salaries of those employed, for instance—which come into consideration. Let him remember that there is one charge for the collection which does vary according to the amount of Revenue, and that is the charge for the collection of the Income Tax. If you have a high Income Tax, your expenditure on collection will be large, because the higher the amount to be collected the larger the percentage amounts to. But, then, all that brings you back to the question how far that is due to the policy of the Government? How came you to have this large charge in Income Tax? How came you to bring about this larger charge for collection? These are all matters which cannot be satisfactorily dealt with in the rough; and if we are really to go into a comparison of these matters, I say we ought to have that Committee of which we are continually hearing, but which we are never encouraged to see. I think this matter could be very fairly considered by a Committee. Certainly, I should be quite prepared to go into the Committee, with a vew of arguing fairly the question of these different kinds of expenditure, and of arguing the question to which the hon. Gentleman the Member for Wolverhampton refers—namely, the system of advances to meet local charges. I do not remember whether there was anything else in my noble Friend's speech upon which I need comment. I had intended to rise to make the observations I have made upon these two points—the collection of the Revenue, and the method of dealing with the Debt; but I was led further afield by the latter part of the speech of the right hon. Gentleman. I must say that that speech did not impress me with the conviction that the right hon. Gentleman was satisfied with the whole course of the policy of his Government in these matters. I thought there was a good deal more of the French proverb, "That a man who excuses himself, accuses himself," than was altogether comfortable to the right hon. Gentleman. There was no occasion to have gone so fully into the matter, and I do not wish now to raise any question with regard to the actual expenditure which is now proposed. It was a matter of necessity for the honour of the country that steps should be taken to rescue General Gordon. How General Gordon has got into the position in which he now finds himself, and how the Government have contracted obligations to him, are matters which will have to be very seriously answered by the Government. No matter what the answer is, it leaves the duty of the country as regards the provision that is to be made for General Gordon's rescue absolutely untouched. Therefore, I have no difficulty to raise in voting the funds which may be necessary, though I do feel the very great disadvantage of being asked to make a Vote of the character that is now asked for by the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Childers)—breaking in through all the arrangements of the year at this inconvenient time, and at a time when I am afraid there is a great deal of distress in the country—breaking in with an irregular Budget, and making this demand upon the income of the country.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK said, that, as the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) had specially referred to him, he should just like to say that he adhered to his previous statements, though it was unnecessary for him to defend them at length, because the hon. Member for Wolverhampton (Mr. H. H. Fowler) had so ably done it. He (Sir John Lubbock) regretted, as much as he possibly could, the large increases which had taken place in our National Expenditure; but he would like to remind the Committee when those increases began. For several years, up to 1874—the year of the accession to Office of the Conservative Government—there were but very small increases in our National Expenditure. They could hardly expect that there should be no increase; because, of course, there were certain automatic increases like that on Education, which he was sure none of them regretted. But the great and remarkable increases in our National Expenditure began in 1874, and rose in the five years, from 1875 to 1880, by no less than £10,000,000. The nominal increase of Expenditure had in the gross in the last four years been £13,000,000. But, during the latter period, £5,000,000 more had been appropriated towards the repayment of Debt, and £3,000,000 or £4,000,000 had been increased expenditure on the Post Office, with reference to which he should say a word or two by-and-bye. There had also been a very considerable Grant in Aid, amounting in the four years to more than £3,000,000, for National Education. The present Government had paid £7,000,000 for the War Expenditure of their Predecessors. As far as he could make out, the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Sir Stafford Northcote) and his supporters incurred a War Expenditure of £12,000,000, of which they only paid £4,000,000; while the present Government had incurred a War Expenditure of £6,000,000, but they had paid off £13,000,000 of War Expenditure. That, also, had to be taken into consideration, when they were comparing the Expenditure of the two Governments. The right hon. Baronet who had just sat down referred at some length to the items for the collection of Revenue. But the main increase which had taken place there had been on the head of the Post Office. If they compared the year 1880 with last year, the increase was from £3,800,000 to £4,500,000, which was an increase of £700,000. But, then, what had been the difference in the receipts? The receipts, which were, in 1880, £6,300,000, had increased to £7,700,000, and, therefore, although there had been an increase of expenditure on the part of the Post Office of £700,000, there had been an increase of revenue under the same head of very nearly double that amount. If they compared the cost of collection of the Customs and Inland Revenue, they found there had been a very slight increase, and, in some years, even a decrease, under that head. As so much had turned this evening upon the question of economy, perhaps it would be well to take the last year of the Conservative Government, and contrast it with the year 1884. They would find that, in

1884, the real Expenditure of the country had been almost exactly what it was in the last year of the Conservative Administration; but when they came to look into the different items, there was a very considerable difference. In 1880, the cost of collection was £2,700,000; but, so far from there being, in 1884, the increase which the right hon. Gentleman seemed to imagine, the cost had actually diminished to £2,679,000, so that there had been a certain economy. Well, then, under the head of Education the expenditure in 1880 was £3,400,000, and in 1884, £4,000,000. That was an increase of £600,000; but it was an increase which neither side of the House would complain of. Furthermore, the Grants in Aid were, in 1880, £4,980,000, and in 1884, £5,600,000, showing, under that head, an increase, which he deplored as much as the hon. Member for Wolverhampton did, and for which hon. Members opposite were mainly responsible, of upwards of £600,000. But, of course, whether they regretted it or not, that was not really an addition to the Expenditure of the country, but an amount provided for in one way instead of in another. The cost of the ordinary Civil Services had increased from £5,700,000 to £6,100,000; but when the Committee remembered how much additional expense was thrown on the country under the head of Civil Services in connection with the government of Ireland, he thought they could not wonder there had been that slight increase. The charge on account of Debt was £27,350,000 in 1880, and £28,190,000 in 1884; but that, of course, they all knew was not really part of the Expenditure of the country, but a diminution of the indebtedness of the country. And, then, lastly, the net amount for the Army and Navy was £28,500,000 in 1880, and £26,800,000 in 1884, showing, the Committee would see, a very considerable decrease in 1884 over 1880. He (Sir John Lubbock) thought the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) would have done well if, instead of dealing with vague generalities, he had taken, for instance, the last year of the Conservative Administration and 1884, and shown the Committee where the present Government had been extravagant. He (Sir John Lubbock) had endeavoured to give to the Committee the figures for those two years, and, as far as he was able to judge, he thought the Expenditure of the present Government, looked at from that point of view—and he maintained it was a right one—would contrast favourably with the Expenditure of their Predecessors, though he must confess he was disappointed that more had not been done in this respect. But, after all, this was very much a question of policy. There were two distinct questions before them that evening—one, whether the Government had been economical in their Expenditure; and, the other, whether their policy had led to unnecessary Expenditure. He, for his part, regretted, as much as any hon. Member who had spoken, the great increase of Expenditure. How had it arisen? The origin of the Egyptian policy of the Government dated from the great meeting at Willis's Rooms, attended by the Leaders of the Opposition, and having reference to the Egyptian policy of Her Majesty's Government. The Expedition to the Soudan, which he always regretted, was almost forced on Her Majesty's Government by hon. Gentlemen opposite; and it was well known that all through the Recess Members of the Opposition had been urging upon the Government to interfere actively in Bechuanaland. Deeply as he deplored the great increase of our National Expenditure, he thought that, when the country came to consider the matter, they would arrive at the conclusion that right hon. and hon. Gentlemen opposite were mainly responsible for the increase.

Mr. ONSLOW said, he had not intended taking part in the debate, and should not have done so had it not been for some remarks which had been made with reference to him by the right hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gladstone). He desired to make a personal explanation. Somehow or other, whenever anyone opposite the Treasury Bench smiled at the Prime Minister's observations, the right hon. Gentleman always came down with a fell swoop of his oratory upon his (Mr. Onslow's) unfortunate head. In spite of that, he should always smile—as he had done that night—whenever the Prime Minister said something utterly ridiculous and monstrous. With all due deference to the Chairman, he (Mr. Onslow) had never interrupted the Prime Minister. He certainly laughed; but did not think he had interrupted the right hon. Gentleman in any way.

Mr. GLADSTONE: If the hon. Gentleman says that when he laughed he did not intend to interrupt me, I am quite willing to withdraw any reference I may have made to him. I certainly thought, however, that I had the best evidence of interruption on his part.

The CHAIRMAN: Since the hon. Gentleman has referred to a ruling of mine, I must say that he made a most disorderly interruption by calling out the name "Harcourt!" across the House. He did so in such an audible manner that I was obliged to call attention to the interruption.

Mr. ONSLOW said, that an hon. Gentleman behind him had called out "Harcourt! Harcourt!" and he (Mr. Onslow) had merely repeated it. He, however, was pitched upon—as was always the case—as if he was the only one smiling. He should continue, if he thought proper, to laugh at the assertions of the Prime Minister, especially when he contended that the failure of the foreign policy of Her Majesty's Government, and the Expenditure it entailed, was wholly owing to the Conservative Government, which preceded him in Office. The right hon. Gentleman stated that it was partly owing to the policy of his Predecessors in regard to Afghanistan that £4,500,000 was given to India; but the policy pursued by the right hon. Gentleman in handing over that money was entirely deprecated by the Conservative Party. The policy of Her Majesty's Government had nothing to do with the Afghan War at all. The Opposition said India did not require to be paid that money, and India never asked for it; but it was the policy of the Government to give it. The policy they pursued was diametrically opposed to that recommended by the Opposition. The right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer had only come down on them for £1,000,000 for the present financial year; but he ought to let them know before the next financial year—before the next Budget, which would probably be in March—whether the Estimate would be exceeded or not. It appeared to him (Mr. Onslow) that the present financial proposal was not for the purpose of defraying this specific Expenditure of £1,000,000; but that a 2*d.* Income Tax might yield a certain amount, and the Estimate of the cost of the Expedition had been framed accordingly. He believed that a great deal more than £1,000,000 had already been spent, exclusive of the £300,000 voted last August; and he therefore thought the Committee and the country had a right to know the total amount which was likely to be spent on the Nile Expedition. It might be that the money asked for the Bechuanaland Expedition had not yet been spent; but some information ought to be given as to how much would be spent by next March on this Expedition to relieve General Gordon. The noble Marquess the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) had told them that the Expedition was not only to relieve General Gordon, but to establish a settled form of Government at Khartoum; and, that being so, it was obvious that it would entail a vast amount of expenditure upon this country, irrespective of the cost of the Expedition itself. The cost of keeping our troops in the Soudan whilst a settled form of Government was established would be very great. The hon. Member for Burnley (Mr. Rylands) was always preaching economy in Committee; but, whenever it came to a vote with the Speaker in the Chair, his vote was diametrically opposed to the opinions he had previously expressed. Though the hon. Gentleman was a great economist, and went in for economy all round, not even his capacity would be able to reduce the Expenditure which was going on at the present time. In his (Mr. Onslow's) opinion, the Expenditure of the country must go on increasing, whether it was in respect of Education, the Army, or the Navy. They would never get a reduction of Expenditure, no matter how many Committees were appointed to investigate the matter. With regard to Revenue, they never knew one year what was likely to happen the next, as a great deal depended upon the weather and the seasons. It was impossible to reckon upon the Revenue being elastic or expanding; but Expenditure must always go on increasing. He deprecated entirely the imposition of this £2,000,000 upon one class of taxpayers. It was a very easy thing for the right hon. Gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer to raise the sum on the Income Tax; he could do it with one stroke of his pen; and it was to be hoped that when the right hon. Gentleman, or whoever might succeed him in the meantime, came forward with his Budget next March, the extra expenditure caused by what was going on now would not be put entirely upon the shoulders of one class of taxpayers in the country.

MR. WADDY said, he rose chiefly for the purpose of quoting a passage from a speech of the right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote.) Both he and the noble Lord the Member for Middlesex (Lord George Hamilton) had stated that the principle adopted by the Prime Minister, in a speech he delivered in Edinburgh, in deducting the charges for the collection of Revenue, was "monstrously unfair." What he (Mr. Waddy) wished to do was to make a comparison between the views of the right hon. Baronet in Office, and those entertained by him out of Office. On the 20th of December, 1879, it so happened that the right hon. Baronet had to defend his own finance against an attack made upon it by the right hon. Gentleman the Prime Minister, then in Opposition. The right hon. Baronet quoted what had been said about himself, and these were his words—and he (Mr. Waddy) was anxious that the Committee should compare the statement that night about "monstrous unfairness" with what he would proceed to read. The right hon. Baronet said—

> "Mr. Gladstone takes the Expenditure of the last year of his own Government and compares it with that of the published accounts of the complete year 1878-9 under the Conservative Government, and he does it in a very fair way, because he deducts on either side the cost of the charges of collecting the Revenue, and he gives a comparison of the net receipts only; and, so far, I have not a word to say against him."

That was, word for word, exactly what was said by the right hon. Baronet, on the 20th of December, 1879, at Leeds, where he was endeavouring, as far as he could, to answer the terrible onslaught that had been shortly before made on him by the right hon. Gentleman (Mr. Gladstone). He (Mr. Waddy) did not propose, after what had been said that night, to enter into the general question. He would not allow himself to be tempted to do so by what was said by the hon. Gentleman who last spoke (Mr. Onslow) with reference to India. He would not go into the cause of the expenditure—the shameful breach of honour by the late Government, in first imposing a large taxation on the people of India, and pledging the honour of the country that the amount raised by that taxation should be spent in famine insurance, and then taking every penny of it, and spending it in gunpowder. He would remind the Committee of this, however—that the real mischief was not accounted for by the operation of Terminable Annuities. The real mischief was caused by the piling up by the late Government, during their term of Office, of the Unfunded Debt. If anyone would take the trouble to look into the matter, that would be found to account for everything. Reference to only four or five sets of figures would show exactly what he meant. When the late Government went into Office, in 1874, they found an Unfunded Debt of £4,500,000, and a balance in the Exchequer of £7,500,000. When they left Office that Unfunded Debt, which they found at £4,500,000, had risen to £27,000,000; and the balance in the Exchequer, which they found at £7,500,000, they had reduced to £3,000,000. It was, in reality, £2,273,000, because £1,000,000 they had borrowed, to put a better look on the matter, from the Bank of England. But, giving them the benefit of their own calculation, £3,000,000 was nearly the amount they left. Now, on the other hand, whilst the late Government had increased the Unfunded Debt from £4,500,000 to £27,000,000, the present Government had reduced it from £27,000,000 to £14,000,000, and had raised the balance in the Exchequer from £3,000,000 to £5,500,000. Whilst the late Government had been paying off Terminable Annuities on the one hand, they had been piling up the Unfunded Debt to a more than proportionate extent. [MR. GORST: No, no!] Yes. It was impossible here, at that time, to go in detail through all the figures; but if the hon. and learned Gentleman opposite (Mr. Gorst) would examine into the matter, he would find that the increase in the Unfunded Debt was the mischief wrought by the late Government. He (Mr. Waddy) knew very well that the Terminable Annuities were paying off Debt; but if the hon. and learned Gentleman would compare the amount automatically paid off by one Government with that paid off by the other, and then look at the amount the Unfunded Debt had been increased by each, he would find the difference accounted for. [An hon. MEMBER: The local loans!] He was reminded of the local loans. The difference there—in the interest, because the capital did not come into the account, being accounted for in another way—was about £800,000 in favour of the present Government. As to the other question raised—the question of the Post Office and the Telegraphs—he would not add one single remark to what had been already said, except to give the figures for the four years not mentioned by the noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton). The Post Office and Telegraph receipts from 1877 to 1880 were £30,000,000, while for the years from 1881 to 1884 they were £35,000,000. It was true there had been an additional expenditure of £3,750,000, or nearly; but in that there had been £500,000 extra expenditure, or something of that kind, in respect of the Parcel Post, and the profit had been £1,570,000 odd. That was extremely good business; and, therefore, it was right to deduct it in the way that was so satisfactory to the right hon. Baronet in 1879, but which now he had discovered, in some way or other, to be "monstrously unfair."

THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER (Mr. CHILDERS): I think, Sir, the time has now come when I ought to answer one or two questions put to me by the various hon. Members who have spoken, and the challenge rather pointedly addressed to me. I will do so in as few words as I possibly can. The right hon. Baronet the Member for North Devon (Sir Stafford Northcote) asked me pointedly—and his question was repeated by the hon. Member for Guildford (Mr. Onslow)—Are we asking enough provision in this Estimate? For an answer to that I would refer the Committee to the statement made by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for War (the Marquess of Hartington) the other day, on the Votes for Bechuanaland and the Soudan. He then stated that he believed it might possibly be found that, as to the Soudan, we might want something more; but that, as to Bechuanaland, it was a full Estimate; and, taking the two together, he believed we had asked enough. The hon. and learned Gentleman the Member for Chatham (Mr. Gorst) made a calculation by which he arrived at £300,000 as the sum by which, according to me, the original Estimate of Revenue will be exceeded —and asked me whether I hope that the Revenue will be increased by that amount. Another hon. Member made it £250,000. Well, I decline to give an exact figure. I think there will be a moderate increase in the receipts; and if it is one-quarter per cent on the whole amount, it will be not far from the sum that the hon. Gentleman names. The noble Lord opposite (Lord George Hamilton) drew the attention of the Committee to certain figures for the purpose of comparing the Expenditure of the present Government during the past four years with the Expenditure of the late Government during the previous four years. In reply to the noble Lord, I will refer the Committee to the annual Return of the net Expenditure of the country charged on the taxes, which has been frequently declared by the Treasuries of both political Parties to afford the sound basis of comparison between different years. For this year it is No. 273 of last Session. On pages 2, 3, 4, and 5 the Return shows that the whole charge on the taxpayer between April, 1880, and March, 1884, amounted to £283,000,000; while the whole charge on the taxpayer in the four years 1876-80 amounted to £275,000,000. There was thus an increase of £8,000,000 in the years 1880-4; but that increase is explained in the following way:—We have spent £2,000,000 more on Education, £3,400,000 more in Votes in aid of Local Taxation, and £4,500,000 as a contribution to India. What we have paid off of Debt in hard money amounts to £14,000,000 more than what was paid off in the four years preceding our accession to Office. These sums come together to £23,900,000—that is to say, nearly £16,000,000 more than the increase of charge. Further, I would remind the House that, although it is true that we have had to raise more taxation in those four years, we have had to do so in order to meet not only our own Expenditure, but the deficits of the three previous years, amounting to £7,300,000. I hope that hon. Gentlemen who really care to obtain accurate figures as to recent expenditure will observe that we spent upon the Army and Navy, in the four years ending March, 1884, £101,800,000, while the net charge in the preceding four years was £101,500,000. The net cost of the Civil Services in 1880-4 was £24,500,000, and in 1876-80, £23,000,000. Anyone who takes the pains may verify these figures from the Return I have named.

Question put, and *agreed to.*

*Resolved,* That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the Duties of Income Tax granted by "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884," there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year which commenced on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):

For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of One Penny;

And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act, the Duty of One Halfpenny;

Provided always, That, with the view of securing the additional Duties and affording the proper rights of deduction in respect thereof in the case of Dividends, Interest, or other annual sums due or payable half-yearly or quarterly in the course of the said year, where one of the half-yearly payments or two of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other half-yearly payment or quarterly payments shall be charged with the additional Duty of Two Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof; and where three of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other quarterly payment shall be charged with the additional Duty of Four Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof.

Provided also, That the charge under this Resolution shall be deemed to be satisfied by an addition of one-fifth of the amount of the Duties assessed under "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884," to such amount, and payment of such addition therewith.

Resolution to be reported upon *Wednesday.*

Committee to sit again upon *Wednesday.*

## ADJOURNMENT.

House at its rising to adjourn till *Wednesday.*

House adjourned at half after Eight o'clock till Wednesday.

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TO

# HANSARD'S PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES,

## VOLUME CCXCIII.

### FIRST VOLUME OF SESSION 1884-5.

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### EXPLANATION OF THE ABBREVIATIONS.

In Bills, Read 1°, 2°, 3°, or 1ª, 2ª, 3ª, Read the First, Second, or Third Time.—In Speeches, 1R., 2R., 3R., Speech delivered on the First, Second, or Third Reading.—*Amendt.*, Amendment.—*Res.*, Resolution.—*Comm.*, Committee.—*Re-Comm.*, Re-Committal.—*Rep.*, Report.—*Consid.*, Consideration.—*Adj.*, Adjournment or Adjourned.—*cl.*, Clause.—*add. cl.*, Additional Clause.—*neg.*, Negatived.—*M. Q.*, Main Question.—*O. Q.*, Original Question.—*O. M.*, Original Motion.—*P. Q.*, Previous Question.—R. P., Report Progress.—*A.*, Ayes.—*N.*, Noes.—*M.*, Majority.—*1st. Div.*, *2nd. Div.*, First or Second Division.—*l.*, Lords.—*c.*, Commons.

When in this Index a * is added to the Reading of a Bill, it indicates that no Debate took place upon that stage of the measure.

When in the Text or in the Index a Speech is marked thus *, it indicates that the Speech is reprinted from a Pamphlet or some authorized Report.

When in the Index a † is prefixed to a Name or an Office (the Member having accepted or vacated office during the Session) and to Subjects of Debate thereunder, it indicates that the Speeches on those Subjects were delivered in the speaker's private or official character, as the case may be.

Some subjects of debate have been classified under the following "General Headings:"—ARMY — NAVY — INDIA — IRELAND — SCOTLAND — PARLIAMENT — POOR LAW—POST OFFICE—METROPOLIS — CHURCH OF ENGLAND — EDUCATION — CRIMINAL LAW — LAW AND JUSTICE—TAXATION, under WAYS AND MEANS.

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*Shooting without Inland Revenue License*, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Nov* 17, 1838

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*l.* Presented; read 1ª* *Nov* 3 (No. 2)
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(*Mr. Deasy, Mr. Parnell, Mr. M'Mahon, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, Mr. Sexton*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 5]

*Land Law (Ireland) Act*, 1881
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*Loans to Tenants—Statutory Advertisements*, Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Nov* 17, 1828
*The Land Commission Court—Appeals—Fines for Non-Stamping*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Nov* 4, 906

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*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 2]

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*l.* Presented; read 1ª * *Nov* 3 (No. 3)
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(*Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Reid, Mr. Burt, Mr. Passmore Edwards, Mr. Puleston*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 10]

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(*Mr. Molloy, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. Richard Power*)
c. Ordered; read 1° * *Nov* 4 [Bill 27]

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Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 25, 1530
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**Outlawries Bill**
*c.* Read 1° * *Oct* 23

*Pacific, Western Islands of the — New Guinea—The British Protectorate*
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LORDS—
Meeting of the Parliament *Oct* 23
The Session of Parliament opened by Commission
**Her Majesty's Most Gracious Speech** delivered by The Lord Chancellor *Oct* 23, 3
The Queen's Speech having been reported by The Lord Chancellor ; An Address to Her Majesty thereon moved by the Lord Belper (the Motion being seconded by The Lord Lawrence) *Oct* 23, 5 ; after debate, Address agreed to, *nemine dissentiente*
Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported *Nov* 3, 764
*Chairman of Committees*—The Earl of Redesdale appointed, *nemine dissentiente,* to take the Chair in all Committees of this House for this Session *Oct* 23
*Committee for Privileges*—appointed *Oct* 23
*Sub-Committee for the Journals*—appointed *Oct* 23
*Appeal Committee*—appointed *Oct* 23
*Business of the House—Adjournment,* Observations, Earl Granville *Oct* 23, 4 ; Observations, Earl Granville, The Earl of Carnarvon *Nov* 6, 1043 ; Observation, The Earl of Northbrook *Nov* 13, 1533

*Parliament—Representative Peers*
Moved, "That an humble Address be presented to Her Majesty praying that the Prerogative be not interposed to prevent the substitution by Statute of a more suitable form for securing the presence of Irish and Scottish Peers in the House of Lords than is afforded by the existing modes of election" (*The Lord Waveney*) *Nov* 17, 1810 ; after short debate,
[*cont.*

*Parliament—Representative Peers*—cont.
Previous Question moved (*The Earl Cairns*) ; Previous Question put, whether the said Question shall be now put ; resolved in the negative

COMMONS—
THE QUEEN'S SPEECH
The Queen's Speech having been reported by Mr. Speaker ; An humble Address thereon moved by Mr. E. Stafford Howard (the Motion being seconded by Mr. Summers) *Oct* 23, 59
Amendt. in ninth paragraph, after "us," insert "and humbly to assure Her Majesty that it is the opinion of a vast number of the Irish people that the present method of administering the Law in Ireland, more especially under the Crimes Act, has worked manifold injustice, and, in the case of the prisoners tried for the Maamtrasna murder, has led to the execution of an innocent man and to the conviction of four other persons equally innocent, and this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey" (*Mr. Harrington*), 127 ; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted ;" Debate adjourned
Debate resumed [Second Night] *Oct* 24, 167 ; after long debate, Debate adjourned
Debate resumed [Third Night] *Oct* 27, 266
After debate, Amendt. to said proposed Amendt. to leave out after "and humbly," to "innocent," inclusive (*Mr. Labouchere*), 298 ; Question, "That the words, &c." put, and negatived
Question proposed, "That the words 'and this House humbly assures Her Majesty that it would ensure much greater confidence in the administration of the Law in Ireland if a full and public inquiry were granted into the execution of Myles Joyce and the continued incarceration of Patrick Joyce, Thomas Joyce, Martin Joyce, and John Casey,' be inserted after 'us' in paragraph 9 ;" after debate, Debate adjourned
Notice of Amendment, Lord Randolph Churchill *Oct* 28, 356
Debate resumed [Fourth Night] *Oct* 28, 357 ; after long debate, Question put ; A. 48, N. 219 ; M. 171 (D. L. 1)
Main Question again proposed ; Debate adjourned
Debate resumed [Fifth Night] *Oct* 29, 441 ; after long debate (*Affairs of South Africa*) Debate adjourned
Debate resumed [Sixth Night] *Oct* 30, 543
Amendt. to insert in ninth paragraph, after "us," "and humbly to assure Her Majesty that this House regrets to find in recent speeches and actions of one of Her Majesty's Ministers, holding the high office of President of the Board of Trade, an incitement to interference with the freedom of political discussion, and a justification of riot and disorder" (*Lord Randolph Churchill*) ;
[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Question put; A. 178, N. 214; M. 36 (D. L. 2)

Main Question again proposed; Debate adjourned

Questions, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Lewis; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Oct* 31, 665

Debate resumed [Seventh Night] *Oct* 31, 668

Amendt. to insert in ninth paragraph, after "us," "but humbly to direct Her Majesty's attention to the depressed condition of commerce and agriculture, and regret that Her Majesty's gracious Speech contains no reference to a subject of such paramount importance" (*Mr. Mac Iver*), 668; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Question put; A. 67, N. 86; M. 19 (D. L. 3)

Main Question again proposed, 759; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed [Eighth Night] *Nov* 3, 798

Amendt. to insert in ninth paragraph, after "us," "but humbly to represent to Her Majesty that it is essential to the public interest that the Criminal Law, more particularly with regard to the composition of juries, be impartially administered to the different classes of the people of Ireland" (*Mr. Sexton*), 798; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after long debate, Question put; A. 30, N. 118; M. 88 (D. L. 4)

Main Question again proposed, 894; Moved, "That this House do now adjourn" (*Mr. Gladstone*); Question put, and negatived

Main Question again proposed; Debate adjourned

Debate resumed [Ninth Night] *Nov* 4, 910; after long debate, Question put; A. 34, N. 140; M. 106 (D. L. 5)

Main Question again proposed, 959

Amendt. to insert in ninth paragraph, after "us," "humbly to express our regret that Her Majesty's Government should have assumed a formal protectorate over Bechuanaland without taking effectual precautions to prevent Montsioa from being conquered by freebooters domiciled and organized in the Transvaal under the sanction of its Government:

"And, further, to express our regret that, after Her Majesty's Government had received full information of the forcible appropriation of Montsioa's land by the Rooi-Grond freebooters, delay, greatly increasing the difficulties of any settlement, has been permitted to take place in announcing the intention of Her Majesty's Government to turn out the freebooters, by force if necessary, from the territory under Her Majesty's protection" (*Mr. Gorst*), 959; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after debate, Amendt. withdrawn

Main Question put, and agreed to; Committee appointed, "to draw up an Address to be presented to Her Majesty upon the said Resolution;" List of the Committee, 988

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*cont.*

Report of Address brought up, and read *Nov* 4; Address read a second time; Further Proceeding thereon deferred

Further Proceeding resumed *Nov* 5, 996

Amendt. at end of seventh paragraph, after "provision," insert "Humbly to pray Her Majesty to direct Her Ministers, in the interests of freedom and commerce, and for the security of Egypt, to efficiently support General Gordon in establishing a stable and civilised Government at Khartoum" (*Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after debate, Question put, and negatived

Moved, "That this House doth agree with the Committee in the said Address to be presented to Her Majesty"

After debate (*Crime and Outrage* (*Ireland*)—*The Ballyforan Murder*); Question put; A. 134, N. 18; M. 116 (D. L. 6); Address agreed to

Her Majesty's Answer to the Address reported *Nov* 11, 1461

*Privileges*, Ordered, That a Committee of Privileges be appointed *Oct* 23

*Public Petitions*, Select Committee appointed and nominated *Oct* 28; List of the Committee, 435

*Printing*, Select Committee appointed and nominated *Oct* 31; List of the Committee, 763

*The Ministry*

*The Secretary to the Admiralty*, Questions, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 23, 57

*Personal Opinion of Members not in the Cabinet—Mr. Courtney and South Africa*, Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 30, 540

*The Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, Questions, Mr. Firth, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 31, 654

*The Government and the Newspaper Press—Official Communications*, Questions, Mr. Raikes, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Lord Randolph Churchill; Answers, Lord Richard Grosvenor; Questions, Mr. J. Lowther, Mr. T. P. O'Connor; [no reply] *Oct* 30, 521

*THE NEW RULES OF PROCEDURE*

*Order in Debate—Suspension of a Member—*(*Rule* 2) *Nov* 5, 1037

Moved, "That Mr. O'Donnell be suspended from the service of the House" (*Mr. Gladstone*); A. 163, N. 28; M. 135 (D. L. 7); Mr. O'Donnell suspended accordingly

*BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE AND PUBLIC BUSINESS*

*The Queen's Speech—Postponement of Orders of the Day*

Resolved, That any proceedings on the Address have precedence To-morrow and Wednesday over the Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day *Oct* 27

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*Business of the House and Public Business*—cont.

Resolved, That any further proceedings on the Address appointed for this day or to-morrow have precedence over the Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day" (*Mr. Gladstone* *Nov* 4

*Notices of Motions and Orders of the Day—Irish Industries*, Observations, Question, Sir Eardley Wilmot; Reply, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 30, 542

Questions, Mr. Broadhurst, Mr. Raikes, Mr. Gorst; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 24, 161; —*Scotch Bills*, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Oct* 30, 526;—*Representation of the People Bill*, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 30, 543;—*Lord Mayor's Day*, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 7, 1227;—*Supply—The Earl of Northbrook's Mission*, Observations, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon *Nov* 11, 1458;—*Redistribution*, Question, Sir John Hay; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 13, 1586; —*The Egyptian Policy of the Government*, Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Nov* 14, 1729

*ADJOURNMENT*

Moved, "That the House, at its rising, do adjourn till Thursday" (*Lord Richard Grosvenor*) *Nov* 11, 1533; Motion agreed to

*Adjournment*, House, at its rising, to adjourn till Wednesday *Nov* 17

*Questions to Ministers*, Questions, Mr. Roundell, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Sexton; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 14, 1725

*Order — Uncovering of Members to Royal Messages*, Question, Observations, The Chancellor of the Exchequer; Reply, Mr. Speaker *Oct* 27, 260

*Parliamentary Elections*

*Redistribution—Census of Wales*, Questions, Mr. Morgan Lloyd; Answers, Sir John Hay *Nov* 4, 901

*Scarborough Election*, Question, Mr. Caine; Personal Explanation, Sir Thomas Bateson; Answer, The Attorney General; Question, Mr. Labouchere; Observation, Mr. Speaker *Nov* 6, 1108

*Parliamentary Franchise—Woman Suffrage*, Questions, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 24, 158

*Parliamentary Representation—Borough of Sligo*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 6, 1116

*Printing of Parliamentary Papers*, Notice of Question, Mr. W. H. Smith *Nov* 14, 1731

*Parliament—Sessional Orders—The Metropolitan Police—Political Demonstrations*

Sessional Order read, and, after debate, agreed to *Oct* 23, 46

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF LORDS

*New Peers*

*Nov* 11—The Right Hon. John George Dodson created Baron Monk Bretton of Conyboro and of Hurstpierpoint in the county of Sussex

Sir Walter Charles James, baronet, created Baron Northbourne of Betteshanger in the county of Kent and of Jarrow Grange in the county palatine of Durham

Arthur Saunders William Charles Fox, Earl of Arran in the Peerage of Ireland, created Baron Sudley of Castle Gore in the county of Mayo

John Robert William Viscount de Vesci in the Peerage of Ireland, created Baron de Vesci of Abbey Leix in the Queen's county

*Nov* 13—Marmaduke Francis Baron Herries in the Peerage of Scotland, created Baron Herries of Carlaverock Castle in the county of Dumfries and of Everingham in the East Riding of the county of York

*Sat First*

*Nov* 3—The Duke of Wellington, after the death of his uncle

The Lord Mendip (Viscount Clifden), after the death of his father

The Lord Petre, after the death of his father

*Nov* 6—The Earl Cowley, after the death of his father

PARLIAMENT—HOUSE OF COMMONS

*New Writs Issued*

*Oct* 23—*For* Radnor, *v.* Samuel Charles Evans Williams, esquire, Manor of Northstead

*For* Stirling, *v.* Henry Campbell-Bannerman, esquire, Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

*Oct* 24—*For* Scarborough, *v.* Right Hon. John George Dodson, Chiltern Hundreds

*Oct* 27—*For* South Warwickshire, *v.* the Hon. Gilbert Henry Chandos Leigh, deceased

*Nov* 11—*For* Hackney, *v.* the Right Hon. Henry Fawcett, deceased

*Nov* 17—*For* Greenock, *v.* James Stewart, esquire, Manor of Northstead

*For* Down, *v.* Hon. Charles Stewart Vane Tempest, commonly called Viscount Castlereagh, called up to the House of Peers

*New Members Sworn*

*Oct* 23—John Tremayne, esquire, *Devon County (Southern Division)*

Patrick Joseph Power, esquire, *Waterford County*

Ronald Craufurd Munro-Ferguson, esquire, *Combined Counties of Ross and Cromarty*

[*cont.*

PARLIAMENT—COMMONS—*New Members Sworn*—cont.
*Oct* 30—Charles Colman Rogers, esquire, *New Radnor Borough*
*Nov* 3—Henry Campbell-Bannerman, esquire, *Stirling Burghs*
*Nov* 6—Lieutenant Colonel Richard Fell Steble, *Scarborough*
*Nov* 10—Sampson Samuel Lloyd, esquire, *Warwick County* (*Southern Division*)

**Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women) Bill** (*Mr. Woodall, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Coleridge Kennard, Mr. Stansfeld, Baron Henry De Worms, Mr. Yorke*)
*c*. Ordered; read 1° * *Nov* 10 [Bill 32]
Order for 2R. read, and discharged; Bill withdrawn *Nov* 17, 1885

PARNELL, Mr. C. S., *Cork City*
Ireland—Agricultural Labourers—The Committee, 1590
Prevention of Crime Act, 1882—Section 14—Seizure of Papers, 1851
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 266, 280, 283, 759, 856, 949
Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), 2R. 1037; Comm. *cl*. 6, 1509; Consid. 1707
Representation of the People, 3R. Amendt. 1501, 1504
Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland), 2R. 1504

*Patent Office*
*Register of Patents, Great Britain—Supply of Index from* 1877 *to Public Record Office (Ireland)*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Nov* 14, 1711
*The Intended Exhibition of Inventions*, Question, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Oct* 31, 660
*The Library*, Questions, Mr. James Howard; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain *Nov* 10, 1385

PATRICK, Mr. R. W. COCHRAN-, *Ayrshire, N.*
Merchant Shipping, Royal Commission on—The Commissioners, 152
Personal Estates (Scotland), 1114

*Peace Preservation (Ireland) Act*, 1881
*Arms Licenees*, Question, Mr. Mayne; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Nov* 13, 1558
*Police Protection—Sir Augustus Stewart Hamilton, Co. Donegal*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Oct* 31, 649

PEASE, Sir J. W., *Durham, S.*
Westminster Hall (Restoration), Motion for a Select Committee, 1337

PEDDIE, Mr. J. DICK-, *Kilmarnock, &c.*
Scotland—Crofters and Cottars, Res. 1776
West Indies—Report of the Royal Commission, 1583
Westminster Hall (Restoration), Motion for a Select Committee, 1338; Amendt. 1339

PEEL, Right Hon. A. W. (*see* SPEAKER, The)

*Personal Estates (Scotland) Bill*
Question, Mr. Cochran-Patrick; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Nov* 6, 1114

PICTON, Mr. J. A., *Leicester Borough*
Scotland—Crofters and Cottars, Res. 1760

PLUNKET, Right Hon. D. R., *Dublin University*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 831
Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl*. 9, 1513

**Pluralities Bill** (*Mr. Acland, Mr. Edward Howard, Sir John Kennaway, Lord Edward Cavendish*)
*c*. Ordered; read 1° * *Oct* 29 [Bill 22]

**Pollution of Rivers Bill** (*Mr. Hastings, Earl Percy, Colonel Walrond*)
*c*. Ordered; read 1° * *Nov* 13 [Bill 34]

**Poor Law Guardians (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. John Redmond, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Gray, Mr. Barry*)
*c*. Ordered; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 9]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Nov* 5, 1026
Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Elton*); after short debate, Question put; A. 130, N. 97; M. 33 (D. L. 8)
Debate resumed *Nov* 10, 1436; after short debate, Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
Committee; Report *Nov* 11, 1507
Considered *Nov* 13, 1707
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°;" after short debate, Question put; A. 72, N. 4; M. 68 (D. L. 17); Bill passed
*l*. Read 1ª * (*Lord President*) *Nov* 17 (No. 6)

*Portugal*
*Quarantine at Madeira*, Question, Mr. Creyke; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Oct* 28, 350
*The "City of Mecca,"* Question, Mr. Anderson; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Oct* 30, 525
[See title *Africa* (*West Coast*)—*The Congo River*]

POST OFFICE (*Miscellaneous Questions*)
*Contracts—The Irish Mail Service*, Question, Mr. Sexton; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Nov* 6, 1097
*Mail Service in the West of Ireland—The Midland Great Western Railway Company*, Question, Colonel Nolan; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Oct* 27, 255; Question, Mr. O'Connor Power; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Oct* 28, 352
*Post Cards — Purchase of Material from Abroad*, Questions, Mr. Coleridge Kennard; Answers, Mr. Speaker *Oct* 27, 256
*Purchase of Telephones*, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Oct* 30, 530
*Sixpenny Telegrams*, Question, Mr. Ruston; Answer, Mr. Fawcett *Oct* 24, 162

POWER, Mr. J. O'Connor, *Mayo*
Ireland—Public Meetings—Riot at Portadown, 167, 650
Post Office—Mail Service to the West of Ireland—The Midland Great Western Railway Company, 352

POWER, Mr. P., *Waterford Co.*
Ireland—Public Boards—Audit of Accounts, 1366
Rotunda, Coombe, and Pitt Street Hospitals, Dublin—Compounding of Medicines, 1718
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 819

POWER, Mr. R., *Waterford City*
Ireland—National Education—The Ferrybank Schools, Co. Waterford, 1375
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 878, 879
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POWERSCOURT, Viscount
Ireland—New Museum of Science and Art, Dublin, 1442

*Prevention of Crime* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1882
*Compensation for Malicious Burning—Case of Patrick Hanley, of Ashbrook, Co. Roscommon*, Question, Mr. O'Kelly; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Nov* 14, 1710
*Mr. Joseph R. Cox*, Question, Mr. Justin Huntly M'Carthy; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland; Question, Mr. Healy; [no reply] *Oct* 27, 242
*Proclaimed Meeting at Cranagh, Co. Wicklow*, Question, Mr. W. J. Corbet; Answer, The Solicitor General for Ireland *Oct* 28, 342
*Section* 14—*Seizure of Papers of Mr. Matthew Harris, of Ballinasloe*, Questions, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Parnell; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Nov* 17, 1851
*Searches, Limerick Co.—Mr. John O'Sullivan, Shanagolden*, Question, Mr. O'Sullivan; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Nov* 13, 1575
*Warrants*
*Extra Police Tax—Ballickmoyler Petty Sessions*, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor, Mr. O'Brien; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman; Question, Mr. Sexton; [no reply] *Nov* 10, 1364

*Prevention of Crime* (*Ireland*) *Act*, 1882—*Warrants*—cont.
*Extra Police at Rathclooney, Co. Clare*, Question, Mr. Kenny; Answer, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Nov* 14, 1710
*Extra Police at Timahoe, Queen's Co.*, Questions, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answers, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman *Nov* 6, 1105; *Nov* 17, 1829

PRICE, Captain G. E., *Devonport*
Navy—Junior Service in the Engineers and Accountant Branches, 779

**Private Bill Legislation Bill**
(*Mr. Sellar, Mr. Davey, Mr. Raikes, Sir Lyon Playfair*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1° * *Oct* 31 [Bill 25]

*Public Documents—Delay in Printing*
Question, Mr. Broadhurst; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Nov* 6, 1086

*Public Expenditure—The Civil Service—The Select Committee of* 1873
Question, Mr. Arthur O'Connor; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Nov* 13, 1561

*Public Health*
*Alleged Outbreak of Cholera in Normandy*, Question, Sir Walter B. Barttelot; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Oct* 28, 355
*Precautions against Cholera*, Questions, Mr. Moore; Answers, Sir Charles W. Dilke *Nov* 17, 1836
*Importation of Butterine and Oleomargarine—Reports from Foreign Countries*, Questions, Mr. Moore; Answers, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Nov* 17, 1835
*Quarantine at Gibraltar*, Question, Dr. Cameron; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Nov* 13, 1559

*Public Meetings—The Riot at Aston Hall, Birmingham*
Questions, Sir Frederick Milner, Lord Randolph Churchill, Sir H. Drummond Wolff, Lord George Hamilton; Answers, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Speaker, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 24, 163; Observations, Question, Lord George Hamilton; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain; short debate thereon *Oct* 27, 261; Personal Explanation, Mr. Newdegate *Oct* 30, 541; Question, Mr. Lewis; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Nov* 4, 904; Question, Mr. Onslow; Answer, The Attorney General *Nov* 17, 1834

*Public Works Loans Act*, 1879—*Interest on Harbour Loans*
Question, Sir Stafford Northcote; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Nov* 6, 1096

PUGH, Mr. L. P., *Cardiganshire*
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**Raikes**, Right Hon. H. C., *Cambridge University*
  Government and the Newspaper Press—Official Communications, 521, 522
  Parliament—Business of the House, 161
  Representation of the People, 2R. 1170

*Railways (Metropolis)—The District and Metropolitan Railways*
  Question, Mr. Biggar; Answer, Sir Charles W. Dilke; Question, Mr. Firth; [no reply] *Nov* 14, 1719

**Ramsay**, Mr. J., *Falkirk, &c*
  Scotland—Crofters and Cottars, Res. 1792

**Redistribution of Seats Bill**
  (*Admiral Sir John Hay, Mr. James Campbell*)
  *c.* Ordered; read 1°* *Oct* 24 [Bill 16]

**Redmond**, Mr. J. E., *New Ross*
  Ireland, State of — Meeting of the National League at New Ross—Attendance of the Police, 519
  Navy—Naval Pensions, 1583
  Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 204, 876, 946; Report, 1026
  Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), 2R. 1026

**Redmond**, Mr. W. H. K., *Wexford*
  Army Supplementary Estimates, 1884-5—Expedition to Bechuanaland, 1672, 1675
  Ireland—Questions
    James B. M'Connell, Petty Sessions Clerk, Dromore, 1847
    Law and Justice—Mr. R. W. Gamble, Q.C. County Court Judge of Armagh, 1847
    Poor Law—Belfast Workhouse—Irregularities of the Master, 1101, 1377
  Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 301; Motion for Adjournment, 513, 829, 867

**Reid**, Mr. R. T., *Hereford*
  Africa (South)—Zululand, 1385

**Representation of the People Bill**
  (*Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Trevelyan, Mr. Attorney General, The Lord Advocate*)
  *c.* Notices, Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Tomlinson, Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Labouchere, Sir John Hay, Mr. Mac Iver *Oct* 23, 56
  Motion for Leave (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Oct* 24, 238; after short debate, Motion agreed to; Bill ordered; read 1°* [Bill 1]
  Moved, "That the consideration of the second reading of the Representation of the People Bill be postponed until To-morrow" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Oct* 30, 543; Motion agreed to
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Nov* 6, 1121
  Amendt. to leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, any measure purporting to provide for the better Representation of the People in Parliament must be accompanied by provisions for a proper arrangement of electoral areas" (*Mr. E. Stanhope*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Sir R. Assheton Cross*); Motion agreed to
  Debate resumed *Nov* 7, 1227; after long debate, Question put; A. 372, N. 232; M. 140
    Div. List, A. and N. 1328
  Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 2°
  Committee; Report, after short debate *Nov* 10, 1387
  Moved, "That the Bill be now read 3°" *Nov* 11, 1463
  After debate, Amendt. to leave out "now read 3°," insert "re-committed" (*Mr. Parnell*) *v.*; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after further short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
  Main Question put, and agreed to; Bill read 3°
  *l.* Read 1ª* (*Earl of Kimberley*) *Nov* 13 (No. 5)

*Representation of the People*
  *Redistribution Scheme—Disclosure of Public Documents*, Questions, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. Firth, Sir H. Drummond Wolff; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 24, 157
  *Schemes of Voting*, Questions, Sir John Lubbock; Answers, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon *Oct* 27, 265
  *Extension and Rectification of Boundaries—Instruction to the Committee*, Question, Sir Wilfrid Lawson; Answer, Mr. Speaker *Nov* 10, 1387
  *Redistribution*, Ministerial Statement, Earl Granville; short debate thereon *Nov* 17, 1806; Ministerial Statement, Mr. Gladstone; short debate thereon, 1820

*Representation of the People Bill*
  Moved, "That the several stages of any Bill relating to the Representation of the People have precedence of all Orders of the Day, except any further proceedings on the Address, and Notices of Motions, on every day for which they may be set down by the Government" (*Mr. Gladstone*) *Nov* 5, 988
  Amendt., after "precedence," insert "except on Wednesdays" (*Admiral Sir John Hay*); Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Amendt. withdrawn
  Amendt., after "precedence," insert "during the month of November" (*Mr. Gladstone*), 994; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put, and agreed to
  Amendt., after "Motions," insert "except Notices of Motion relating to schemes under the provisions of 'The Endowed Schools Act, 1869," and amending Acts" (*Mr. Warton*), 995; Question proposed, "That those words be there inserted;" after short debate, Question put, and negatived
  Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

**Repton**, Mr. G. W. J., *Warwick*
  Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Khartoum, 668

**Returning Officers' Expenses Bill** (*Mr. Sydney Buxton, Mr. Stafford Howard, Mr. Arthur Elliot, Mr. Picton*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 13]

RICHARDSON, Mr. T., *Hartlepool*
Trade and Commerce—Distress in the Shipbuilding Trade, 257

RITCHIE, Mr. C. T., *Tower Hamlets*
Board of Trade—Sugar Bounties—Mr. Ritchie and Mr. Thornhill, 517, 518
India—Burmah—Mandalay Massacres, 1830
Metropolitan Board of Works (Thames Crossings)—Subway at Shadwell, 1087, 1088
Representation of the People, 3R. 1491

ROGERS, Mr. J. E. Thorold, *Southwark*
Representation of the People, 2R. 1163, 1164, 1166

ROSEBERY, Earl of
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 40

*Roumania—Treatment of the Jews*
Question, Baron Henry De Worms ; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Nov* 13, 1560

ROUNDELL, Mr. C. S., *Grantham*
Education Department—Lower Middle Class Education, 655
Parliament—Questions to Ministers, 1725
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RUSSELL, Mr. C., *Dundalk*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 396, 398, 404, 416
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RUSSELL, Mr. G. W. E. (Parliamentary Secretary to the Local Government Board), *Aylesbury*
Alkali Works Regulation Act, 1881—Alleged Deaths from Noxious Vapours from Soap and Alkali Works, Runcorn, 908, 1112
Lower Thames Valley Main Sewerage Board, 798
Thames and the London Water Companies, 1211

RUSTON, Mr. J., *Lincoln City*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 863
Post Office—Sixpenny Telegrams, 162

RYLANDS, Mr. P., *Burnley*
Ways and Means, Comm. 1869, 1888

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday Bill** (*Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Houldsworth, Sir William M'Arthur, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Charles Ross, Mr. Charles Wilson, Mr. Caine*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 8]

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Cornwall) Bill** (*Mr. Arthur Vivian, Sir John St. Aubyn, Mr. Borlase, Mr. Acland*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Nov* 6 [Bill 30]

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Durham) Bill** (*Mr. Theodore Fry, Mr. Walter James, Mr. Lambton, Mr. Dodds, Mr. Thomas Richardson, Mr. Gourley, Mr. Thomas Thompson*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Nov* 6 [Bill 29]

**Sale of Intoxicating Liquors on Sunday (Northumberland) Bill** (*Mr. Jerningham, Mr. Albert Grey, Mr. Burt, Mr. John Morley*)
*c.* Motion for Leave (*Mr. Jerningham*) *Nov* 7, 1340 ; after short debate, Motion agreed to ; Bill ordered ; read 1° * [Bill 31]

SALISBURY, Marquess of
Egypt (Events in the Soudan)—Rumoured fall of Khartoum, 764
Expeditionary Force to the Soudan—Instructions to General Lord Wolseley, 765, 769, 770, 771, 774
Fawcett, Right Hon. Henry, Postmaster General, Death of, 1076
India (Seat of Government), 1355
Law of Evidence Amendment, 2R. 1442
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Representation of the People—Redistribution, Ministerial Statement, 1809
Trade and Commerce, Motion for a Select Committee, 1069, 1079, 1081
Treaty of Berlin—Outrages in Macedonia, 1818

**Salmon (Weekly Close Time) (Ireland) Bill** (*Mr. Healy, Mr. Leamy, Sir Joseph M'Kenna, Mr. O'Shea, Mr. Barry*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 17]
Moved, "That the Bill be now read 2°" *Nov* 11, 1504 ; after short debate, Moved, "That the Debate be now adjourned" (*Mr. Sexton*) ; after further short debate, Motion agreed to

SALT, Mr. T., *Stafford*
Elementary Education Act, 1876—Payment of School Fees, 1709
Mexico—Renewal of Diplomatic Relations with Great Britain—British Claims, 1099
National Debt (Conversion of Stock)—Operation of the Act, 1095
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*Administration of Scotch Affairs*, Question, Sir George Campbell ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 17, 1853

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*Appointments to the Local Marine Board, Greenock*, Question, Lord Claud Hamilton; Answer, The Solicitor General *Nov* 6, 1091

*Crime and Outrage—Mutilation of Sheep in the Island of Lewis*, Question, Mr. Munro-Ferguson; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Nov* 14, 1730

*Law and Justice—Procurators Fiscal—The Disturbances in the Hebrides*, Questions, Mr. J. W. Barclay, Dr. Cameron, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, The Lord Advocate, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 10, 1382

*Northern Lighthouse Commissioners — The Fair Isle*, Question, Mr. J. W. Barclay; Answer, Mr. Chamberlain *Oct* 30, 515

*Sea and Coast Fisheries—Fishing Grants*, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Mr. Courtney *Nov* 6, 1100

*The Glasgow Calamity—Public Buildings (Doors) Bill*, Questions, Viscount Folkestone, Mr. Macfarlane, Dr. Cameron; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Nov* 6, 1084

*Universities — Legislation*, Question, Mr. Craig-Sellar; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Nov* 3, 780

*Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands*

*Land Law Reform*, Questions, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Oct* 30, 539; —*Disturbances in Skye*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Macfarlane, Dr. Cameron, Sir Herbert Maxwell; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Nov* 11, 1449

*The Land Agitation*, Questions, Mr. Sexton, Mr. Macfarlane; Answers, Sir William Harcourt *Nov* 6, 1093

*The Crofters of Skye*, Question, Mr. D. Cameron; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Nov* 4, 902; Question, Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh; Answer, Sir William Harcourt *Nov* 6, 1113

*Lewis—Mr. Ross*, Question, Mr. Macfarlane; Answer, The Lord Advocate *Nov* 6, 1104

*Scotland—Crofters and Cottars*

Amendt. on Committee of Supply *Nov* 14, To leave out from "That," add "in the opinion of this House, it is the duty of Her Majesty's Government to give effect to the recommendations of the Royal Commission upon the condition of the crofters and cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, or to apply such other remedies as they deem advisable; and that this House concurs in the opinion expressed by the Royal Commission at page 110 of its Report, that 'The mere vindication of authority and repression of resistance would not establish the relations of mutual confidence between landlord and tenant, in the absence of which the country would not be truly at peace, and all our inquiries and counsels would be expended in vain'" (*Mr. Macfarlane*) *v.*, 1731; Question proposed, "That the words, &c.;" after long debate, Question put, and negatived; words added; main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to

Select Vestries

*l.* Bill, *pro formâ*, read 1ª *Oct* 23

SELLAR, Mr. A. C., *Haddington, &c.*

Scotland—Universities, 780

SEXTON, Mr. T., *Sligo*

Civil Service—Inland Revenue Appointments—Allowances for Age, 1840

Ireland—Questions

- Agricultural Labourers, 1208
- Board of Works—Loans to Railways, 1711
- Cholera Hospitals Act, 1884—Movable Hospitals, 1448
- Crime and Outrage—Ballyforan Murder—Incitement to give False Evidence, 1218, 1565, 1566;—Maamtrasna Murders—Conviction of Myles Joyce and others, 662
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- Meeting of the National League at Cashel—Invasion of the Town Hall, 1213
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- Royal Irish Constabulary—Misconduct of Constables, Kerry Co. 1567, 1568;—Seizure of Arms, 1826

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- Acquittal of Mr. Fitzgerald, 1457;—Compensation for Imprisonment, 1831
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Law and Police (Metropolis)—Disturbance at Victoria Park Tabernacle—"The ex-Monk Widdows," 1448

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Shield, Mr. H., *Cambridge*
Representation of the People, 2R. 1204

**Shop Hours Regulation Bill**
(*Sir John Lubbock, Mr. Burt, Lord Randolph Churchill, Mr. Pell*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1°* *Oct* 24 [Bill 18]
Bill withdrawn * *Oct* 29

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Simon, Mr. Serjeant J., *Dewsbury*
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Smith, Mr. S., *Liverpool*
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**Sporting Lands Rating (Scotland) Bill**
(*Dr. Cameron, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, Mr. Munro-Ferguson, Mr. Mackintosh, Dr. Farquharson*)
*c.* Ordered; read 1°* *Oct* 24 [Bill 3]

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STUART, Mr. H. VILLIERS-, *Waterford Co.*
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SUMMERS, Mr. W., *Stalybridge*
Parliament—Queen's Speech, Address in Answer to, 70

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*Navy Estimates—Defence of Coaling Stations,* Question, Sir Michael Hicks-Beach ; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Nov* 17, 1854
*Supplementary Estimates—Standing Order of November* 27, 1882, Observations, Mr. Warton ; Reply, Mr. Speaker *Nov* 13, 1596
*The Vote of Credit,* Question, Mr. O'Kelly ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 6, 1118 ; Questions, Sir Stafford Northcote, Mr. Onslow ; Answers, Mr. Gladstone *Nov* 10, 1386

*SUPPLY*
Resolved, That this House will, upon Friday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty *Nov* 5
Considered in Committee *Nov* 13, 1599—ARMY SUPPLEMENTARY ESTIMATES, 1884-5—MILITARY OPERATIONS IN EGYPT AND BECHUANALAND ;—£1,000,000, for certain Army Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising from the Expedition up the Nile ;—£675,000, for certain Army Services, to meet Additional Expenditure arising from the Expedition to Bechuanaland, 1655
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Poor Law Guardians (Ireland), Comm. *cl.* 25, 1531 ; Consid. 1707
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*Trade, State of —A Royal Commission*
Question, Mr. Ashmead-Bartlett ; Answer, Mr. Gladstone *Oct* 24, 157

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  *The Consular Reports—Wages in Germany*, Question, Mr. Anderson ; Answer, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice *Nov* 6, 1113

*Trade and Commerce*
  Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to join with a Committee of the Commons to inquire into the condition of the trade and commerce of the country" (*The Earl of Dunraven*) *Nov* 6, 1044; after debate, Motion withdrawn

**Tramways and Public Companies (Ireland) Act Amendment Bill**
(*Mr. Parnell, Sir Baldwyn Leighton, Mr. Jacob Bright, Mr. Gray, Mr. O'Shea*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Nov* 14 [Bill 37]
  Read 2° * *Nov* 17

*Treaty of Berlin—Outrages in Macedonia*
  Question, Observations, The Duke of Argyll ; Reply, Earl Granville ; short debate thereon *Nov* 17, 1814

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  *Import Duties on West Indian Sugar*, Question, Mr. Caine ; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Nov* 10, 1379
  *The World's Exposition at New Orleans—The English Commissioner*, Question, Mr. Carbutt ; Answer, Mr. Courtney *Nov* 3, 781

**University Education (Ireland) Bill**
(*Mr. Kenny, Mr. Parnell, Mr. Justin M'Carthy, Mr. O'Brien, Mr. Dawson*)
*c.* Ordered ; read 1° * *Oct* 24 [Bill 6]

WADDY, Mr. S. D., *Edinburgh*
  Representation of the People, Comm. *cl.* 2, 1421
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**Walrond, Colonel W. H.**, *Devon, E.*
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**Warburton, Mr. P. E.**, *Cheshire, Mid*
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**Waterworks Clauses Act (1847) Amendment Bill** (*Mr. Daniel Grant, Mr. Torrens, Mr. Sclater-Booth, Mr. Arthur Cohen, Mr. Ritchie, Mr. William Lawrence, Baron Henry De Worms*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Oct* 24 [Bill 7]

**Watkin, Sir E. W.**, *Hythe*
Criminal Law—Appeal in Capital Cases, 1457
Explosives Act—Storage of Dynamite at Canvey Island, 653, 654

**Waveney, Lord**
Representative Peers, Motion for an Address, 1810, 1812

*WAYS AND MEANS* (*Questions*)
*Inland Revenue—Duty on Gold and Silver Plate*, Question, Mr. Slagg; Answer, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Nov* 6, 1085
*Inland Revenue Office—Grievances of Officers*, Questions, Mr. Villiers Stuart, Sir Herbert Maxwell, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, The Chancellor of the Exchequer *Nov* 13, 1577

*WAYS AND MEANS*
Resolved, That this House will, upon Friday, resolve itself into a Committee to consider of the Ways and Means for raising the Supply to be granted to Her Majesty *Nov* 5
Considered in Committee *Nov* 17
Motion made, and Question proposed, "That, towards raising the Supply granted to Her Majesty, in addition to the Duties of Income Tax granted by "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884," there shall be charged, collected, and paid for the year which commenced on the sixth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-four, in respect of all Property, Profits, and Gains mentioned or described as chargeable in the Act of the sixteenth and seventeenth years of Her Majesty's reign, chapter thirty-four, the following Duties of Income Tax (that is to say):
For every Twenty Shillings of the annual value or amount of Property, Profits, and Gains chargeable under Schedules (A), (C), (D), or (E) of the said Act, the Duty of One Penny;
And for every Twenty Shillings of the annual value of the occupation of Lands, Tenements, Hereditaments, and Heritages chargeable under Schedule (B) of the said Act, the Duty of One Halfpenny;
Provided always, That, with the view of securing the additional Duties and affording the proper rights of deduction in respect thereof in the case of Dividends, Interest, or other annual sums due or payable half-yearly or quarterly in the course of the said year, where one of the half-yearly payments or two of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other half-yearly payment or quarterly payments shall be charged with the additional Duty of Two Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof; and where three of the quarterly payments shall have been made, the other quarterly payment shall be charged with the additional Duty of Four Pence for every Twenty Shillings of the amount thereof
Provided also, That the charge under this Resolution shall be deemed to be satisfied by an addition of one-fifth of the amount of the Duties assessed under "The Customs and Inland Revenue Act, 1884," to such amount

WAYS AND MEANS—*cont.*
and payment of such addition therewith" (*Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer*), 1855; after long debate, Question put, and agreed to
Resolution reported *Nov* 19

*Wellington Statue, The—The Site at Aldershot*
Question, Viscount Enfield; Answer, Lord Sudeley; Observations, The Earl of Longford *Nov* 11, 1443

*West Indies*
*Confederation of the Windward Islands*, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Oct* 30, 534
*Island of Dominica*, Questions, Mr. Tomlinson; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Nov* 13, 1578
*Island of Grenada—Appointment of Provost Marshal—Mr. Collymore*, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Nov* 3, 780
*Ecclesiastical Affairs*, Questions, Mr. Healy; Answers, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Oct* 28, 340
*Immigration*, Question, Mr. Deasy; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Oct* 30, 533
*Island of St. Vincent—Prison Regulations*, Question, Mr. Healy; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Oct* 28, 341
*The Report of the Royal Commission*, Question, Mr. Dick-Peddie; Answer, Mr. Evelyn Ashley *Nov* 13, 1583

*Westminster Hall* (*Restoration*)
Moved, "That a Select Committee be appointed to examine and report on the proposed plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall" (*Mr. Shaw Lefevre*) *Nov* 7, 1332
After debate, Amendt. made, by leaving out "the proposed"
Main Question, as amended, proposed, 1339; after short debate, Main Question, as amended, put, and agreed to
Select Committee appointed, "to examine and report on plans for the restoration of the exterior of Westminster Hall;" List of the Committee, 1340
Question, Mr. Mitchell Henry; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Nov* 11, 1461; Question, Sir George Campbell; Answer, Mr. Shaw Lefevre *Nov* 14, 1720

WHITBREAD, Mr. S., *Bedford*
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WHITLEY, Mr. E., *Liverpool*
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WILLIS, Mr. W., *Colchester*
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WILMOT, Sir J. E., *Warwickshire, S.*
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WOODALL, Mr. W., *Stoke-on-Trent*
Parliamentary Franchise (Extension to Women), 2R. Bill withdrawn, 1855

**Working Men's Clubs Registration Bill**
(*Mr. John Holland, Mr. Bryce, Mr. Francis Buxton, Mr. Lyulph Stanley*)
c. Ordered; read 1°* *Nov* 13 [Bill 33]

WORTLEY, Mr. C. B. STUART-, *Sheffield*
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